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Mia San Mia: Professional Club Soccer, Religion, and Social Ethics

Abstract

For thousands of soccer fans around the world, soccer is their religion. This dissertation marks the first extended examination of what religious soccer is, what it looks like in practice, and how it impacts the lives of fans in the context of professional club soccer. It provides a framework for non-fans to understand how religious supporters view the game and addresses major moments in the development of soccer throughout the world, paying special attention to the difference between the United States and the rest of the world. Religious soccer is then explored in depth, drawing on ethnographic research with over five hundred fans spread across the world. The role of soccer in the everyday life of religious supporters, their rituals, and the ways in which they make meaning are explored, presented alongside the XI Commandments, as set of unique arguments that further illuminate religious soccer to non-practitioners.

Religious supporters are most commonly found in supporters groups, officially recognized fan organizations, and thus the interaction between clubs and their supporters groups matters greatly. For clubs, soccer is a business and their focus on finances often puts them at odds with their supporters. Using a case study about the relationship between the Dallas Beer Guardians and FC Dallas from 2014-2016, it that demonstrates how fraught these relationships can become and how long it can take to restore a working relationship between the two groups. In order to improve these relationships, this dissertation offers a unique constructive social ethic that individuals and groups can utilize in their shared work. Unlike other ethics, this ethic is essentially a toolbox, wherein a number of different situations can be addressed using the same ethical system; it recognizes that situations vary and thus the same tools do not work universally. The tools contained within the ethic are designed to promote healthy, intentional relationships. Though presented in a soccer context, the ethic itself is not exclusive to this soccer context. It is designed to be contextualized by whomever is using it, providing a flexible and adaptable ethic that allows for creative responsiveness to small issues before they become bigger problems.

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Miguel A. De La Torre

Second Advisor

Andrea M. Stanton

Third Advisor

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Presented to

the Faculty of the

University of Denver

and Iliff School of Theology

Joint PhD Program

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Rebecca A. Chabot

November 2022

Advisor: Dr. Miguel A. De La Torre

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	II
Acknowledgements.....	IV
Table of contents.....	V
Preface.....	1
Chapter One: An introduction to soccer, its fans, and their world	5
The dissertation: Its methodology, project overview, and contributions to the discourse	7
Ethnographic research.....	11
Literature review	40
Concluding thoughts: Soccer, its fans, and their context.....	83
Chapter Two: A brief history of soccer and the issues facing supporters	84
Five framing lenses: How to understand A fan’s perspective of the game	85
Section 2: The birth of the modern game and global soccer.....	107
Section 3: Soccer governance & structure, globally and in the United States.....	115
Concluding thoughts: Toward soccer-as-religion.....	130
Chapter Three: Soccer is a supporter religion.....	132
The problem with defining religion	133
Defining ritual.....	139
Religious soccer	142
Setting up the XI Commandments	174
Chapter Four: Religious supporters, supporters’s groups, and the challenge they pose	176
The XI Commandments	177
The challenge of religious supporters: Religion V. Business	203
Supporters’ groups.....	203
Managing relationships: The need for ethical intervention	217
Chapter Five: The constructive social ethic toolbox.....	218
Types of ethics: The need for a constructive social ethic	223
Development of the ethic	229
Grounding tools	230
Methodological tools	239
Using the ethic: Implications beyond professional club soccer	278
Chapter Six: project review and next steps.....	281
Chapter Two: Major points and important takeaways	283
Chapter Three: Major points and important takeaways.....	283
Chapter Four: Major points and important takeaways.....	284
Chapter Five: Major points and important takeaways	286
Contributions to the discourse	287

Bibliography	290
Appendix A: Ethnographic survey results	341
Appendix B: IRB protocols	428
Appendix C: FCD official emails and related materials	448
Appendix D: MDTA ethics and equity proposal	452

Preface

I fell in love with soccer accidentally. I agreed to watch one match because a soccer-obsessed friend made me a deal: if I watched one match and still thought soccer was boring, she would never talk to me about soccer again. I was highly skeptical that watching a bunch of men¹ running for ninety minutes would hold my attention, but by the end of the match, I was totally hooked and realized I was an FC Bayern Munich² supporter after one match. It took very little time for me to fall in love with soccer in the way Fr. Joseph Whelan, S.J., describes:

Nothing is more practical than finding God, that is than falling in love in a quite absolute, final way. What you are in love with, what seizes your imagination will affect everything. It will decide what will get you out of bed in the mornings, what you will do with your evenings, how you spend your weekends, what you read, who you know, what breaks your heart, and what amazes you with gratitude. Fall in love, stay in love and it will decide everything.³

¹ The terms “men” and “women” should be understood as inclusive of trans individuals; trans men and women are men and women. Because the professional club game is gendered, players only have two options when it comes to selecting their paths, thus the terms are also inclusive of those who are non-binary and/or genderqueer.

² The formal name of the club is FC Bayern München. Throughout this dissertation, a variety of names for the club will be used, including: FC Bayern Munich, FC Bayern, Bayern, Bayern Munich, et cetera. They all refer to the same club.

³ This poem/prayer is often attributed to Pedro Arrupe, S.J., former Secretary General of the Society of Jesus; while Arrupe popularized it, the poem/prayer was not written by Arrupe. Joseph Whelan, S.J., *Finding God in All Things: A Marquette Prayer Book* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2009).

It got me out of bed in the mornings⁴; it was how I spent my weekends⁵; it changed what I read⁶, who I knew⁷, what broke my heart⁸, and what amazed me with joy and gratitude.⁹ I consumed everything I could, including starting to learn German so that I would be able to read books Bayern and its history.¹⁰ For many years, my life was scheduled around Bayern's schedule. I avoided Tuesday and Wednesday afternoon classes as much as possible during my doctoral studies so that I could watch mid-week matches. Even now, as my career forces me to miss nearly every match of the season, it remains the touchstone of my life.¹¹ I begin here, because to appreciate this dissertation, one needs to

⁴ Some matches start very early (i.e., 5:00am) for those in the United States. Those living in the Mountain and Pacific time zones often have to rise before dawn for the earliest European matches.

⁵ The match day experience usually took up about half of one of the two days of the weekend.

⁶ Long before I had any idea that I would be writing a dissertation on soccer, I started reading everything I could get my hands on about my club.

⁷ Soccer was the connecting thread in many of my closest relationships. Chance encounters and random introductions led to deep friendships that went far deeper than just watching a match together occasionally. The full story of how one random introduction entirely changed this dissertation is included in Chapter 4, in the discussion of the Dallas Beer Guardians.

⁸ Minnesota is my home and our sports teams regularly disappoint us; loss is nothing new to me. The difference is that my emotional investment in Bayern goes beyond simply geographical fidelity to a sports team; it is something I feel in my bones. Thus, while a fuller explanation of the 2012 UEFA Champions League final is included in Chapter 4, what matters is that Bayern lost the match on penalties in their home stadium. My favorite player of all time, Bastian Schweinsteiger, sealed the loss for us. That match remains the single most heart-breaking experience I have had as a fan and even nearly a decade later, I cannot think about it without wanting to cry.

⁹ I never thought watching a sports team celebrate could feel like I was part of it, but that is still very much how I experience Bayern's triumphs. Even the idea of an oversized 3-liter *Witbier* glass makes me smile; upon winning the German league championship, the celebrations involve beer showers using those enormous glasses.

¹⁰ Most books about German football are available solely in German. While there are a few exceptions to that rule, all of the books on Bayern utilized throughout this dissertation are in German.

¹¹ I coach debate and speech to students in grades 4-12. Our tournaments are Saturdays, which means that I am rarely home and able to watch matches for nearly the entirety of the school year; larger tournaments can run an entire weekend, leading to missing matches on Fridays and Sundays as well.

understand that I am, first and foremost, someone who loves soccer; I am speaking from within a community of fans who have the same commitments I do (albeit to their own club). As a doctoral student, I took the advice to write about what I love seriously; it is my love of the game that led to this project.

Before I knew I would ever write a dissertation on it, my love of soccer raised the first set of questions addressed in this dissertation, the questions about soccer itself. What is soccer? What is its history? How did it develop into the game played around the world? What was the role of colonization in its spread? How does global soccer operate? Like any good academic, I began researching the answers to my questions. I wanted to be able to explain everything to non-fans, to find a way to make them love soccer, but ultimately, answering those questions led to far bigger questions about the role that soccer plays in people's lives.

As I fell deeper in love with soccer, it was easy to see that I was not the only person to whom it meant so much. It quickly replaced my tenuous relationship with Christianity generally and Catholicism particularly, becoming my de facto religion. That realization led me to the second set of questions this dissertation answers. Is soccer a religion? If soccer is a religion, what does it look like? How is it practiced? What are the common elements? Is it a system in and of itself? A system of systems? How does it interact with other systems? What do relationships look like within religious soccer? What challenges does religious soccer face and what challenges does religious soccer raise? To answer those questions, I conducted ethnographic research on soccer fan behaviors and meaning-making practices. Chapter 3 addresses the question of whether or

not soccer is a religion, while chapter 4 presents religious soccer as it is lived and experienced.

A chance introduction during that research led to the third and final set of questions this dissertation answers, those about the relationship between clubs and their religious supporters. What is the relationship between religious supporters and their club? How can clubs, whose primary concern is their bottom line, work with their religious supporters, whose primary concerns are their experience and the team's performance? How can those relationships be managed? The answers to those questions led to the constructive social ethic, the last part of this dissertation.

Thus, this dissertation has three parts to it and each part answers one of those sets of questions. The first section, chapters 1 and 2, addresses the questions around soccer and provides a theoretical framework through which one needs to understand soccer for the purposes of this dissertation. The second section, chapters 3 and 4, examines the question of soccer's status as a religion and then presents an extended explanation of religious soccer, drawing on ethnographic research. The final section, chapters 5 and 6, address relationships within religious soccer, especially those between clubs and their supporters' groups, where religious supporters tend to gather together. The three sets of questions are reflected in the thesis of this dissertation, which is: Because soccer is a supporter religion, the relationships between religious supporters and the clubs they support requires careful and intentional management though the use of a common set of tools.

Chapter One: An Introduction to Soccer, Its Fans, and Their World

“Soccer is never just soccer.”¹²

Soccer¹³ is the world’s most popular sport.¹⁴ More than fifty countries have professional soccer leagues, the vast majority of countries compete in World Cup qualifying tournaments, and it is impossible to calculate the number of people who play or watch soccer over the course of the year. Viewership figures for the World Cup, the European Championships, and the UEFA Champions League regularly register in the billions, with the World Cup Final easily dominating the NFL’s Super Bowl in terms of viewership. In one of the most comprehensive examinations of the reach and scale of global sports, Total Sportek ranked the top twenty-five sports in the world using thirteen criteria, ranging from global base and audience to gender equality; their conclusion that

¹² Simon Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy: How the World’s Most Popular Sport Starts and Fuels Revolutions and Keeps Dictators In Power* (New York: Nation Books, 2006), 1.

¹³ Though most of the world calls the sport football (or some variation thereof), what to call the sport is still contentious between fans; it ultimately does not matter what one calls it, but trying to explain that to certain groups of fans would be difficult. The word soccer is derived from “association football,” more commonly called club football. As the focus of this dissertation is on club football, using the term most closely associated with it makes sense. Additionally, as I am an American writing for a primarily American audience, using the term that is most familiar to that audience—as well as the term used by the rest of the world—bridges the artificial divide the words reinforce. Throughout this dissertation, the words football and soccer will be used interchangeably, save for when “gridiron” precedes football, designating the uniquely North American sport. For more on the “controversy”, see: Stefan Szymanski and Silke-Maria Weineck, *It’s Football, Not Soccer (And Vice Versa): On the History, Emotion, and Ideology Behind One of the Internet’s Most Ferocious Debates* (Independently published, 2018).

¹⁴ Soccer is often called the beautiful game. As such, soccer will be referred to as a sport and as a/the game; this mirrors the language used by fans to describe soccer. In soccer terminology, an individual “game” is called a match, so the word game will only be used to refer to soccer as a whole.

soccer is the world's most popular sport is just one example of the different ways one can reach that conclusion.¹⁵

Soccer's popularity compared to other sports reflects a number of advantages. First, it requires the least amount of equipment; all one needs is something round. Whether one is playing *futbolito* on a cement court in Cochabamba, Bolivia, or one plays professionally for their country's best team in their top league, the rules are essentially the same everywhere, which reflects another reason for soccer's popularity; the rules are consistent and (mostly) universal. One may not understand the finer points of the offside rule,¹⁶ but the game's most basic rules apply everywhere: no using hands or arms to control the ball; the ball must cross the line for a goal to count; the team with the most goals wins, etcetera. Third, the European colonization of countries around the world helped to spread the more formal version of the game. And, finally, it is *the beautiful game*. There is a beauty to soccer, a flow to it, that draws people in.¹⁷

¹⁵ "25 World's Most Popular Sports (Ranked by 15 Factors)," Total Sportek, <https://www.totalsportek.com/most-popular-sports/> (last accessed June 27, 2021).

¹⁶ In brief, there must be two defensive players behind the offensive player when the ball is put into play; if there is only one defender, usually the goalkeeper, the offensive player beyond the second defender is offside. In the most popular soccer leagues in the world, as well as in international competition, video assistant referees are used to check every goal from multiple angles to ensure that the player was onside when the ball was put into play. During the 2021 UEFA European Championships, multiple goals were disallowed because players were offside and a handful were granted, despite the referee on the line raising their flag to indicate the player was offside.

Offside is also, arguably, the most difficult rule in soccer to understand. Movies and television shows about soccer often include someone who does not understand the offside rule; I would argue that they are included to try and explain the offside rule to people watching the program.

¹⁷ I am far from the first to call it the beautiful game. While the phrase existed before Pelé used it in 1977, his use of the term in his autobiography, *My Life and the Beautiful Game*, is widely credited for permanently associating the term with football. The term has been adopted by all manner of fans, sports writers, and others around the world.

This Dissertation: Its Methodology, Project Overview, and Contributions to the Discourse

This dissertation is about soccer, but more than that, it is about soccer fans. It is about what created the conditions for our fandom, the current challenges we face, and our relationships with our clubs.¹⁸ While this dissertation categorizes people's relationships with soccer in four different ways,¹⁹ the focus is on supporters, those fans for whom soccer holds the most meaning and whose lives are most closely connected to the game. It is religious supporters, those of us for whom soccer is a religion, who will see themselves most reflected in this dissertation;

This first chapter serves two purposes. First, it lays out the dissertation's methodology, provides an overview of the rest of the analysis, and addresses the unique contributions that this dissertation makes to the discourse. It explains the three distinct sections of this dissertation, the three sets of questions that those sections, the arguments developed in response to those questions, and how they tie together. It also presents a literature review, examining the writing about soccer and its fans, the issues that impact them, and the current state of the global game. In short, Chapter 1 serves both as the introduction to this project and lays the foundation for the theoretical work done in the subsequent chapters.

¹⁸ Throughout this dissertation, the terms "club" and "team" should be understood as synonymous; they are references to the same thing, club teams, which are different than national teams that represent their country in international competition. Fans use them interchangeably when talking about their loyalties and thus both terms will be used in this dissertation. A fuller explanation of the difference between club football and international football is included in chapter 2.

¹⁹ These are fully explained in the introduction to chapter 2.

This dissertation poses and answers three different sets of questions: questions about soccer itself, questions about soccer and/as religion, and questions about relationships within “religious soccer”. In this dissertation, I present the findings obtained from asking and answering those questions of myself, of scholars, and most importantly, of other fans. The first part examines soccer, shedding light into the fan experience and helping orient the reader to a fan’s perspective on these issues. Extensive research, including two years of ethnographic research, the answers to these questions led to the thesis of this dissertation, which is: Because soccer is a supporter religion, the relationships between religious supporters and the clubs they support requires careful and intentional management though the use of a common set of tools.

Methodology

This dissertation’s methodology reflects that I am both an ethicist and a theologian. My training prior to my doctoral studies was in Catholic systematic and moral theology, with a focus on liberative theologies, which led me to the use of the hermeneutical spiral as the primary methodology of this dissertation. The See-Judge-Act methodology was first articulated by Belgian Cardinal Joseph Cardijn; throughout Latin America, this methodology was subsequently employed by ecclesial base communities and by the three fathers of Latin American liberation theology,²⁰ who began their work in the 1960s and 1970s, as a way for people to reflect on the situation in which they found

²⁰ The three fathers of Latin American liberation theology are Brazilian Leonardo Boff, Peruvian Gustavo Gutiérrez, and Jon Sobrino, who is originally from Spain but has lived in El Salvador for most of his adult life. For more, see:

Leonardo Boff, *Jesus Christ Liberator: A Critical Christology for Our Time* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2012).

Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988).

Jon Sobrino, *Christ the Liberator: A View from the Victims* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001).

themselves. It continues to be used as a methodology in some liberative theological traditions and is often utilized formally or informally by groups, from college campuses and retreat centers to massive relief agencies and non-governmental organizations; the methodology makes the process explicit, calling attention to the three different steps in the process.

This methodology involves a three-step process, which each step leading sequentially to the next. The hermeneutical circle views experience is the first action (“see”), which is followed by reflection upon that action (“judge”). Those reflections (often theological in nature, but not exclusively so) lead to further action (“act”), the third and final stage of the process. However, rather than understanding this as a closed loop, wherein the three steps form a circle, this dissertation utilizes the spiral approach, where each instance of See-Judge-Act moves further outward, recognizing that each completion of the cycle moves one away from where one was originally. When any kind of action is taken, it produces some sort of effect, slightly altering the status quo; one never returns to the same place from which one started.

Each of the sections of this dissertation represents one completion of the cycle. Each presents observations, reflections, and actions; for the purposes of this dissertation, the arguments created in response to the questions represent the Act stage of the cycle. The observations derived from academic research, ethnographic research, and experience led first to a set of questions about soccer itself, then questions about soccer and/as religion, and finally questions about relationships within religious soccer. These questions are described in the introductions to each chapter; the material presented as answers to those questions represents the second step. The arguments made in answer to

those questions are the final step and lead to the next set of questions, answers, and arguments.

While not the norm amongst dissertations, this dissertation will utilize some first-person language. The fact that I am a religious supporter cannot be separated from this work; it exists because I am a religious supporter. Soccer is a lived religion, not a theoretical one, and thus the fact that I include myself as part of this group matters; I speak not only from extensive research into each of the arguments presented in this dissertation but also as someone with personal experience of these phenomena. If someone dispassionate about the game were to undertake this project, it would look very different simply because they are an outsider. Their questions and arguments would be formed by a different set of experiences and questions, potentially arrived at and/or created outside of the group about which one is writing; those whose experience it as a supporter have a different perspective from someone who is solely an observer or someone who is bracketing their own experience striving for objectivity.

I make no such move in this dissertation; I cannot argue my impartiality or feign objectivity. Rather, this dissertation necessarily embraces its subjectivity, recognizing that its contents are reflective of both my personal experience with religious soccer and extensive research into the experiences of others. The experiences preceded the theoretical work and history demonstrates just how important it is to take people's experiences into account.²¹ Thus, my own experiences, practices, rituals, and beliefs are a

²¹ Perhaps the best illustration of this is the process that went into crafting the papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. Prior to his death, St. John XXIII established a commission to examine whether or not artificial birth control was in conflict with church teaching; after his death his successor, Pope Paul VI, expanded that commission by adding additional experts in moral theology and married Catholic couples.

small piece of this conversation; the experiences I share in common with other religious supporters allow me to present religious soccer as a lived religion in a way that I could not if I were not a religious supporter myself.

Ethnographic Research

This dissertation utilizes ethnographic research conducted over the course of two years, from 2014-16. There were two separate components to that research: the first was a ten-question online survey (in English, French, German, and Spanish) and the second was interviews combined with participant observation. The research was conducted between January 2014, upon approval of the University of Denver's Internal Review Board and continued until January 2016, when the IRB expired.²² The first thirty or so interviews and the surveys were conducted online whilst the latter interviews were primarily conducted in person while I was living in Dallas.

Sampling/Recruiting Approach

Surveys

The commission met over several years before providing their reports to the pope. Two reports were eventually submitted Pope Paul. The first, written and agreed to by the vast majority (over 100 members) of the commission, argued that the use of artificial birth control methods is a matter of conscience and should be an option for married couples; even the most conservative moral theologian in the group signed onto this report. They reached their conclusions after listening to the lived experience, the lived religion, of faithful Catholic couples who wanted to be able to determine the number and spacing of their children for a number of reasons.

The minority report from the commission was written largely by Saint John Paul II, who did not attend the meetings of the commission; it held that any form of artificial birth control was contrary to Catholic teaching and therefore was not a matter of conscience, but rather disobedience. It is clear that the difference between the two reports is the testimony provided by the married couples; those who listened to the married couples found that it was a matter of conscience, while those who did not hear their stories were making far more abstract decisions. A person who is married has a very different perspective on marriage than a celibate priest does; if there had been no married couples to talk about their experiences, the people impacted by the decision would have been completely cut out of the process.

²² IRB # 543507

Subsequent to the approval of the IRB, survey participants were recruited through the posting the links to the survey on Facebook and Twitter. I asked friends whom I knew were soccer fans to complete the survey and I also encouraged everyone to share it (regardless of whether or not they themselves follow soccer). On Twitter, I tweeted the survey to professional football commentators and players, knowing that they are followed by soccer fans around the world.²³ Friends and colleagues around the world shared the surveys across their social media, too.²⁴ The survey links across all languages were also posted in the main soccer channel on Reddit.

Interviews

I initially employed snowball sampling for the interviews, beginning with the people I knew to be religious supporters. Many of them had other friends who also were religious supporters, which led to additional interviews. The first twenty or so interviews were exclusively with religious supporters. Jay Neal, then DBG's Director of Community Outreach, invited me to visit Dallas in February 2014, as he knew many religious supporters that would be willing to be interviewed for this project. After the conflict between FC Dallas and the Dallas Beer Guardians occurred, I focused more on interviewing DBG members, many of whom are religious supporters in addition to their

²³ Ian Darke, a commentator for ESPN and BT Sport, retweeted the survey, which garnered a significant number of respondents for the English-language survey. He was the only big name of note to retweet the survey link.

²⁴ The Boston College School of Theology and Ministry, the school from which I received my M.Div., is one of two Jesuit seminaries in the United States. As such, it has a large population of Jesuits from around the world. Former classmates from Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Peru, and Spain all helped share the survey, increasing its global reach significantly.

membership in DBG.²⁵ These interviews were done in conjunction with extensive participant observation over the course of two MLS seasons in several locations: Toyota Stadium for home matches, various pubs throughout the Dallas-Ft. Worth metroplex, and the screen time given to DBG during televised matches.

Sample Size

*Surveys*²⁶

The online survey was available in four languages (English, French, German, and Spanish) for approximately one month. Across the surveys, there were 507 total respondents and of those responses 497 respondents answered the first question (“How old are you? By answering this question, I consent to participating in this survey.”), leading to a ninety-eight percent response rate.²⁷ In terms of age, the breakdown is: thirty-four percent (173 respondents) of respondents were between 18 and 24, twenty-three percent (115 respondents) between 25 and 29, sixteen percent (80 respondents) between 30 and 34, eleven percent (57 respondents) between 35 and 39, six percent (30 respondents) between 40 and 44, three percent (17 respondents) between 45 and 49, and seven percent (34 respondents) were over 50. Seventy-three percent of the respondents were male, twenty-three percent were female, and less than one percent identified as trans

²⁵ In those circumstances, the interview protocol included in the IRB was usually the first interview done, while the DBG-specific interviews came later. The two exceptions, Stephen Stone and Bailey Brown, did both their religious supporter interview and their first DBG interview during the same session.

²⁶ The full data set from the surveys, including tables with the demographic breakdown, is in appendix B.

²⁷ One respondent chose not to answer the first question, but answered the subsequent questions.

or other.²⁸ About half of all respondents (261) live in the United States, while sixteen percent (78 respondents) live in the United Kingdom, five percent (26 respondents) live in Germany, five percent (27 respondents) live in Spain, two percent live (11 respondents) in France, one percent live in Italy (2 respondents), and the remaining nineteen percent (99 respondents) come from those who responded “Other.” Those who do not live in their country of origin were asked to provide both their country of origin and their current country of residence; the percentages represent country of residence, not country of origin.²⁹

Interviews

Taken as a whole the interviews were conducted with 48 individuals residing in four different countries and resulted in nearly 100 hours of content.³⁰ The gender split across interviews was much more balanced than the survey results; just over half of the interviews (26) were conducted with women and trans and/or non-binary individuals. The age distribution of the interviewees was also more balanced than the surveys; while only one person over the age of 50 was interviewed, the breakdown of those interviewed was

²⁸ The question (“What is your gender? Note: This is how you identify, not your physical or assigned sex.”) was designed to obtain gender information. Three percent of all respondents chose to skip this question; it was not mandatory for them to provide their gender. It is important to note, however, that the language used in that question is outdated; the question should have stopped after “This is how you identify.”

²⁹ Countries of origin: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Ghana, Germany, Haiti, Honduras, Hong Kong, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America.

³⁰ Demographic breakdown of interviewees: thirty-eight people living in the United States (including three Mexican nationals, one Salvadoran national, and one United Kingdom national), seven living in Germany (including one Swiss national and one from the USA), and three living in Spain.

otherwise well-distributed; about thirty percent (15) of interviewees were in their twenties, about forty percent (20) of interviewees were in their thirties, and about thirty percent (12) of interviewees were in their forties. The religious supporters interviewed were more likely to be in their thirties or forties than the members of DBG, who were more likely to be in their twenties at the time of the interviews. The first thirty or so people interviewed for this dissertation were religious supporters from Germany, Spain, and the United States.

As the focus pivoted to DBG, the vast majority of the remaining interviews were done with DBG members. These interviews focused on the history of the organization, people's experiences at DBG events, inside and outside of the stadium, and the role that beer showers played in relation to their experience of being in DBG. Several members of DBG were interviewed multiple times,³¹ including the senior leadership of the organization between 2014 and 2016, to provide updates on the relationship between DBG and FCD and to offer reflection on their experiences of that relationship with the benefit of hindsight.

³¹ Those interviewed more than once include: Bailey Brown (Director of Hospitality, 2014-16; DBG President, 2016-18), Brandon Huckabee (DBG President, 2013-16), Jay Neal (Director of Community Outreach, 2013-15; Vice President, 2015-6), Brian Price (DBG Vice President, 2013-2015), Samantha Smith (various roles, 2011-2016), and Stephen Stone (various roles, 2011-2015). Andrew Gerbosi, one of the founding members of DBG, was not interviewed for this dissertation, as he only returned to Dallas in 2015, shortly after I had moved back to Denver. He was, however, interviewed by journalist Phil West in his book about American soccer supporters' culture. I told West about the Beer Shower Ban, which is one of the stories included in his book, and I was the person who connected him with DBG to facilitate that; in return, West shared his notes from the Gerbosi interview with me.

Methodology of Question Construction

Surveys

The first three questions of the surveys were designed to obtain a demographic breakdown of the sample: age, gender, and country of residence/origin. The next few questions involved fans self-reporting concerning the leagues they follow, the teams for which they cheer, the items they own related to their club, and the manner in which they watch their team play. The top five European leagues were offered as options, along with MLS; because they are the dominant leagues globally and in the United States it was easy to narrow down the league options provided. The selection of the teams included as options was based on the 2013 final standings in those same leagues.³²

Questions four through eight investigated the ways in which fans relate to soccer. Question four examined which leagues fans follow, giving fans the option to choose from the five major European leagues and Major League Soccer, while question six examined which teams fans follow.³³ Question seven looked at how and where fans watch soccer, with whom they watch, and the ways in which they access their team's matches. Question eight focused on the ways in which fans participate in their clubs through their purchasing power. Question five, arguably the most important question in the survey, asked fans whether or not they hold allegiance to one professional club over and above all others.

³² The top four finishers from the 2012-13 season were listed as options from which respondents could pick; they were also able to select "Other" if they do not follow any of those teams.

³³ The four top finishing teams in 2013-14 in each of the six leagues was provided as an option, while respondents also had the opportunity to select "Other" if their team was not listed.

The design of the final two questions allowed fans to provide as little or as much detail as they wanted. Question nine examined fan rituals and question ten asked respondents to share one moment or memory that stands out for them. Inquiring about rituals after examining fan consumption practices, both in terms of how/where matches are watched and what items fans have chosen to purchase, was intentional; by asking fans to think about the preceding two questions, it led naturally into asking about their behaviors on match day. The intention behind asking for one moment was to examine a bit of how fans make meaning in soccer.

Interviews

Drawing on my own previous experience interviewing people about their experiences, the questions in the interview protocol were designed to build on each other, to encourage expansiveness in responses, and to address questions of meaning making and religiosity without unintentionally leading the interviewee.³⁴ The interview protocol utilized a soccer-specific variation of a life history protocol. In many cases, the interviewees began to answer the next question without formally being guided there. With the exception of a small number of clarification questions needed to understand an interviewees response, the protocol was sufficient to draw out the stories, memories, and feelings of fans.

³⁴ Over the course of three years at Boston College School of Theology and Ministry, I had occasion to interview more than thirty people for what developed into an on-going project. My experiences conducting those interviews shaped the order of the questions, as well as some of the wording of the questions in the survey conducted for this dissertation. The decision to omit specific questions about meaning making and religion was intentional; the religious supporters interviewed did not need the prompting and it allowed for more diversity in the responses because of their broadness.

Methodology of Coding

Surveys

While SurveyMonkey provides analytic data on surveys, the various data points across the surveys were specific to that survey only, necessitating an aggregation of the data. Aggregation of the data was achieved by adding the total number of respondents, determining percentages within the total number of respondents, and then analyzing as a whole. For the surveys, the first step was the coding of demographics for each of the individual surveys (five in English,³⁵ one each in French, German, and Spanish). This enabled me to track responses with demographics in mind. During the aggregation of data, the responses to questions were combined in order to arrive at total percentages across all surveys.

Once the demographic coding was done, I returned to the responses and coded them according to the type(s) of ritual(s) reported. A cursory glance through responses provided a general idea of the categories needed for rituals (social media, food/beverage, clothing, miscellaneous), especially with the assistance of SurveyMonkey's word cloud feature, and the responses to question nine were coded accordingly. For question ten ("What is one soccer moment or memory that stands out for you? Where were you? What was the match? Tell me about that moment or memory."), each response was read and then coded according to: 1) the type of team referenced (amateur, college, national team, professional club, et cetera); 2) what kind of memory/moment it was (a goal, an entire

³⁵ SurveyMonkey, the software used to conduct the surveys, limits each free survey to 100 responses and thus multiple versions of the English needed to be created; finances were limited at the time of research. Prior to the assessment, coding, and collating of the data, I did pay the fee to be able to see the additional responses beyond 100 on two of the surveys (English 1 had 118 respondents and English 3 had 106 respondents). All 507 responses received are reflected in the aggregated data.

match, a season, et cetera); and 3) the location of the memory/moment (at a bar/pub, in the stadium, at a watch party, et cetera).

Interviews

Coding for the interviews was handled differently. No demographic questions were asked, however interviewees nearly universally shared their intersectional demographics over the course of the interviews. Interviews were recorded using either the VoiceMemo feature on my phone or using the computer microphone (for Skype interviews). During the process of interviewing, I kept a notebook wherein I noted the time on the recording when someone reported something that I expected that I might want to use. Some full transcriptions of interviews were done; however, the time required to transcribe nearly 100 hours of interviews was an impediment to the completion of this dissertation. All interviews were reviewed at least three separate times, with annotations made regarding the content and the timing of that content in the notebook. When needed, transcripts of interviews were created.³⁶ Interviews were coded with the number of the commandment that correlated to what the interviewee said, thus the coding for religious supporters primarily utilized Roman numerals to indicate the commandment; later, in order to give myself an easier visual than the Roman numerals, I used colored highlighters and highlighted the Roman numerals so that I could identify them more easily.

³⁶ Unfortunately, sometime between 2016 and 2020, my research notebook went missing. As I had already done much of the analysis on the interviews, and had it backed up on my computer, I was able to supplement my notes using the analysis and the recordings; however, without those notes, it is possible that something was missed that originally was in my notes.

Theory

Surveys

When creating the survey, the focus was on three different areas: demographics, patterns of access and consumption, and rituals/meaning-making. The first three questions were designed to obtain a sense of who was responding to the survey and from where. Age, gender, and country were sufficient to understand who respondents were and where they were in their lives at the time. The next set of questions was to determine how people interact with their club, how they access their club, and the items in which they have chosen to invest their money. The choice to place the two free answer questions at the end of the survey was to encourage soccer fans to dig into their experiences in more depth; by placing them after the questions about consumption and access, the expectation that fans would be in a place where sharing their own behaviors and experiences felt more natural. As they had previously thought about what they watch, how and where they watch, and what they own, fans were already reflecting on their own behaviors and experiences prior to reaching the final two questions.

Interviews

At first, the project relied primarily on narrative analysis, using a variation of a life history questionnaire that specifically addressed soccer. The goal of the interviews was to let soccer fans tell their stories. I wanted to hear about the moments that stuck with them, the moment they first called themselves a fan, and the role that soccer plays in their lives. By using only open-ended questions, and not setting time limits on the interviews, I was able to let the interviewed religious supporters share their stories as freely and openly as they chose to do.

As the focus shifted to professional club soccer generally and the relationship between DBG and FCD specifically, participant observation was used in conjunction with interviews which added significant context for the case study. Participant behaviors were observed and examined inside the stadium, at watch parties held at pubs, at tailgates, and at a variety of other DBG-related activities (community service projects, Oktoberfest, et cetera).

Key Data

Surveys

The finding that nearly twenty percent of fans do not hold a primary allegiance to a single club was somewhat surprising, but the majority of those without an allegiance are from the United States and this was echoed by the respondents from the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Ghana.³⁷ The Europeans and other global respondents tended to support a single club.³⁸ Nearly all people from the United States reported following at least two leagues, usually one of the big Europeans leagues (Bundesliga, EPL, La Liga, Ligue 1, Serie A) and Major League Soccer; those who only

³⁷ The respondents from the other two African countries in the sample, Burkina Faso and Cameroon, reported firm allegiances. While it is possible that European colonial legacies on the continent are partly responsible for the difference between the former French colonies being different than the others, there is not enough data in the set that provides insight into that.

³⁸ Of the 500 responses to question four, fifty-one percent (257 respondents) chose the English Premiere League as their primary, fourteen percent (71 respondents) selected MLS, eleven percent (57) chose La Liga, eight percent (55) chose the Bundesliga, four percent (10) chose Ligue Un, four percent (9) chose Serie A, and eight percent (41) selected "Other". Eighty-three percent of those who ranked a first choice league ranked a second, and seventy-nine percent ranked a third.

follow one league are more likely to follow a European league than they are MLS, but only barely.³⁹

The responses to question seven provide an insight into how fans access their team's matches. Fifty-one percent of respondents reported that they sometimes watch matches at a pub or sports bar with friends, while thirty-eight percent always watch matches at home alone. Fans were much more likely to watch matches in real time, with only thirty-four percent saying they sometimes or always watch matches via replay or DVR. Fan participating via their purchasing power indicated that, while nineteen percent of respondents reported owning no items related to their club, sixty-five percent of fans own an official jersey and fifty-five percent own at least one scarf.⁴⁰ As both jerseys and scarves play a role on match days for many fans, it was unsurprising that those are the two items most often owned.⁴¹

The most interesting responses were the two free-writing questions (questions nine and ten), where respondents shared their rituals and their memories, particularly when they talked about them in relationship to their professional clubs. The inclusion of masturbation in rituals was surprising, not for their existence, but simply because fans

³⁹ The trend is beginning to shift; were these interviews conducted in 2019 or 2020, it is more likely that MLS would have been the most popular league; there were nineteen teams in 2014 and today, MLS has twenty-seven teams, with an additional three teams joining the league in 2022 and 2023. Expansion has led to far more homegrown fans following their local teams across the United States, something that many could not do in 2014.

⁴⁰ The difference in response between those owning an official jersey and a knockoff jersey was somewhat surprising, as knockoff jerseys are significantly less expensive than official ones. For example, in 2022, a fan can purchase an authentic Robert Lewandowski jersey through the FC Bayern store for \$164.99 or they can purchase a knockoff jersey from online retailers for \$25-40.

⁴¹ The full range of items owned is incredibly diverse, ranging from Advent calendars and Christmas ornaments to watches and piggy banks, cupcake wrappers and water bottles to pacifiers and lip balms.

chose to report them.⁴² The most commonly cited memory by Americans was Landon Donovan's late goal against Algeria in the final group stage match of the 2010 World Cup; it was a moment that soccer fans hoped and prayed was a sign that the USMNT's fortunes were changing, that the USA might finally be joining the ranks of the world soccer elites. It would be interesting to see if that moment still holds as much power for individuals, particularly in light of the USMNT's failure to qualify for the 2018 World Cup in Russia.

Interviews

There are two important data sets that were derived from the interviews. The first is the reported beliefs and practices of religious supporters: their discussions of rituals, of club allegiances and of how the game should be played. This information led to the formation of the XI Commandments in chapter 4. The most important insights from the interviews with religious supporters are set forth in the XI commandments, while the most important information from the DBG interviews is included in the section of chapter 4 which examines religious supporters in supporters groups and the relationship between those groups and their clubs.

The most interesting thing about the interviews was the range of emotions displayed by interviewees as they answered different questions. When sharing their favorite memories of their club, fans universally got excited and their energy levels went up; they spoke more quickly, they recalled details, and they were smiling and laughing. This provided an interesting contrast to the question about their earliest memory of their

⁴² The anonymity of the survey may have inspired them to share.

club. Their favorite memories were happy ones, times when the club succeeded in some way, but their first memories were not all happy ones. For fans who began supporting a club after watching a player in the World Cup were the ones most likely to have an unhappy first memory of their club, while those who were directly exposed to a club were more likely to have a happy first memory of their club.

The answers to the question about how much time one spends either reading about or writing about or thinking about or watching soccer or completing soccer-related activities varied widely. The most ardent religious supporters reported spending between 30 and 40 hours a week engaged with soccer, but every religious supporter reported spending at least ten hours a week focused on soccer and related things. Most interviewees were able to estimate their hours of engagement, but one interviewee was unsure, so she actually calculated how much time she had spent the previous week.⁴³

Conclusions

Surveys

The surveys made it clear that the majority of fans do hold an allegiance to a single professional club and that does not preclude cheering for other teams in others leagues; however, my assumption that most fans hold allegiance to a single club was

⁴³ That's really hard...Why are you asking me this question? [laughs] Let me get out my calculator. I went grocery shopping. That took an hour. Then I made five pots of chili. That was another three hours. Then I packed, which was another half an hour. The next day I was up and we left by 11:30[am], so from 11:30 until 10[pm], so that was like nine hours. Then, I always talk about it with my students at school, because several of them also have season tickets [to FC Dallas] on top of talking about Bayern, so I probably talk about it collectively at school about an hour a day. So we'll do five. And then, the time at home I spend talking and looking at my scarves and I don't know. Probably upwards of over 20 hours a week easily just like talking about it and watching or even just being there. So probably 20-30 hours a week.

affirmed by the survey responses. The biggest difference between the surveys and the interviews relating to rituals was that all of the interviewees spoke about rituals, whether or not they used that term. This raises questions about the operative definitions employed by respondents when answering the question about rituals. The term was left intentionally vague to elicit the widest array of responses possible and this was successful.

There was no obvious correlation between country of origin/residence and responses to the surveys, nor was there a correlation between gender and the responses. Because the surveys themselves do not ask about religion, the responses to question nine required parsing on my part. In some instances, there was a clear religious element, be it religious soccer or another tradition, It would be easy to make an assumption that those who reported more detailed rituals are religious supporters, but the data does not provide a supporting warrant for that assumption. The clear conclusions from the survey data are: 1) soccer fans exist in many countries, 2) the majority of fans have an allegiance to one club over and above all others, regardless of whether they cheer for more than one team; 3) rituals play a role for some fans; and 4) the moments that stand out to fans represent the complexity of soccer itself, demonstrating the wide variety of important moments for fans (a goal, a match, a player, et cetera).

The primary difference between fans and religious supporters in the survey was in how they answered question ten about the moment that stood out for them. The answers of fans and supporters were short and often held meaning that related to national pride and/or personal pride, the skills of a particular player, or they merely contained the

moment without any commentary on the meaning of that moment for them.⁴⁴ Religious supporters, however, distinguished themselves in the ways that they spoke of meaning-making when sharing their outstanding memory or moment.. While the survey did not ask fans if they identify as religious supporters, the religious supporters who did respond to the survey reported having rituals around their club and shared why a moment was meaningful to them.⁴⁵

Interviews

Those interviewed, with the exception of some DBG members, were all religious supporters. As such, the interview data does not provide a comparison to non-religious supporters. Across the responses, there are three important takeaways. First, all religious supporters have rituals, regardless of whether or not they would categorize their behavior as a ritual. Rituals are omnipresent in soccer; fans participate in rituals when they are in the stadium (joining in cheers and chants), when they are watching a match in a bar/pub, and when they watch matches at home. The simple act of watching games every weekend is a form of ritual, even though fans did not report it as a ritual. The operative definition of ritual in this dissertation is very broad, thus interviewees likely interpreted the term more narrowly than the definition used herein.

Second, every religious supporter has at least one moment or memory that they hold dear. Whether it is the moment when they became a fan, the biggest match their club has ever played, or the impact of a particular player, religious supporters can all point to

⁴⁴ Examples include: 1-54, 1-55, 1-58

⁴⁵ Examples include: 1-52, 1-66, 2-1

at least one moment that holds special meaning for them. The primary difference demonstrated between religious supporters in interviews and the responses of fans to the survey was the way in which religious supporters spoke about their memories and the ways in which they spoke about their clubs. It is difficult to convey tone of voice in writing, but there was a fondness in the voices of religious supporters as they spoke about their happy memories. When speaking about their clubs, it was easy to hear the passion and love people have for their clubs.

Limitations

Surveys

There were two key demographic questions, race and sexual orientation, that this survey did not include and inclusion of these questions would have provided additional information about those taking the survey that would potentially have allowed for deriving additional conclusions from the data. It would have been better to include the demographic questions at the end of the survey, rather than the beginning because knowing the demographics of my subjects before examining and analyzing the hard numbers may have influenced some of my conclusions. I do not believe that it actually had such an effect, but because I saw the demographic data first, I cannot be certain that it did not influence the conclusions presented herein and throughout this dissertation.

Additionally, in hindsight, I think that the first question I should have asked was actually question five of the online survey (“Do you hold an allegiance to one professional football club?”). This would have narrowed the focus only on professional club soccer and it could have served as a gatekeeper question, with only those respondents who have loyalty to a single professional club advancing past the first

question. Narrowing the focus would have facilitated analyzing the data; it would have decreased by sample size. Had those who do not have loyalty to a professional soccer club been omitted from the sample, the loss would have been 101 of the 507 responses. Eighty-one percent (404) of survey respondents reported having an allegiance to a single professional club. However, when I created the survey, the project was not as focused as it subsequently became and I had not yet narrowed my own focus to professional club soccer.

Interviews

While I used my international network for the surveys, that was not the case for the interviews. The lack of international interviews is largely due to the focus on the American and German contexts, but an effort should have been made to include more voices from Central America, South America, and the African continent as it related to the XI Commandments in chapter 4, which were drawn primarily from the interviews. I include those voices when the survey results are discussed, but because I did not conduct any interviews with individuals from those regions, their voices are not reflected in the XI Commandments and should they should have been.

Much of the dissertation took shape after the conflict between DBG and FCD flared and the narrowed focus on the relationships between clubs and their religious supporters is a direct result of that conflict. The only reason I knew about the conflict was because I had interviewed multiple members of DBG prior to the Beer Shower Ban; that conflict fundamentally changed this project, as it provided an opportunity to address an issue that frequently occurs across soccer cultures: the constantly changing relationship

between fans and their clubs and the impact that decisions made by one side has upon the other.

Project Overview

This dissertation begins with questions about soccer itself. Later in this chapter, the writing about soccer and its fans is examined in a literature review. While much has been written about the sport, only some of that writing is relevant to this project. The literature review focuses on fans and the issues that shape their experiences. The body of academic writing on soccer fans and their experiences is relatively small, as the vast majority of works written about soccer are intended for popular audiences. In fact, there are only popular works available on certain topics, which is why several are included within the literature review.⁴⁶ The journal *Soccer & Society*, along with the work of people like sociologist Richard Giulianotti, who writes extensively about soccer and other sports, or Stefan Szymanski, the world's leading sports economist, provide much of the academic literature on soccer that is relevant to this dissertation. The academic literature on soccer presented herein focuses upon fan experiences and the factors that shape it.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 begins by explaining the four different levels of people's relatedness to soccer: spectators/outsideers, fans, supporters, and religious supporters. This taxonomy is followed by five framing lenses, a set of arguments that create a framework to help orient

⁴⁶ Though not standard process, because of the centrality of fans to this dissertation, the rigid dividing line between academic and popular literature must be blurred, as there are a limited number of texts on certain topics, especially when one is looking for something beyond a journal article. The inclusion of these popular texts is important, as several of them are the most widely read books about soccer. To better understand fans, it means that acknowledging their sources and including a handful of works not traditionally included in a literature review.

non-fans to a fan's perspective on soccer. While they are presented in their scholarly form here, the basic concepts contained within the five framing lenses are things that all, or nearly all, would soccer fans would recognize as elements of their fandom. The chapter then turns its attention to the creation and evolution of the modern game. The modern game and its rules owe their creation in part to the English education system, with rugby and soccer emerging as distinct sports; each was claimed by a different type of school (public, private, grammar), demonstrating just how overtly political soccer is. Soccer's very creation was a political endeavor, that is echoed in global fandom today.

An explanation of current global competition and governance structures follows the historical overview. This helps elucidate the difference between club football and international football, while also teasing out the ways in which FIFA, soccer's global governing body, controls the game. This section explains the quadrennial cycle of soccer life, with the World Cup at its center. The chapter's final section examines how social issues (including racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia) impact and shape the game itself and the experience of soccer fans, with particular emphasis upon the United States and Germany.⁴⁷ Fans possess a wide range of identities and their experiences inside and outside of the stadium are impacted by the acceptance or rejection of these identities. At its conclusion, the chapter will have answered the questions about soccer

⁴⁷ This dissertation contains two case studies. The first, at the beginning of chapter 5, examines the relationships between the Dallas Beer Guardians and FC Dallas between 2014-2016 and the second, later in the same chapter, examines FC Bayern Munich's resistance to the National Socialist State between 1933-1945. Because of these case studies, examples from the United States and Germany help to provide additional context for those case studies and will be utilized throughout this dissertation when appropriate and/or available.

itself, leading to the second set of questions: the role that soccer plays in the lives of some supporters.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 begins the second section of this dissertation; it is focused on questions around soccer and religion. It begins by clearly stating the problems with defining religion: definitions are arbitrary and it is an unnecessary step to discussing whether or not something is a religion. Rather than parsing whether or not soccer meets a specific definition of religion, no definition of religion will be offered. This allows for a presentation of religious soccer that is not constrained by a particular definition or set of detailed criteria. The chapter shifts from the question of whether or not soccer is a religion and to answer the more important questions about soccer and/as religion: what is the difference between the role of soccer in everyday life and soccer as religion? What do fans mean when they say soccer is their religion? What does that religion look like?

Utilizing the work of Christopher Stone, chapter 3 examines the role of soccer in everyday life. Stone's work draws on a massive ethnographical project he conducted as part of this dissertation research and is one of the most useful sources of information and data available to those writing about soccer. His insights, particularly his explanation of liquid modernity, provide the groundwork from which to speak of religious soccer. Even when scholars have argued that soccer is a religion, they have used definitions and/or schematics to justify its inclusion or they couch their argument, arguing it is a religion but granting it lesser status than traditions normally understood as religions.

While I am not the first to argue that soccer is a religion, I am the first to take the claim of fans seriously, and am the first to present an extended examination of what

religious soccer looks like, how it is practiced, and what it means to its adherents. Instead of attempting to prove that soccer meets an arbitrary definition of religion, I argue that soccer is a religion and I treat it as such. In chapters 3 and 4, I draw on my ethnographic research, which includes over 500 global survey responses, nearly 100 hours of interviews, and over two years of research with the Dallas Beer Guardians and FC Dallas. Thus, chapter 3 turns its attention to rituals and meaning making, teasing out the ways in which religious soccer is operative in those areas of life.

It is well known that many fans have rituals built around their teams, but chapter 3 provides a sampling of the wide variety of rituals that fans practice, from consumption of specific foods or beverages to where they sit or stand to clothing choices. Its examination of meaning making walks non-religious supporters through the process of falling in love with their club, and the process gone through to become a religious supporter. By elucidating very specific moments in that process, non-religious supporters, fans, and spectators/outsideers will come to understand how and why religious supporters come to be religious supporters.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 begins with the XI Commandments, a set of arguments articulating elements of religious soccer that religious supporters would recognize as part of their religious belief and practice. The goal of the XI Commandments is to provide concrete arguments that both explain the elements of religious soccer and what those elements look like in practice. While they use the Ten Commandments found within Abrahamic

traditions as a starting place,⁴⁸ they do so simply because American audiences are familiar with the concept of the Ten Commandments; the XI Commandments presented herein are neither tied to one tradition nor do they retain the traditional meanings associated with the Abrahamic commandments. They present ideas about religious soccer derived from fans talking about their experiences. The unique arguments presented in this section build on ideas and/or arguments made by others, though their formulation and systematization as contained herein are unique to my work.

After the presentation of the XI Commandments, chapter 4 turns to the places where religious supporters abound: supporters' groups (SGs). Utilizing community activist Peter Block's two different types of belonging, the importance of these groups is uncovered. For those lucky enough to live near their club, SGs provide community and companionship for religious supporters and they serve an important role in the life of the club. It is the SGs who are largely responsible for the electric atmosphere at matches, large groups of fans chanting, singing, and cheering with one voice. In top-flight leagues around the world, clubs usually have at least one officially recognized SG, which means that relationships between clubs and SGs exist in most places where professional club soccer is played. The relationship between SGs and their clubs can be fraught with difficulties, as religious supporters and those running the club's business have very different agendas.

⁴⁸ While the commandments hold a place of primacy in both Judaism and Christianity, those who practice Islam are also likely to have an idea of what they are, as they are an, albeit minor, part of Islamic tradition, in the same way that many of the figures in Christianity and Judaism are also found within the Islamic tradition.

There are times when major conflicts arise between clubs and their SGs, a phenomenon demonstrated through a case study with the Dallas Beer Guardians (DBG) and FC Dallas (FCD). In 2014, FC Dallas made a sudden policy decision that directly impacted only the membership of DBG; the conflict created by that policy decision led to a massive rift between the two groups. It took several years before the relationship was repaired and the case study clearly demonstrates the need for a new approach to these relationships. Given that these relationships are constantly changing and evolving as new issues arise, and because they are at the heart of club soccer, the need for some sort of intervention is required.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 provides that needed intervention. The chapter introduces a unique constructive social ethic designed to help supporters groups and their clubs build and maintain healthy relationships with each other. After a brief discussion of the major types of ethics (deontological, teleological, and aretaic), it explains the need for an ethic that is both constructive and social, contrasting those two types of ethics against the major types. Constructive ethics offer options, rather than hard and fast rules; they are designed to be accommodating to different types of practice within the same group. Because the relationship between clubs and their supporters is constantly in flux, only a constructive ethic provides the flexibility required to be responsive to ongoing and shifting needs. Relationships are at the heart of social ethics and thus only a social ethic can adequately address the variety of relationships between clubs and their supporters.

The ethic itself has four parts. The first three parts each represent a different category of tool (grounding, methodological, practical) and the final part details the

contextualization process. First, the two grounding tools are discussed; these are designed to provide both groups with common ground on which to start their work. The recognition of the contingent relationship between fans and their clubs builds on the fourth framing lens provided in chapter 2, while the modern virtue ethic proposed by James Keenan, S.J. describes the competing tensions all individuals face. Two methodological tools follow the grounding tools. The first is the Hermeneutical Spiral, previously discussed as this dissertation's methodology, provides a concrete and explicit process that mirrors natural processes; by making the steps explicit, it ensures that all three parts of the cycle are completed and steps are not skipped.

The second methodological tool is the trickster ethic. Building on the groundbreaking work done by Dr. Miguel De La Torre, the figure of the trickster provides two different options for resisting oppression, with the Welsh goddess of the cauldron and transfiguration Cerridwen offered as the exemplar of a trickster. The use of a trickster ethic in a soccer context is demonstrated through this dissertation's second case study, which focuses on the actions of FC Bayern Munich between 1933 and 1945; their resistance to the *Nationzsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*⁴⁹ utilized a trickster ethos which ethos led them, ultimately, to be the only German club to successfully resist total Nazification.

The final category of tools is practical and there are four provided in the chapter. The first two tools, the equity lens and the intersectionality framework, a specifically

⁴⁹ The *Nationzsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) is the formal name of the Nazi party. In English, the term means National Socialist German Workers' Party. The term Nazi will often be substituted for the formal name of the party, as many of the German authors use the term in their writing and it is widely accepted in academic literature.

designed to ensure that the voices of those historically marginalized are always included in the conversation. These two tools complement each other; the equity lens keeps equity as the focus in shared work and the intersectionality framework provides the means through which to address the interconnected nature of various forms of oppression.⁵⁰ The use of a centering or central question, the third practical tool, can provide focus for shared work, to ensure that the central goals are constantly part of the conversation. The final practical tool is perhaps the most common sense piece of the ethic: practicing effective communication. The hallmarks of effective communication include using person-centered language, open-ended questions, and intentionality.

The ethic concludes with an explanation of the contextualization process. One of the reasons this ethic is unique is that it is designed to be completely contextualized by the group using it. The presentation of the ethic in this dissertation has been specifically tailored to the context of professional club soccer; were this dissertation about something other than professional club soccer, portions of the presentation of the ethic would necessarily be completely different as it would be designed to respond to the specific challenges of that space. Much of the contextualization process involves conversations, wherein groups make decisions (using the tools of the ethic) to identify what it is that is most relevant to their concern.

⁵⁰ In the United States, all forms of oppression are grounded in and supported by white supremacy; it is impossible to separate issues of race from those of gender or identity because they are symptoms of the same disease. An ethic that does not recognize intersectionality is an ethic that fails to address the complex reality of the ways in which oppression operates in the United States. Colonialism exported varieties of oppression, largely grounded in the belief that white European Christians needed to “civilize” the world.

Contributions to the Discourse

This dissertation includes multiple contributions to academic discourse around soccer in philosophy, religious studies, and social ethics. The first contribution is the use of Martin Heidegger's explanation of Being-with to explain the contingent relationship between clubs and their fans. Though Heidegger was himself a football fan, it does not play a role in his writing the way that it does for other authors, like Jean-Paul Sartre. Had Heidegger spent a decade of his life thinking about the relationship between clubs and their fans, he might have recognized that his work was also applicable in that arena. Heidegger's work has never been used in this way before, thus the argument in chapter 2 is a unique contribution to the conversation about his work, a rarity given the amount of writing there has been in response to Heidegger in the over one hundreds years that his teaching and scholarship have been available to the public.

This argument is also a new addition to the conversation about soccer. While I am not the first to write about the relationship between fans and their clubs, I am the first to articulate the contingency of this relationship. Clubs cannot exist without fans to sustain them and without the club, there are no fans. Using Heidegger's work in this way provides a way for fans and non-fans alike to consider the relationship between clubs and their fans in a new way. No one has articulated the relationship this way, nor have they argued that, in their being, fans and their clubs need each other.

The second major contribution from this dissertation to academic discourse is the presentation of religious soccer contained in chapters 3 and 4. Previous discussions of soccer and/as religion have either imposed an external framework to justify soccer's inclusion as a religion or have stopped short of granting soccer status as a religion. This

dissertation marks the first time that religious supporters have had their stories told, their beliefs shared, and their practices discussed. The contents of those two chapters come directly from the religious supporters interviewed for this dissertation; their words directly led to the development of the arguments advanced in these chapters.

In particular, the XI Commandments in chapter 4 were created because religious supporter after religious supporter talked about these eleven issues at some point during their interview. The questions asked of religious supporters were intentionally broad; my goal was to dictate as little of the conversation and its parameters as possible, while maintaining a focus on their stories and experiences. The eleven arguments advanced in chapter 4 provide insights into religious soccer that enable those who are not religious supporters to understand what it is that religious supporters hold dear.

This is the first project about sport-as-religion that centers religious supporters as its most important source. Religious soccer, as portrayed in this dissertation, is fundamentally about religious supporters and their voices matter. Often, researchers and theorists interrogate the stories of others through a particular lens, seeking to prove or disprove that something is religious; whether it is a definition, a framework, or an argument, their approaches are constrained by their chosen limitations. My approach to this project was different, taking their claim seriously and allowing religious supporters to tell me what their religion is. The aim of the open-ended process was to create a presentation of religious soccer that both resonates with religious supporters as they see themselves reflected back in it and invites those who are not religious supporters into our world.

It also makes a contribution to the discussion of the relationship between supporters and their clubs. The conflict between the two groups is usually framed as solely being financial, but those analyses are missing a critical component. They fail to account for the reality of religious supporters, believing their reasons for complaint are solely financial; for religious supporters, this is about their religion, not someone's business. The conflict has never been framed this way before, largely because previous iterations of religious soccer have not centered on religious supporters. The conflict is not just financial; it is a business clashing against people's religion, which should change how the relationship between religious supporters and their clubs is understood. It is so much more than just the financial considerations of the fans.

The final contribution to academic discourse is the constructive social ethic in chapter 5. It is a unique project, bringing together tools from a variety of disciplines together in a single toolbox: religious studies, moral theology, ethics, liberative theologies, communications studies, and critical theory. It is a combination of processes, methodologies, and frameworks that make this ethic flexible, adaptable, and responsive. Its contextualization process ensures that each group utilizing the ethic is able to make it work for their situation. One of the unique aspects of the ethic is that it is designed to be inclusive of all voices, rather than privileging the voices of the majority. The interconnected nature of social issues cannot be ignored and, in order to ensure that historically marginalized voices are centered in the conversation, the intersectionality framework and the equity lens are vital parts of the ethic.

Additionally, the ethic is a contribution to the discourse about clubs and their fans. Much of the relationship between fans and their clubs is framed solely in financial

terms and there is no doubt that money plays a big role in soccer. This ethic provides an alternative to the often-combative relationship between SGs and their clubs and shifts the focus from money to relationships. When the two groups are focused on being in relationship with each other, it fundamentally alters the dynamics. Clubs who prioritize relationships with their fans have significantly better relationships with their SGs than those who seem to view the fans as an inconvenience necessary to running the business. The ethic makes it easy for relationships to become the focus and can be used by any club and their fans.

Literature Review

Most academic literature on soccer looks at aspects of the game unrelated to the work of this dissertation. From physical therapy and kinesiology to strategy and coaching, academic literature is primarily interested in the game itself in a practical way; that is, it is focused on the concrete aspects of the game. When focus is placed on the social side of soccer—the impact it has on humans—literature generally examines a specific group of people: players, coaches, fans, etcetera. Player and coach auto/biographies are fascinating and give insight into a particular person. For supporters, reading about strategy can be a fascinating experience, but strategic and managerial concerns do little to explain what the fan experience is like.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

This dissertation examines the human side of soccer, focusing on fans and the issues that directly shape and guide their experiences. To that end, material focusing on players, coaches, and other groups has been omitted from the literature review; the literature review looks at how the social sciences, history, philosophy, and similarly

related fields address the human aspect of soccer. The challenge of this focus on fans and framework of the issues is that, outside of the peer-reviewed journal *Soccer & Society*, and occasional articles in field-relevant peer-reviewed journals like *Sociology of Sport*, the majority of literature is aimed at and written for popular audiences.

This dissertation is about soccer fans and many soccer fans read extensively about the sport, their club, or their country's history. This is not, and cannot be, a traditional literature review, as it includes popular titles alongside the academic writing on soccer; the omission of the popular titles would have two consequences, neither of which are either desirable nor useful. First, such an omission would severely limit my ability to discuss soccer fans and their world; outside of journal articles there are only a handful of academic volumes on these topics. Second, it would eliminate a crucial part of the fan experience. In a dissertation about soccer fans, the literature read by soccer fans is of particular relevance and importance; several of the books included in the literature review are and have been widely read by fans and non-fans alike. The most comprehensive global history of soccer is a brilliantly written, 1,000-page tome by university lecturer and journalist David Goldblatt; it is published by Riverhead Books, a popular imprint of Penguin Random House.⁵¹ It is the result of both tremendous research and a deep love of the sport; in this dissertation, such a love of the game is important.

Several of the theoreticians utilized in this dissertation were/are soccer lovers: Jean-Paul Sartre was a die-hard Paris Saint Germain fan. Simon Critchley literally wrote

⁵¹ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*.

the book on soccer and philosophy.⁵² Martin Heidegger “was a football fan, with a deep respect for the leadership abilities of ‘Kaiser’ Franz Beckenbauer and had a TV hidden in his office so he could watch games.”⁵³ It is the love of the game that makes their work so important and rich; writing as fans and supporters means they are writing from within that which they describe. Nick Hornby was not joking about arranging his life around Arsenal’s fixture list; he really does.⁵⁴ It is precisely because he knows that he is not alone that gives his reflections a depth that someone merely observing a phenomenon in soccer would not bring to their writing. To the extent that it is possible, the theorists, journalists, and authors utilized in this dissertation are soccer fans. Soccer fans, especially supporters, actually experience the phenomena about which they write; economists who are supporters experience firsthand the impact capitalism has on the game. The author of this dissertation is, first and foremost, a religious supporter.⁵⁵

Spectators, fans, and supporters exist in different contexts and those contexts are important.⁵⁶ Thus, the second inclusion criterion was literature examining the factors that

⁵² Simon Critchley, *What We Think About When We Think About Football* (New York: Penguin Books, 2017).

⁵³ Critchley, 132.

⁵⁴ Nick Hornby, *Fever Pitch* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1992), 130.

⁵⁵ For example, while watching the BBC series *Edwardian Farm*, she reacted as if a rock star had stepped into her living room when David Goldblatt, mentioned above, appeared in the sixth episode to talk about Edwardian football, complete with match reenactment.

Internet Movie Database, “Edwardian Farm Season 1, Episode 6,” *IMDB*, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2254495/?ref_=ttep_ep6 (last accessed March 23, 2021).

⁵⁶ Omitted from this dissertation are most sources that address international competition and/or the World Cup. While most authors deal with the World Cup in some manner, given its prominence over all other soccer events, some writers choose to focus solely on the World Cup and/or international competition. As examples of World Cup literature, in *The World Is a Ball: The Joy, Madness, and Meaning of Soccer*, John Doyle chronicles his experiences at World Cups around the world. A television critic by

shape fan experience. This portion of the academic literature comes largely from the social sciences; sociology and economics in particular are widely represented in both academic and popular writing. Each team has its own history, many of which already exist in published form.⁵⁷ Some books focus on a particular time period, usually during a

trade, his November 15, 2001, column prompted his supervisors at *Globe and Mail* to ask him if he would cover the 2002 World Cup, hosted by Japan and South Korea.

“I am pathologically incapable of writing the traditional report on a game—the score, the comments from the managers, coaches, and players afterwards, the attendance in the stadium. . . . I write about the travel, the game, the atmosphere, and all the attendant meanings that are tethered to the game.”

Doyle is keenly aware that a match is about more than just the numbers, saying, “I take the view that most international soccer games serve as a metaphor for something else, and all international soccer games are special occasions.” He chronicles three World Cups and two European Championships, combing his own experiences with those of other fans, participant observation, and examining the meaning making that happens at large international competitions. For more, see: John Doyle, *The World Is a Ball: The Joy, Madness, and Meaning of Soccer* (New York: Rosalie Inc., 2010), v–vii.

George Vecsey, longtime sportswriter for the *New York Times*, was “honored in 2013 by the National Soccer Hall of Fame for his contributions as one of the first columnists at a major US newspaper to cover the sport.” Part history, part ethnography, Vecsey’s work traces from the 1962 World Cup in Spain through the end of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa as he gives context to what attending a World Cup is like and why it has such a tremendous impact on fans. Relying on his own memory, “backed up by the files of the *New York Times*,” Vecsey’s inviting writing style provides readers an insight in the experience of attending a World Cup.

For more, see: George Vecsey, *Eight World Cups: My Journey through the Beauty and Dark Side of Soccer* (New York: Times Books, 2014), author biography and 257.

⁵⁷ Verlag die Werkstatt, a German publishing house, offers books covering the history of every current Bundesliga team and many of Germany’s second and third division sides. For teams with a more storied history, like FC Bayern Munich, there are multiple volumes available about the club; the majority of the volumes written about clubs in Europe and around the world are only available in the language of the country in which they are based. Examples from their catalogue include:

Norbert Carsten, *Altona 93. 125 Jahre Ligafußball* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2018).

Heiner Gillmeister, *Fußball im Kölner Land: Die Geschichte des FC Brühl* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2012).

Markus Hesselmann and Michael Rosentritt, *Hansa Rostock: Der Osten lebt* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1999).

Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: Die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2007).

There are some exceptions to this, including a Spanish/Catalan volume available in English on German club St. Pauli. See: Carles Viñas and Natxo Parra, *St. Pauli: Another Football Is Possible*, trans. Luke Stobart (London: Plato Press, 2020).

Every English Premiere League team has at least one book written about it, and there are many histories available of smaller clubs; the popularity of the team, even on a very local scale, often dictates the accessibility of those works. Examples include:

crisis.⁵⁸ Soccer is impacted by world events—from wars⁵⁹ to pandemics⁶⁰—and soccer is a lens through which to view societal issues as they present themselves on and off the pitch. Topics included in this section of the literature review are politics, economics, and social issues (racism, sexism, and homophobia).

Writing about German Football

There is a large body of literature concerning German football. While some academic works touch on German soccer, the vast majority of the literature available is written for popular audiences.⁶¹ Club histories tell the stories of each club,⁶² while biographies of players and managers tell the stories of individuals.⁶³ The sheer volume of books available about German soccer, reflects that there is an appetite within Germany

Rick Glanvill, *Chelsea FC: The Official Biography* (Terra Alta, WV: Headline Books, 2006).

Steve G. Mandis, *The Real Madrid Way: How Values Created the Most Successful Sports Team on the Planet* (Dallas, TX: BenBella Books, 2016).

⁵⁸ See: Simon Kuper, *Ajax, the Dutch, and the War: The Strange Tale of Soccer During Europe's Darkest Hour* (London: Orion Books, 2011).

Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Der FC Bayern und seine Juden: Aufstieg und Zerschlagung Weiner literalness Fußballkultur* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2014).

⁵⁹ During both World Wars, normal soccer operations were disrupted, paused, and/or impacted by things like mandatory military service.

⁶⁰ The 2019–20 European seasons and the 2020 American soccer season were unlike any before them. Soccer across the continent stopped abruptly, with players and fans alike stuck at home; even after its resumption, players faced match after match without fans, without the energy of a home crowd that could push them to excel.

⁶¹ Consequently, to speak about the body of literature on German soccer available to scholars, popular titles must necessarily be included; if they were excluded, this section would not be possible.

⁶² See footnote 86 for titles.

⁶³ See, among others: Thomas Bertram, *Ernst Kuzorra: Der Größte aller Schalker* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2021).

Malte Oberschelp, *Der Fußball-Lehrer: Wie Konrad Koch im Kaiserreich den Ball ins Spiel brachte* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2010).

Reimar Paul, *Pizarro: Die Biografie* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2019).

for the stories of the game, its players, and its personalities. Two major German publishing houses, Verlag die Werkstatt and Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf Verlag, publish the vast majority of the books available on German soccer. One of the interesting current trends in writing about German football is the focus on the role that Jewish players and managers have played in the history of German soccer; given the role that Holocaust education currently plays in Germany; it is unsurprising to see a German publisher highlight the contributions of Jewish folk contributions to German soccer.⁶⁴ There are also a number of volumes that examine particular fan cultures.⁶⁵

Of greatest relevance to this project are the books about FC Bayern Munich. Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling's *Die Bayern: Die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters* chronicles the history of the club beginning with its founding in 1901 and ending in 2009, when the the second edition was published. "FC Bayern is Germany's most popular and successful football club."⁶⁶ Bayern's dominance in Germany is unquestioned and,

⁶⁴ In addition to those already named, see: Arthur Heinrich, *Als Jude im deutschen Fußball: Die drei Leben des Martin Abraham Stock* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2014).

Lorenz Pieffer and Moshe Zimmerman, *Emanuel Schaffer: Zwischen Fußball und Geschichtspolitik—eine jüdische Trainerkarriere* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2021).

Werner Skrentny, *Julius Hirsch. Nationalspieler Ermordet: Biografie eines jüdischen Fußballers* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2016).

Henry Wahlig and Lorenz Pieffer, *Jüdische Fußballvereine im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland: Eine Spurensuche* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2015).

⁶⁵ Writing about German fans will be addressed later in this chapter. See, among others: Christoph Leischwitz, *Mia san die Bayern!: Die Geschichte der rot-weiß Fankultur* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2021).

⁶⁶ Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: Die Geschichte Des Rekordmeisters* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2009), 9. Original text: "Der FC Bayern ist Deutschlands populärster un erfolgreichster Fußballklub."

something of which the team and its fans are justifiably proud.⁶⁷ The prologue of this book, in a fitting nod to the arrogance that Bayern and its fans often display, includes the following two quotes, both from former club presidents:

We have only ever done what we thought we could finance.⁶⁸

We never played other teams' style of football.⁶⁹ FC Bayern has a rather understated⁷⁰ image, we often only win 1-0. Take Kaiserslautern, on the other hand: there it is fight, fight, fight, the opponent is constricted in his half, then the flanks come left and right, and they throw themselves in at the front. It's hard to change this style as a coach. Every away game Bayern Munich has played has been sold out for 25 years. People want to see us lose.⁷¹

⁶⁷ In most years, the expectation is that Bayern will win the league and the German cup (DFB Pokal) every year. In 2021, FC Bayern won their ninth straight Bundesliga title, but they lost in the second round of the DFB Pokal to Kiel, a team from the 2. Bundesliga, and failed to advance past the quarterfinals of the UEFA Champions League; as a result, the season was considered a partial failure, particularly because their 2020 season was so successful. In 2020, Bayer won the Bundesliga, the DFB Pokal, the Champions League, the FIFA Club World Cup, and the German SuperCup; it was their second treble (league, cup, Champions League) in seven years.

⁶⁸ Ulrich "Uli" Hoeneß was appointed Bayern's general manager (president) in 1979 upon the conclusion of his career as a player. He served in that role until 2009, when he stepped away. He was re-elected to the post in 2016 and retired in 2019, after working for the club as a player and staff member for forty-nine years. In 2021, when this dissertation was finished, Hoeneß was serving as a member of Bayern's Board of Directors.

Uli Hoeneß, quoted in Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern*, 8. Original text: "Wir haben uns immer nur das geleistet, was wir glaubten, finanzieren zu können."

⁶⁹ The German expression, *Hurra-Fußball*, has no direct equivalent in English. It is an expression that refers to a particular style of play, one that is exemplified in the sentence that follows it. Thus, it is rendered as "style of football" instead of "hooray football", which would be the literal translation.

⁷⁰ The literal translation of the German *unterkühltes* is "undercooled"; the equivalent English expression is "understated."

⁷¹ Also a former Bayern player, Karl-Heinz Rummenigge joined FC Bayern as a Vice President alongside German and Bayern legend Franz Beckenbauer in 1991. After serving in that role for over two decades, he then served as CEO of Bayern's official corporation (the business as a whole, not just the club) from 2002 until July 1, 2021, when former German international and Bayern player Oliver Kahn assumed the job. Rummenigge has also been highly involved with European football, serving as president of the European Club Association between 2008 and 2019; the ECA represents European club teams in dealings with UEFA and other international competitions.

Karl-Heinz Rummenigge, quoted in Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern*, 8. Original text: Wir haben nie den Hurra-Fußball anderer Mannschaften gespielt. Der FC Bayern hat ein eher unterkühltes Image, oft gewinnen wir nur 1:0. Nehmen Sie dagegen Kaiserslautern: Dort heißt es kämpfen, kämpfen, kämpfen, der Gegner wird in seiner Hälfte eingeschnürt, dann kommen die Flanken links und rechts, und vorne schmeißen sie sich rein. Diesen Stil

Of particular interest to this dissertation is the period 1933-45, during which Bayern was the only German club to resist the Nazis and the Nazification of their club.⁷² In addition to the chapter in *Die Bayern*, there are two volumes that provide insight into how Bayern was able to accomplish their resistance and the reasons behind it; the first is a biography of former club president Kurt Landauer and the other focuses on Bayern's history as a Jewish club. Landauer, who was himself Jewish, led Bayern to their first national championship as its president in 1932, shortly before the April 1933 order that all Jews were to be removed from sporting clubs. Dirk Kämpfer's biography of Landauer details his life and his contributions to not only to soccer, but also to his country.⁷³ Landauer's legacy is still very much a part of the FC Bayern of today; he created the basis for the youth training academy system now used throughout Germany and the record of winning that he started continues. Schulze-Marmeling's stand-alone work, *Der FC Bayern, seine Juden und die Nazis*, expands on his previous exploration of this time period found in *Die Bayern*; in addition to focusing more on the club's Jewish origins, the book provides additional details about some of the specific acts of resistance.⁷⁴

kann man als Trainer nur schwer verändern. Seit 25 Jahren ist jedes Auswärtsspiel von Bayern München ausverkauft. Man will uns verlieren sehen.

⁷² The full case study on Bayern's actions during this time is located in the third section of chapter 5, in the discussion of the trickster ethos.

⁷³ Landauer, like most German men of his generation, served in World War I. Dirk Kämpfer, *Kurt Landauer: Der Mann, Der den FC Bayern erfand* (Zurich: Orell Füssli Verlag, 2014).

⁷⁴ Examples of this are contained within the case study in chapter 5. Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Der FC Bayern, seine Juden und die Nazis* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2017).

Writing about American Soccer

As the popularity of soccer continues to grow in the United States, the body of literature addressing soccer in the United States grows. The relative lack of literature compared to English and/or German soccer is partly due to soccer's seemingly relative popularity to other sports, like baseball or gridiron football, partly due to soccer's relative youth as a professional sport in the United States, and partly due to the appetite of readers when it comes to soccer. The first prominent book in the field was a (primarily) economic comparison of soccer and baseball. As economist Stefan Szymanski and journalist Andrew Zimbalist explain, "The current period is often referred to as the era of globalization. Commerce and capital are spreading around the globe," and thus, they directly connect soccer and baseball: "One consequence of the globalization of U.S. capital is that the same individuals (and companies) who invested in U.S. are beginning to invest in European soccer."⁷⁵ Media mogul Rupert Murdoch began purchasing television rights for foreign soccer to join his baseball television rights. Murdoch's baseball money was followed by gridiron football money. Malcolm Glazer (and his family) purchased Manchester United in 2005 (in addition to owning the Tampa Bay Buccaneers), and billionaire E. Stanley Kroenke now owns Arsenal FC (in addition to the Los Angeles Rams, the Colorado Rapids, and the Denver Nuggets).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zimbalist, *National Pastime: How Americans Play Baseball and the Rest of the World Plays Soccer* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), x–xi.

⁷⁶ Tariq Panja, "U.S. Billionaire Gets Full Control of Arsenal, Buying Out Russian Rival," the *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/07/sports/soccer/arsenal-alisher-usmanov-Stan-kroenke.html> (last accessed July 17, 2019).

There are two books that cover the history and development of soccer in the United States, both written by journalist David Wangerin.⁷⁷ Wangerin's death in 2012 silenced one of the most important sources of American soccer history. When Wangerin set out to write *Soccer in a Football World*, there was very little written about soccer in the United States, and thus he spent time at the Soccer Hall of Fame and in the archives to unearth how soccer became what it is in the United States. His second book, *Distant Corners*, digs even deeper into the unique manner in which soccer developed in the United States. From its first days as an immigrant game in enclaves around the country to the 1950 World Cup, from NASL's original creation to MLS's dominance in professional soccer, Wangerin's work provides the story of football in the United States.

While both of Wangerin's books touch on MLS, it is Beau Dure who wrote the book on MLS. In *Long Range Goals*, Dure starts from the beginning of MLS's first conception as a professional league—tied into the United States hosting the 1994 World Cup—and then traces the trajectory of MLS over its first ten years as a league. He addresses the contraction of the league in 2001, when two teams ceased operations, and the beginning of the expansion started in 2005. From financial crisis to financial stability, Dure's assessments of the first ten years of the league make it clear that soccer is here to

⁷⁷ David Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World: The Story of American's Forgotten Game* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

David Wangerin, *Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

stay in the United States and that MLS has true staying power.⁷⁸ There are also a growing number of team-specific and location-specific works on soccer in the United States.⁷⁹

Supporters's/Fan Culture in Germany

German supporters' culture has a longer history than that of the United States, largely because organized, professional German soccer predates the American versions of the same. "Football fans have been around in Germany for about a century. From their role as a small minority they have worked their way into the social mainstream: nowadays almost everyone in Germany feels like a fan of a team."⁸⁰ Each club has its

⁷⁸ Additional works on soccer in the United States and MLS:

Bruce Arena, *What's Wrong with US?: A Coach's Blunt Take on the State of American Soccer After a Lifetime on the Touchline* (New York: Harper, 2018).

Chris Boulson and George Kioussis, eds, *Soccer Frontiers: The Global Game in the United States, 1863–1913* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2021).

Brian D. Bunk, *From Football to Soccer: The Early History of the Beautiful Game in the United States* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2021).

Aidan Chapman, *American Football: The Future of Soccer in the United States* (Potomac, MD: New Degree Press, 2020).

Gary Hopkins, *Star-Spangled Soccer* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Caitlin Murray, *The National Team: The Inside Story of the Women Who Changed Soccer* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2019).

Dennis J. Seese, *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015).

Grant Wahl, *The Beckham Experiment: How the World's Most Famous Athlete Tried to Conquer America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2010).

⁷⁹ See, among others:

Mike Gastineau, *Sounders FC: Authentic Masterpiece: The Inside Story of the Best Franchise Launch in American Sports History* (Self Published, 2013).

Thomas Hatfield, *The History of Soccer in Greater Cleveland from 1906 until 1981* (Parker, CO: Outskirts Press, 2014).

Gabe Logan, *The Early Years of Chicago Soccer 1887–1939* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019).

Michael Orr, *The 1975 Portland Timbers: The Birth of Soccer City* (Gloucestershire, UK: The History Press, 2012).

Gary Singh, *The San Jose Earthquakes: A Seismic Soccer Legacy* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015).

⁸⁰ Martin Thein, ed., *Fußball, deine Fans: Ein Jahrhundert deutsche Fankultur* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2013), back cover.

own culture and German fans are passionate about their clubs and *Die Mannschaft*.⁸¹ Martin Thein's edited volume on the first one hundred years of German soccer culture addresses the ways in which German soccer culture has evolved since the start of the twentieth century, presenting German soccer "in all its wonderful and its less beautiful facets,"⁸² while Grüne's edited volume examines specifically fan culture in the Bundesliga.⁸³ Martin Winands examines soccer supporters and their interactions with each other, soccer, and the world around them.⁸⁴ Udo Merkel writes about different aspects of German soccer culture, including the impact of the World Cup on fans and the role of football in identity formation.⁸⁵

FC St. Pauli's fan culture is explicitly anti-fascist and outspoken about social issues,⁸⁶ yet that culture is not just created by the fans; St. Pauli the club has the same

⁸¹ *Die Mannschaft* is how German soccer fans refer to their national team; in English, the term means "team."

⁸² Thein, *Fußball*, back cover.

⁸³ *Went Spieltag ist: Fußballfans in der Bundesliga* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2013).

⁸⁴ Martin Winands, *Interaktionen von Fußballfans: Das Spiel am Rande des Spiels* (New York: Springer, 2015).

⁸⁵ See, among others: Udo Merkel, "Football Fans and Clubs in Germany: Conflicts, Crises, and Compromises," *Soccer & Society* 13, no. 3 (2012): DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2012.655505, 359–76.

Udo Merkel, "Football Identity and Youth Culture in Germany," in *Football Cultures and Identities*, eds. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

Udo Merkel, "German Football Culture in the New Millennium: Ethnic Diversity, Flair and Youth on and off the Pitch," in *Soccer & Society* 15, no. 2 (2014): DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2013.849189, 241–55.

Udo Merkel, "The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (DFB), 1900–50," in *Soccer & Society* 1, no. 2 (2000): DOI: 10.1080/14660970008721270, 167–86.

Udo Merkel, "Milestones in the Development of Football Fandom in Germany: Global Impacts on Local Contests," in *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 2/3 (2007): DOI: 10.1080/14660970701224426, 221–39.

⁸⁶ For more about St Pauli, see: Nick Davidson, *Pirates, Punks & Politics: FC St. Pauli: Falling in Love with a Radical Football Club* (London: Sports Books, 2014).

Mick Totten, "Sport Activism and Political Praxis within the FC Sankt Pauli Fan Subculture," in *Soccer & Society* 16, no. 4 (2015): DOI: 10.0180/14660970.2014.882828, 453–68.

Carlos Viñas and Natxo Parra, *FC St. Pauli: Otro Fútbol es Posible* (Madrid: Capitán Swing Libros, 2018).

values, which uses them as a set of guiding principles by which they run the club.⁸⁷ While there are some works that address the role of hooligans/ultras in Germany,⁸⁸ there is a larger emphasis placed on regular fans in the literature.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ FC St. Pauli, in its **totality of members, employees, supporters, and volunteers**, is part of the local community and as such is affected directly and indirectly by societal changes in the political, cultural, and social spheres. FC St. Pauli accepts this **social responsibility** and promotes the interests of its members, employees, supporters, and volunteers beyond the sphere of sport. FC St. Pauli is a **club rooted in a city district**. It owes its identity to this and has a social and political responsibility towards the district and the people who live there. FC St. Pauli conveys a **way of life** and is a symbol of sporting authenticity. This allows people to **identify with the club** independently of any success it may achieve on the pitch. Salient features of this identification opportunity are to be nurtured and protected. **Tolerance and respect in our mutual interactions** are important pillars of the St. Pauli philosophy. While FC St. Pauli consists of **many sections** today, it has been **defined by football, both internally and externally**, from the outset. In addition to the general statutory provisions, the **Stadium Regulations** and **Code of Conduct for Fanladen Away Travel** form the basis on which members, employees, supporters, and volunteers of FC St. Pauli conduct themselves. Individuals and groups should subject their present and future conduct to constant self-critical evaluation and be conscious of their **responsibility** for others. Adults should not forget that they are role models, especially for children and young people. There are **no ‘better’ or ‘worse’ fans**. Everyone can give expression to their fandom as they see fit, provided their behaviour does not conflict with the above provisions. FC St. Pauli will continue to be a **good host**. The club grants its guests far-reaching rights and expects this to be honoured accordingly. The active **fan base** (i.e. primarily those actively involved on matchday) are the foundation for the emotionalisation of football, which in turn constitutes the basis for the marketability of FC St. Pauli. **Sponsors and commercial partners** of FC St. Pauli and its products should be in accord with the social and political responsibility of the club. The detail is governed by the club’s marketing guidelines [*Vermarktungsrichtlinien*]. FC St. Pauli shall lobby the respective governing bodies for the **early scheduling of fixtures** and **supporter-friendly kick-off times**. The **most important part of sport** is the **game played by the teams**, so this should be the focus. The atmosphere is driven by the interaction of fans and players. The support programme should be characterised by matter-of-factness and the delivery of information relating to the club and the district. The **sale of goods and services at FC St. Pauli** is driven not only by commercial considerations but also by the principles of **social compatibility, diversified offering, sustainability, and ecology**. Potential means of payment must be supportable-compatible. In the event of a product shortage, season-ticket holders and members shall have priority. *St. Pauli, November 2009*.

“Guiding Principles.” FC St. Pauli (2009), <https://www.fcstpauli.com/en/club/guiding-principles/> (last accessed May 6, 2021).

⁸⁸ See, among others: Robert Claus, *Hooligans: Eine Welt zwischen Fußball, Gewalt und Politik* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2020).

Gabriele Kett-Straub, “Hooliganismus in Deutschland: Phänomenologie, Abgrenzung zu den ‘Ultras,’ Dritortauseinandersetzung, Erklärungsansätze und Prävention,” in *Neue Kriminalpolitik* 24, no. 3 (2012): <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43263070>, 98–106.

As FC Bayern is the subject of a case study in this dissertation, special attention was paid to the only full-length work that discusses Bayern's supporter culture in detail. In his volume about the fandom and its culture, Christoph Leischwitz begins where he thinks it started.

The first fan of FC Bayern Munich was probably a young man, 14, maybe 15 years old. On an autumn evening in 1902 he was probably standing next to the soccer field on Clemenstraße and watching the first football plays.⁹⁰ Football fit in very well here, in Schwabing⁹¹ at that time, with its new buildings between old farmhouses, with its optimistic mood and the many original characters, including many newcomers,⁹² who cavorted in the academies during the day and in the pubs at night.⁹³

Regardless of his accuracy on that point, the volume makes it clear that Bayern's fan culture has always been its own. From the use of the Bavarian "Mia san mia"⁹⁴ as its motto to its annual Oktoberfest celebrations, Bayern's culture reflects its physical

⁸⁹ In Germany there is little trouble caused by ultras, thus there is less focus on the exception (ultras) and more on the rule (average fan). For more on German fans, see: Dominik Schreyer, "Football Spectator No-Show Behaviour in the German Bundesliga," in *Applied Economics* 51, no. 45 (2019): DOI: 10.1080/00036846.2019.1602709, 4882-4901.

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⁹¹ Schwabing is the district of Munich that is home to FC Bayern.

⁹² The last sentence in the passage uses the Bavarian word *Zuagroaste*, which is the equivalent of the German *Zugezogenen*. Dr. Jennifer Shore of the University of Mannheim assisted with the translation of this term.

⁹³ Christoph Leischwitz, *Mia San die Bayern!: Die Geschichte Der Rot-Weissen Fankultur* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2021), 8. Original text:

Der erster fan des FC Bayern Munich dürfte ein junger Steppke gewesen sein, 14, vielleicht 15 Jahre alt. Wahrscheinlich stand er an einem Herbstabend Jahres 1902 neben dem Fußballplatz an der Clemenstraße und sah der Ersten beim Kicken zu. Fußball passte sehr gut hierher, in das Schwabing dieser Zeit, mit seinen Neubauten zwischen alten Bauernhäusern, mit seiner Aufbruchsstimmung und den vielen originellen Gestalten, darunter viele Zuagroaste, die sich tagsüber in den Akademien und nachts in den Kneipen tummelten.

⁹⁴ The title of this dissertation takes its name from Bayern's motto. In English, "Mia san mia" means "We are who we are."

location, but it is not restricted by or to it. Chapter 13, “We are Bayern”⁹⁵ examines the global nature of Bayern’s fan base, covering everything from fan tattoos⁹⁶ to Bayern fan clubs around the world.⁹⁷ Leischwitz’s main argument throughout the book is that, from the very beginning, fans have loved, embraced, and celebrated the club. Passion for the club is the uniting factor across all of the stories in the book, demonstrating the lengths to which people will go to support their team.

Supporters’/Fan Culture in the United States

Soccer in the United States, because of its differences from the rest of the soccer world, is only now developing true soccer supporter culture. Journalist Phil West’s *The United States of Soccer: MLS and the Rise of American Soccer Fandom* is the only full-length work that examines supporter culture in the United States. West met with supporters and supporters’ groups around the United States and shares their stories, including many of the origin stories for supporters’ groups around the country. Some supporters’ groups existed before teams joined MLS, like the Portland Timber’s Timber Army or the Seattle Sounders’ multiple supporters’ groups, but many were birthed into existence at or after the start of the league. Dallas Beer Guardians (DBG), the FC Dallas supporters’ group examined in a case study later in this dissertation, was founded in 2011, fifteen years after FC Dallas’ opening play in MLS.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Original text: “Mia san die Bayern.” Leischwitz, *Mia san die Bayern*, 186-196.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 188-95.

⁹⁸ DBG, the subject of the case study in chapter 4, is included in West’s work. The author of this dissertation was interviewed by West about DBG for the book and is quoted therein; the author of this dissertation also served as a fact-checker for the final manuscript and is thanked in the acknowledgements.

The growth in soccer supporters' groups across the United States has been spurred on by American Outlaws (AO), the massive nationwide supporters' group for the USWNT and USMNT. Started in 2007 by three soccer fans in Lincoln, Nebraska, AO has chapters in every state and in most major cities; there are also international chapters in communities with large American expatriate populations, including Mexico City.⁹⁹ However, AO's existence has been plagued by problems; the founders were completely unprepared for the popularity and swift spread of the organization. In 2015 journalist Noah Davis wrote an article detailing the sexual harassment that women experienced at AO events, pointing out that if you "spend enough time talking to fans of the United States national team . . . you begin to hear concerns about ugly displays of nationalism, racism, sexism, and other negative aspects that are cropping up at AO events."¹⁰⁰

A 2016 article in the *Guardian* referred to the phenomenon as "frat-boy soccer,"¹⁰¹ a sentiment echoed in Davis's piece, where he asserts that it felt like "the

⁹⁹ The rivalry between the United States and Mexico is fierce. Mexican-Americans are heavily pressured to choose between the two countries; soccer fans of both teams argue that one can cheer for one and only one. Those who refuse to choose between the two countries are often not respected by those who have chosen a side. This is very common in soccer; when a rivalry is involved, those who try to straddle both sides are generally not regarded as true fans because they are not willing to choose a side.

The full list of American Outlaws chapters can be found at:
https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1MGENEwy1pUNfpFrXzdfh91_G100RbUGH&ll=32.555553331631869%2C-104.68381398472548&z=6

¹⁰⁰ Noah Davis, "The Growing Pains of U.S. Soccer's Dominant Supporter's Group," *Fusion*, <https://fusion.tv/story/102600/American-outlaws-us-soccer-supporters-group-growing-pains/> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

¹⁰¹ Gideon Nachman, "Beers, Bandanas, and Boos: the American Outlaws' Grapple with Frat-Boy Soccer," the *Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2016/jun/06/american-outlaws-us-soccer-team-supporters-group> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

heavy-drinking frat boy vibe is winning the battle for the soul of the Outlaws.”¹⁰² After the publication of Davis’s article, AO changed its code of conduct, adding language about it being the responsibility of everyone to intervene if they see harassment or discrimination happening.¹⁰³ As the United States continues to grow more polarized, there are deepening divisions within soccer communities in the same way there are in people’s workplaces and everyday lives.

There is an interesting phenomenon in American soccer culture: the Euro Snob. Euro Snobs are fans who start following European soccer before they followed American soccer, believing the European game to be superior to anything that American soccer fan produce. They only refer to the sport as football, and they regularly disparage MLS and its teams, despite the fact that many of them have never been to an MLS match or indeed even watched one on television. Reformed Euro Snob Nathan Nipper decided to give his local MLS side, FC Dallas, one season to make him into a supporter, and his memoir of how he transitioned from Euro Snob to FC Dallas-die hard is a powerful testament to giving MLS a try.¹⁰⁴ These fans also resemble Kuper’s New Fans: “In the States, being a New Fan is often the mark of being cosmopolitan. Soccer’s advance in the country is an index of how American daily life is globalizing. The two groups of Americans who are

¹⁰² Davis, “The Growing Pains.”

¹⁰³ In 2015, after Davis’s article was published, the author of this dissertation reached out to the national leadership of AO and created a proposal that included new language for the Code of Conduct. Some of that language was used in the Code of Conduct until additional revisions were made; that language was the first bystander language in the Code of Conduct. The current AO Code of Conduct is available at <https://www.theamericanoutlaws.com/code-of-conduct> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

¹⁰⁴ Nathan Nipper, *Dallas Til I Cry: Learning to Love Major League Soccer* (Dallas, TX: Self-published, 2014).

probably keenest on the game—immigrants and their direct descendants on the one hand, and the highly educated on the other—are precisely the most globalized Americans.”¹⁰⁵

Issues Impacting Soccer Fans

Soccer never happens in a vacuum, and if there is one thing the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated, it is that what happens on the pitch and in the stadium is connected to what is going on in the world. Stadia around the world went silent as teams were forced to enact COVID protocols; even though play resumed, the manner in which many fans interacted with their teams changed. The issues that impact the world are the same issues that soccer wrestles with. The forces of economics and politics are felt just as keenly in the stands as they are on the street. This section examines some of the issues that impact fans, providing additional context for the religion arguments advanced in the following chapter. It begins with economics and politics, before looking at three particular social issues: racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Economics

In professional club soccer, there may be no more basic truth than this: money makes things complicated. Fans care when they are financially impacted by changes, like a rise in ticket prices, but they are not focused on the business side of soccer, which puts them into conflict with the club, which is, at its core, a business. The reality is that soccer relies on big money. “\$1.5 Billion is awarded in prize money and bonuses every year in the UEFA Champions League” alone; that is in addition to players’ salaries and bonuses

¹⁰⁵ Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, xv.

paid by clubs to their players.¹⁰⁶ “In fact, four of the top [five] competitions with highest prize money are football events (Champions League, FIFA World Cup, Europa League, UEFA Euro[pean Championship]s.” Three of the top ten sports franchises with the highest value worldwide are soccer teams; Real Madrid (#3, \$4.24 billion), Barcelona (#4, \$4.02 billion), and Manchester United (#6, \$3.81 billion) join major American sports teams like the New York Yankees (#2, \$4.6 billion), the New England Patriots (#7, \$3.8 billion), and the Dallas Cowboys (#1, \$5 billion) on the list.¹⁰⁷

A game that requires so little to play has been radically changed by the big money that is now required to sign players, operate teams, and maintain infrastructure. There is a growing trend in soccer, where wealthy individuals and groups of investors are purchasing teams and pouring money into their clubs. The transfer of top players comes with a hefty price tag of about €100 million.¹⁰⁸ Manchester City was purchased in 2008 by the Abu Dhabi Group (ADG); ADG pumped a ton of money into the team, signing big name players and upgrading facilities, including a £220 million training facility.¹⁰⁹ The economics of soccer impact fans regularly. For a sport that is fundamentally socialist at

¹⁰⁶ Corban Goble, “Champions League Way Bigger than the Super Bowl,” One37pm, <https://www.one37pm.com/strength/sports/champions-league-soccer-super-bowl> (last accessed May 4, 2020).

¹⁰⁷ Yusuf Khan, “These Are the 10 Most Valuable Sports Franchises in the World in 2019,” *Business Insider*, <https://markets.businessinsider.com/news/stocks/10-most-valuable-sports-franchises-2019-forbes-2019-7-1028380114#1-dallas-cowboys-5-billion11> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

¹⁰⁸ The ten most expensive transfers in soccer have all happened within the last five years. They range from Virgil van Dijk’s \$101.3 million acquisition by Liverpool to Neymar Jr.’s \$262 million transfer to Paris Saint-Germain in 2017 “The Top 10 Most Expensive Football Transfers,” *DW*, <https://www.dw.com/en/the-top-10-most-expensive-football-transfers/g-41958100> (last accessed May 1, 2020).

¹⁰⁹ “Manchester City’s £220 Million Training Complex Officially Opens,” *BBC*, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/football/30376774> (last accessed April 5, 2021).

its core, the impact of capitalism on soccer cannot be underestimated; at the professional level, it has changed everything.

The economics of soccer are complicated. There is money spent at every level of the formal game, even if it is only a recreational league.¹¹⁰ The higher the level of competition, the more complicated the finances become. Player contracts vary by country and by performance at one's position and by reputation; the wealthier the country, the better a player, and name recognition all add complicating details to discussing the economics of soccer. The cost of running a team is significant, and many clubs struggle to stay in the black financially.¹¹¹ Fans rejoice when big name players are signed and grumble when their ticket prices are raised.¹¹²

Without a doubt, one of the most popular and widely read books on soccer is *Soccernomics*; in it, journalist Simon Kuper and economist Stefan Szymanski examine the changing demographics in soccer through an economic lens. It explains why, despite the desperate desire on the part of English fans to win another World Cup (with some

¹¹⁰ Formal in this context means anything that goes beyond pickup soccer.

¹¹¹ Many smaller clubs are financially supported by the bigger clubs in their country. The Allianz Arena in Munich was a joint venture between FC Bayern Munich and TSV 1860 Munich. Fans of both teams were livid when it was announced because, at the time, 1860 Munich was also competing in the Bundesliga; the crosstown rivalry was fierce. In 2004 TSV 1860 was relegated to the 2. Bundesliga, the second-tier German league. By the time the arena opened in May 2005, TSV 1860 Munich's finances were in free fall. In order to provide solvency to TSV 1860 Munich, FC Bayern bought out TSV 1860's share of the Allianz Arena in 2006; the DFB's concerns were assuaged and TSV 1860 Munich competed in the 2. Bundesliga until 2017, when they were relegated to the 3. Liga.

Reuters, "Bayern Help Out TSV 1860," *Eurosport*, https://www.eurosport.com/football/worldcup/2006/bayern-help-out-tsv-1860_sto875199/story.shtml (last accessed April 5, 2021).

¹¹² The tension between clubs and their supporters is addressed at length later in this dissertation, but it bears mentioning here money is often at the heart of those tensions. For an example of the conflict between supporters and their clubs, see: Benjamin Hofmann, *Kapital oder Kurve?: Der VfB Stuttgart am Scheideweg* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2021).

thinking it is their destiny), England does not win and other countries do. Their analysis as to why England loses is detailed, tracing the changes in England's economy, the demographic shifts the country has seen over the years, the influx of foreign players leading to a decrease of English players playing for English teams, and how a small nation like England will never have the number of players to choose from than nations with much larger populations.

Politics

Soccer has always been explicitly political, and there are a significant number of books and journal articles that address the intersection of politics and soccer. Some of these intersections are obvious and clear; soccer in Israel and Palestine demonstrates that ongoing conflict.¹¹³ Others are less obvious; the political nature of fan attire in Zimbabwe is not something that many around the world would see without someone pointing it out to them.¹¹⁴ Soccer has long been used as a political tool by fans and by political powers. Most academic literature examines the intersection of soccer and politics in particular places.

¹¹³ See, among others:

Nicholas Blinco, *More Noble than War: A Soccer History of Israel-Palestine* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2019).

Haggai Harif and Yair Galileo, "Sport and Politics in Palestine 1918–48: Football as a Mirror Reflecting Relations between Jews and Britons," *Soccer & Society* 4, no. 1: <https://www.tandfonline.com/DOI/abs/10.1080/14660970.2012.640505> (last accessed July 25, 2019).

Magid Shihade, *Not Just a Soccer Game: Colonialism & Conflict among Palestinians in Israel* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011).

Tamil Sorek, *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: The Integrative Enclave* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Geoffrey Whitfield, *Amity in the Middle East: How the World Sports Peace Project and the Passion for Football Brought Together Arab and Jewish Youngsters* (Orlando, FL: The Alpha Press, 2006).

¹¹⁴ Praise Zenega, "Visualising Politics in African Sport: Political and Cultural Constructions in Zimbabwean Soccer," *Soccer & Society* 13, no. 2: <https://www.tandfonline.com/DOI/full/10.1080/14660970.2012.640505> (last accessed July 25, 2019).

In post-apartheid South Africa, many of the Black leaders learned administrative skills running a soccer league on Robben Island;¹¹⁵ the confluence of soccer, race, and politics in South Africa is addressed by Michigan State professor of history Peter Alegi in *Laduma!: Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010*.¹¹⁶ In the months leading up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa—the first World Cup hosted by an African nation—*Soccer & Society* published two issues focused on soccer in South Africa.¹¹⁷

South Africa is just one example of many outside of Germany and the United States that demonstrates the interconnected nature of politics and soccer. Journalist Simon Kuper examines how soccer and politics have collided in places like the former Soviet Union, Spain, Argentina, and South Africa. In Spain, the rivalry between FC Barcelona (also known as Barça) and Real Madrid is not because of soccer; it is about intense identity and political divides. Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia. “The Catalans feel Catalan first and Spanish second, and to prove it they have long fought wars and

¹¹⁵ Professor emeritus of history Chuck Korr (University of Missouri–St. Louis) was joined by screenwriter Marvin Close for a popular volume that tells the story of soccer on Robben Island.

Chuck Korr and Marvin Close, *More than Just a Game: Soccer vs. Apartheid: The Most Important Story Ever Told* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Peter Alegi, *Laduma!: Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa, from its Origins to 2010* (Durban, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010).

Additional works on South Africa include:
Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, *Africa’s World Cup: Critical Reflections on Play, Patriotism, Spectatorship, and Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

Tendari Chari and Nhamo Mhiripiri, eds, *African Football, Identity Politics and Global Media Narratives: The Legacy of the FIFA 2010 World Cup* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014).

Nicol Hammond, “The Disharmonious Honking of the Vuvuzelas: Homogenization and Difference in the Production and Promotion of the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa,” *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 1 (2011): <https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2011.530466>, 46–55.

¹¹⁷ *Soccer & Society* 11, nos. 1–2 (2010).

made revolts against Madrid.”¹¹⁸ What is fascinating, though, is that FC Barcelona “is a hundred times more famous than Catalonia itself, and is the main source of Catalan pride.”¹¹⁹ Even those who care little for soccer are proud of the club: “I asked a Catalan woman bored by soccer, do you care about Barça beating Real Madrid? She replied: ‘Franco destroyed our autonomy and forbade our language, and he supported Real Madrid.’”¹²⁰ Franco’s hatred of FC Barcelona was tied to his desire to control Catalonia: “when Real visited Barcelona during his reign there were always banned Catalan flags in the Nou Camp.”¹²¹ Kuper makes an important point: “It is natural when a region is silenced it turns to soccer. Yet Franco is long dead and *Barça* remains the symbol of Catalonia.”¹²²

Kuper’s travels as a journalist enabled him to talk about soccer and politics around the world, which led him to this key insight:

Wherever I went I was told, “Soccer and politics! You’ve come to the right place here.” Soccer turn out to matter rather more than I had thought. I found a soccer club that exports nuclear materials and gold, and another that is setting up its own university. Mussolini and Franco understood the game’s significance, and so do Silvio Berlusconi, Nelson Mandela, and President Paul Biya of Cameroon. Because of soccer, Nikolai Starostin was sent to the Soviet gulags, but it was soccer that saved his life there.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, 103.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹²¹ Nou Camp, or Camp Nou, is Barcelona’s home stadium. *Ibid.*, 103–4.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 104. (Emphasis in original.)

¹²³ Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, 3.

Returning to the first framing lens, soccer is never just soccer. It conceals and reveals political/social/religious divides,¹²⁴ serves as a proxy for conflict,¹²⁵ and provides comfort in conflict.¹²⁶ Soccer can be used to distract from political conflicts, and it can center them, but soccer is never entirely just soccer; there is always more going on.

Racism

Through the 2018 World Cup, FIFA's primary response to dealing with racism in football consisted of signage and statements read by the team captains in late rounds of the World Cup. In June 2019 FIFA introduced their new disciplinary policy, which took concrete steps to address racism, homophobia, and other forms of discrimination in the game. While not perfect, the updated disciplinary policy asserts:

The scope, definition, and content of our anti-racism and anti-discrimination vision have been fully aligned with the highest international standards, including the prosecution of any discrimination on account of race, skin colour, ethnic, national, or social origin, gender, disability, sexual

¹²⁴ The Old Firm are the matches between the two Glasgow teams: Celtic and Rangers. Historically, Protestants supported Rangers, while Catholics supported Celtic. These divides have become far more blurred in recent years, as the influence of money and increase in international supporters of the two clubs shifted things away from being only about "blood-and-soil" conflicts. For more, see: David Ranc, *Foreign Players and Football Supporters: The Old Firm, Arsenal, and Paris Saint-Germain* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012).

¹²⁵ The infamous one-hundred-hour "Soccer War" between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969 saw armed conflict between the two countries that coincided with their national teams playing in a qualifying match for the following year's World Cup. The war was not about soccer. The conflict was over immigration tensions and land reforms; the armed conflict was mirrored in the rioting that occurred at the soccer match. For more, see: Ryszard Kapuscinski, *The Soccer War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

¹²⁶ On Christmas Day 1914, soldiers on both sides of the conflict emerged from their trenches. They buried their dead, traded gifts with each other, and sang carols. In some places, pickup soccer was played with improvised balls. Three years into what would become a six-year war, the respite from the conflict was needed by all. For more, see: Naina Bajekal, "Silent Night: The Story of the World War I Christmas Truce of 1914," *Time*, <https://time.com/3643889/christmas-truce-1914/> (last accessed April 5, 2021).

orientation, language, religion, political opinion, wealth, birth, or any other status or any other reason.¹²⁷

Importantly, it also addresses “reoffenders involved in racist or discriminatory incidents or if the circumstances of the case require it,” so that “the disciplinary incidents now include the implementation of a prevention plan to foster education on diversity and fight discrimination in football.”¹²⁸ This is important because FIFA, given its global reach, has the opportunity to truly change discrimination around the world.

After former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin murdered George Floyd, protests for racial justice broke out across the United States and around the world, radically changing the approach that professional sports took in regards to player protest.

Sexism

In 2019 current and former players on the USWNT sued US Soccer for gender discrimination across the board: wages, bonus compensation, player development programs, training facilities, etcetera. Despite some signs of hope that US Soccer might reach a settlement with the players after the USWNT won the 2019 World Cup, the case will finally be heard in 2021. After players returned home from the 2019 World Cup, they held massive victory celebrations in New York and Washington, D.C. and visited Congress. Two members of Congress, Senator Joe Manchin and Congresswoman Doris Matsui, “introduce[d] legislation . . . requiring US Soccer to pay the men’s and women’s

¹²⁷ “FIFA Introduces Innovative Approach with Launch of New Disciplinary Code,” FIFA, <https://www.fifa.com/who-we-are/news/fifa-introduces-innovative-approach-with-launch-of-new-disciplinary-code> (last accessed May 4, 2020).

¹²⁸ “FIFA Introduces . . .”

teams equally.”¹²⁹ Had it passed, US Soccer would have had to pay both teams equally or lose the large amount of federal assistance already earmarked for the United States’ hosting duties for the 2026 World Cup. In response, US Soccer hired lobbyists who visited members of Congress and “circulated a presentation that emphasizes the benefits the women’s team players receive, including a guaranteed salary and maternity leave, that players on the men’s team do not.”¹³⁰

In March 2020 some of US Soccer’s planned arguments in the case became public, causing outrage; US Soccer intended to argue that the women are less skilled than the men and thus should be paid differently.¹³¹ A spokesperson for the USWNT said that players were “stunned and disappointed,” while the players’ union for the men’s team called the move “disappointing, but not surprising. If instead of paying lawyers and lobbyists to litigate, arbitrate and lobby against current and former players and just about everyone else in the sport, they instead negotiated in good faith to enter agreements to advance soccer in the US, we would all be in a better place.”¹³² Senator Patty Murray, a cosponsor of the Senate version of the equal pay bill, told *Politico*:

¹²⁹ Theodoric Meye, “U.S. Soccer Hires Lobbyists to Argue Women’s National Team Isn’t Underpaid,” *Politico* (August 7, 2019): <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/08/07/us-soccer-lobbyists-women’s-national-team-not-underpaid-1452331> (last accessed August 8, 2019).

¹³⁰ Meye, “U.S. Soccer Hires Lobbyists.”

¹³¹ The USWNT has won four World Cups; the USMNT has never advanced past round sixteen at a World Cup. If the two teams were to play each other, there is no doubt that the women would be more than up for the challenge of taking on the men’s team. Female fans in particular would love to see that match happen, as there is a world of difference between a multiple-time World Cup winner and a team that has never won a knockout round match at one.

Kim Elsesser, “U.S. Soccer Says Women Don’t Deserve Equal Pay Because They Have Less Skill,” *Forbes* (March 11, 2020): <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kimelsesser/2020/03/11/us-soccer-says-women-dont-deserve-equal-pay-because-they-have-less-skill/#53ae82366bb0> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

¹³² Meye, “U.S. Soccer Hires Lobbyists.”

No matter where she works—on a soccer field, in an office, or in a restaurant—no woman should be paid less than her male colleagues for the same work. I’m going to keep pushing for legislation to close the gender pay gap and I’m going to keep standing with women across the country to hold companies accountable when they try to sweep the problem under the rug.¹³³

In May 2020 a judge dismissed the equal pay portion of the lawsuit, but trial over “unfair treatment in travel, housing and medical support” among other issues is scheduled for summer 2021.

Homophobia

While FIFA has been able to take limited action against racism, it has not yet begun to address homophobia with a federation-wide campaign or in a concerted way. “For individuals a little different from the crowd, professional football can be a cruelly insular world, and while sensitivity does exist in the macho environment of a dressing room, practice pitch and bar, often it is well advised to keep its head down.” The first openly gay professional football player in a top league, Justin Fashanu, committed suicide in part because of prejudice he encountered throughout his life in the world of football.¹³⁴ His death in 1998 demonstrated that, while racism was the issue everyone talked about, homophobia was increasingly becoming an issue that also needed discussion. From Fashanu’s last professional match in 1993 until American player Robbie Rogers came out in 2013, there were no publicly out players in any of the top flight leagues.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Former German international player Thomas Hitzelsperger came out in 2014 after his retirement from the game. He is the highest profile player to come out after retirement.

While playing with Stevenage, and thirteen years after Justin Fashanu had been the first player in England to come out while playing, Robbie Rogers came out on his website in a post entitled “The Next Chapter. . . .” In it, Rogers not only talked about his sexuality, but he also said, “Now is my time to step away. It’s time to discover myself away from football.” Many at the time questioned if his choice to retire was because he did not want to endure the abuse that might be heaped upon him, or if it was truly a choice he made to give himself time to adjust to being out and in the public eye. As Donald McRae pointed out in Rogers’s first in-depth interview after coming out, football “is still loved by so many of us, and mythologized as ‘the beautiful game,’ but football has long been a place where bigotry, greed and ignorance thrive.” Despite the anger and fear Rogers experienced in the early years of his career, his retirement did not last long; in May 2013 the LA Galaxy signed Rogers, making him the first openly gay athlete in a major sport in North America.

There have been advances to combat homophobia in sport. In the United States several players in MLS have participated in the NOH8 Campaign, having their pictures taken as part of a project that began as an opposition to California’s Prop 8 (which prohibited marriage equality in the state) before the election and has grown to focus on the issues of marriage equality and LGBT equality across the country. You Can Play, an organization founded in 2012, is dedicated to eliminating homophobia in the game and ensuring that athletes are judged on ability, not their orientation. Originally working with the National Hockey League and its teams, DC United became part of the You Can Play movement in October 2012, the first non-hockey team to partner with the organization. They were followed by Toronto FC a few months later.

In 2013 both MLS and MLSPU worked with the group, with MLS Commissioner Don Garber saying,

The diversity found in our league has always been a point of pride for me. We are proud to partner with You Can Play to ensure that all our fans and players know that MLS is committed to providing a safe environment where everyone is treated equally, and with dignity and respect.

The head of the players' union added,

Our players strongly believe that, as the world's most popular game, soccer should be open to everyone, regardless of their sexual orientation. We as a Union are committed to expanding our outreach to ensure that all players and fans feel welcome in MLS as we continue to expand our dedicated and diverse fan base.

MLS is doing more to actively combat homophobia than their European counterparts.

While there are exceptions in every league—where individual clubs have policies that fight against homophobia—UEFA and FIFA have not yet truly committed to its eradication from the game. UEFA does fine teams or restrict their fans at a future match, but the occasional penalty does not a systematic response make.

At the 2021 European Championships, the issue of LGBTQ+ equity was at the root of the confrontation between the DFB and UEFA. Bayern's Allianz Arena in Munich was the host venue for Germany's group stage match against Hungary. One of the unique features of the Allianz Arena is that it can be illuminated in a variety of colors; red when Bayern plays, blue when TSV 1860 Munich plays, and white, red, and gold when the German national team plays. The mayor of Munich, Dieter Reiter, requested to have the arena illuminated as a rainbow to demonstrate that Munich stands with the LGBTQ+ community; a recently-passed piece of legislation, celebrated by Hungary's notoriously homophobic prime minister, Viktor Orban, severely restricts the rights of LGBTQ+

individuals in that country. UEFA turned down the request, arguing that UEFA is politically and religiously neutral and thus it would be inappropriate to allow the requested illumination.¹³⁵

The move was quickly decried across Europe, as LGBTQ+ organizations and their allies challenged UEFA's assertion that showing supporting for the LGBTQ+ community is "political."¹³⁶ UEFA's response to a letter sent by groups across Europe was to change the colors of their logo on social media with a statement that contradicted their own rationale.¹³⁷ The Germans, however, were undeterred. Manuel Neuer, captain of the German national team, wore a rainbow captain's armband.¹³⁸ As fans arrived at the

¹³⁵ Simon Evans, "UEFA Prohibits 'Rainbow' Protest at Germany vs. Hungary Game," *Associated Press*, June 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/uefa-turn-down-request-rainbow-lights-munich-2021-06-22/>.

¹³⁶ "UEFA Criticised by LGBT+ Groups Across Europe Over Handling of Homophobia," *SkySports*, June 25, 2021, <https://www.skysports.com/football/news/19692/12339693/uefa-criticised-by-lgbt-groups-across-europe-over-handling-of-homophobia>.

¹³⁷ UEFA's statement in response reads: "Today, UEFA is proud to wear the colors of the rainbow. It is a symbol that embodies our core values, promoting everything that we believe in—a more just and egalitarian society, tolerant of everyone, regardless of their background, belief or gender. Some people have interpreted UEFA's decision to turn down the city of Munich's request to illuminate the Munich stadium in rainbow colours for a EURO 2020 match as 'political'. On the contrary, the request itself was political, linked to the Hungarian football team's presence in the stadium for this evening's match with Germany. **For UEFA, the rainbow is not a political symbol, but a sign of our firm commitment to a more diverse and inclusive society. #EqualGame #EURO2020**" (Emphasis in original.)

"UEFA Respects the Rainbow," *UEFA*, June 23, 2021, https://mobile.twitter.com/UEFA/status/1407652489101557766/photo/1?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1407652489101557766%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.skysports.com%2Ffootball%2Fnews%2F19692%2F12339693%2Fuefa-criticised-by-lgbt-groups-across-europe-over-handling-of-homophobia.

¹³⁸ Neuer is not the only team captain to play during the 2021 European Championships while wearing a rainbow captain's armband; England captain Harry Kane also wore one during the England vs. Germany match in the round of 16 and Belgian captain Eden Hazard wore one in Belgium's round of 16 match, too. It is common during the month of June for soccer teams to use a rainbow armband, as June is LGBTQ+ Pride Month. However, UEFA opened an investigation into Neuer's use of the rainbow armband after he wore it during Germany's first match against France. They closed that investigation quickly, as the backlash from their decision regarding the arena brought it to light.

match, members of Munich’s LGBTQ+ community and human rights organizations handed out hundreds of rainbow flags and German fans wore rainbow clothing. The exterior of the stadium may not have been a rainbow, but the inside was awash with them. A German fan who invaded the pitch during the match carried a rainbow flag.¹³⁹

Transphobia

Professional club soccer is approaching a reckoning on the issue of transgender athletes, as more and more trans individuals fight for their right to play on the team that most closely matches their identity. While the Minnesota State High School League passed trans-inclusive policies in 2014, across the United States in 2021, hundreds of pieces of anti-trans legislation have been introduced, many of them focused around the exclusion of trans girls and women from women’s teams. When trans activist Jazz Jennings was 8, she was forced to play on a boys’ team instead of the girls’ team. She and her family successfully “sued the United States Soccer Federation to adopt a trans-inclusive policy.”¹⁴⁰ Because US Soccer has oversight over MLS and the National Women’s Soccer League (NWSL), their trans-inclusive policies also apply at the professional level. The NWSL, like the WNBA, is a very progressive league that supports its players across a wide variety of social justice issues. As the second-youngest

¹³⁹ “Germany v Hungary: Fans Wear Rainbow Colors at Allianz Arena Before Group F Game,” *BBC*, June 23, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/57589476>.

¹⁴⁰ Carolyn Framke, “How Jazz Jennings Changed the World for Trans Youth Simply by Being Herself,” *Variety*, June 2, 2021, https://variety.com/2021/tv/features/jazz-jennings-i-am-jazz-trans-legislation-1234985248/?fbclid=IwAR1-ZSwKc1eInA9HOVOhu0Zkt1p75k1sf3aqDet0_BybGS3RfVBD-wyfd0.

professional league in the United States, the NWSL has had openly gay players for its entire existence.¹⁴¹

It is unsurprising that two of the three openly trans professional soccer players play for NWSL teams; the third plays in Argentina, a country that is quite progressive on LGBTQ+ issues. In September 2020, Canadian international Quinn¹⁴² came out as trans, becoming the first professional soccer player to do so. They play for the OL Reign, a team in the NWSL, and will be part of Canada's team at the 2021 Olympics in Japan. In December 2020, Mara Gómez became the first trans woman to play in a professional game when she stepped onto the pitch for Club Atlético Villa San Carlos. However, she was forced to wait nearly a year after signing her contract to make her playing debut. Argentina's policies regarding trans individuals are some of the most respectful and progressive in the world, but problematic questions regarding whether or not trans women have a competitive edge over cisgender women forced Gómez to submit to blood tests to prove that her testosterone levels were in the same range as cis women. At that match the opposing team, Club Atlético Lanús, gifted her with one of their jerseys bearing her name and number.

In late June 2021, Kumi Yokoyama, a Japanese international who plays for the Washington Spirit in the NWSL, publicly came out as transgender, making them the third openly trans player in the world. Their bravery was praised, particularly because trans

¹⁴¹ The NWSL was founded on December 12, 2012. The National Women's Hockey League was founded in 2015.

¹⁴² Quinn's public profile only includes their surname and despite some news outlets including their dead name, this dissertation will not do so. "Dead name" refers to a trans person's name prior to their transition and it is a form of violence to refer to people by a name they do not use.

identities are not recognized in Japan; to have their gender properly recognized on official documents, trans individuals must have their reproductive organs removed.¹⁴³ When they made their announcement, they discussed looking forward to transitioning after retiring from the sport. Their club celebrated the news and made sure to include Yokoyama's pronouns (they/them) in the announcement; the team's website has also been updated to use the correct pronouns.

Religion and Sport Literature

There are two primary approaches to writing about religion and sport.¹⁴⁴ The first approach looks at the intersection between religion and sport, while the second looks at sport as religion. The extant body of literature falls primarily in one of these two approaches. As the literature on religion and sport grows, there is room for an approach that pays attention to where sport and religion intersect while also examining how sport can function as a religion. The use of the term functions is key, as few authors are willing to give sport as religion status as a religion; instead, they focus on the functionality of it as a religion, sidestepping acknowledging it as one.

This dissertation breaks from the field in two ways. First, it is the first ethnographic project on religious soccer that includes responses from around the world; previous fan ethnographies are more focused in their work, often representing a single

¹⁴³ "Japanese Soccer Player Yokoyama Comes Out as Transgender," *NPR News*, June 23, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/06/23/1009458160/japanese-soccer-player-yokoyama-comes-out-as-transgender>

¹⁴⁴ The field is called religion and sport precisely because sport is an incredibly broad category under which individual and team sports are gathered; it is broad because it encompasses a huge variety of games, types of play, and organizations. Some of the literature explored in this section addresses sport broadly, while other literature addresses certain sports in particular. This section examines several different sports within it, thus when speaking about the entire field, one refers to sport generally unless one is speaking specifically about a particular sport. This dissertation follows the conventions of the field; it uses the term sport to refer to the broad category, and when specificity is required, it includes the required specificity.

country, a single club, or a single supporters' group. Second, it is the first serious presentation of religious soccer, where the claim of religious supporters is taken seriously and where soccer is discussed as a religion in its own right.

This is not a comprehensive literature review of the field nor is it intended to be; one is not necessary for this project. The literature in this section provides the context for the breaks with the field this dissertation represents. It presents major approaches within the field and examines how scholars have varyingly addressed whether sport can be a religion and, if it can, what kind. It is designed to trace the contours of the field, providing an overview of the literature predating this dissertation.

The Intersection of Sport and Religion

The majority of writing about religion and sport examines the intersection of religious practices/beliefs and sport. Many writers look at sport as a locus of religious practice, while a handful utilize sport as a devotional tool for religious practice and social change. This approach denies sport can be a religion, instead examining how sports are impacted by religion, the experience of players or fans of a certain faith, or where there are multiple religious traditions contested in and out of the sporting space.

The intersection of traditional religious practices and sport is the approach taken by many of the early writers in the field. American Catholic philosopher Michael Novak took that approach in one of the earliest books in the field.¹⁴⁵ He argues that the lasting impact of the Puritans has caused Americans as a whole to discount sport; “the *intelligent*

¹⁴⁵ Michael Novak, *The Joy of Sports: Endzones, Bases, Baskets, Balls, and the Consecration of American Sport* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1994).

thing, the *liberal* thing, the *mature* thing to do is to set sports aside.”¹⁴⁶ Though parts of the book have not aged well, Novak’s work was one of the first to address the intersection of religion and sport and remains a classic of the field.¹⁴⁷ “Since those early days of religion and sport scholarship, there have been many books and articles written that address some aspect of religion and sport.”¹⁴⁸ However, as Afe Adogame points out,

The vast majority of research on sport-religion has come from the USA and focused on a narrow evangelical manifestation of Christianity. There is little, except for Catholic reflection on sport from the Vatican, from mainland Europe and on non-Western understandings of religion and sport.¹⁴⁹

This remains the case, though there is a growing body of literature about the intersection of religion and sport in other regions.¹⁵⁰

Islam

The intersection of Islam and sport is of particular interest to some scholars. Much of the writing examines football, which is unsurprising given it is the world’s most popular sport. There are two major trends within the writing about Islam and sport: the first looks at Islam and sport in Muslim-majority countries,¹⁵¹ and the second looks at

¹⁴⁶ Novak, *The Joy of Sports*, xvii.

¹⁴⁷ Novak’s work was also one of the first to look at the American confluence of religion and sport.

¹⁴⁸ Eric Bain-Selbo and D. Gregory Sapp, *Understanding Sport as a Religious Phenomenon* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), Kindle location 84.

¹⁴⁹ Afe Adogame, “Editorial: Religion and Sport, Past, Present and Future,” *Studies in World Christianity* 21, no. 3 (2015): DOI: 10.3366/swc.2015.0123.

¹⁵⁰ The confluence of three major world religions on contested land in Israel/Palestine is just one example of a non-American and non-Western subject addressed by scholars in this growing body of literature.

¹⁵¹ Additional works on Islam in Muslim-majority countries:

Islam and sport in non-Muslim-majority countries. In the first work to investigate the “Muslim athlete’s involvement in sports from the notion of Islamization,” Baidruel Hairiel Abd Rahim and coauthors examined the “philosophy of sports participation and the dilemma faced by Muslims in sports under the light of *al-Qur’ān* and *Hadith*”¹⁵² in a Muslim-majority context. Tansin Benn, Gertrud Pfister, and Haifaa Jawad’s *Muslim Women and Sport* looks specifically at female athletes in Muslim-majority contexts in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.¹⁵³ The difference between the awarding of the 2022 World Cup to Qatar and the awarding of other World Cups to other nations is a topic of consideration as well, given the rumors of scandal. Many works examining Islam and sport in non-Muslim-majority countries, including the United States, approach the intersection of Islam and sport through culture clash, recognizing the tensions that sometimes arise between aspects of Western culture and Islam.¹⁵⁴

Majd Megheirkouni, “Arab Sport between Islamic Fundamentalism and Arab Spring,” *Sport in Society* 20, no. 11 (2017): 1487–99, DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2017.1284801.

Paul A. Silverstein, “Sport, Bodily Habitus, and the Subject(s) of the Middle East,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 51, no. 3 (2019): 482–85, DOI: 10.1017/s0020743819000448.

¹⁵² Baidruel Hairiel Abd Rahim, Nurazzura Mohamad Diah, Haizuran Mohd Jain, and Abdul Sham Ahmad, “Islam and Sport: From Human Experiences to Revelation,” *Intellectual Discourse* 27, no. 2 (2019): 413–30.

¹⁵³ Tansin Benn, Gertrud Pfister, and Haifaa Jawad, eds., *Muslim Women and Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁵⁴ Additional works on Islam in non-Muslim-majority countries:

Aisha Ahmad, “British Football: Where Are the Muslim Female Footballers? Exploring the Connections between Gender, Ethnicity and Islam,” *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 3 (2011): 443–56, DOI: 10.1080/14660790.2011.568100.

Mahmoud Amara, “Sport, Islam, and Muslims in Europe: In Between or on the Margin?,” *Religions* 4 (2013): 644–56, DOI: 10.3390/rel4040644.

Manual Hamzeh, “FIFA’s Double Hijabophobia: A Colonialist and Islamist Alliance Racializing Muslim Women Soccer Players,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 63 (2017): 11–16, DOI: 10.1016/j.asif.2017.06.003.

Judaism

Much like Islam, when examining the literature about Judaism and sport, one notices quickly that much of the writing from outside of the United States deals with football. Outside of the American context, nearly all writing about the intersection of Judaism and sport addresses soccer in some way. Bar-Ilan University professor Tamir Sorek's focus is on the confluence of soccer, Palestinian and Jewish identities, and the Abrahamic religions in Israel/Palestine. He also examines the Islamic Soccer League in Israel, founded in 1986, as an alternative to the Israeli Football Association and how it bucks against the "general tendency of the Arab soccer players and fans in Israel to use soccer as a channel for integration."¹⁵⁵ In the United States, the focus is on other sports,

Dominic Malcolm, Alan Bairner, and Graham Curry, "'Woolmergate': Cricket and the Representation of Islam and Muslims in the British Press," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34, no. 2 (2010): 215–35, DOI: 10.1177/0193723510367768.

Paul A. Silverstein, "Sporting Faith: Islam, Soccer, and the French Nation-State," *Social Text* 18, no. 4 (2000): 25–53.

¹⁵⁵ Tamir Sorek, "The Islamic Soccer League in Israel: Setting Moral Boundaries by Taming the World," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 9 (2002): 445–70, DOI: 10.1090.1070289090091615.

See also: Rob Schleifer and Ilan Tamir, "The Use of Sport in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Israel Affairs* 24, no. 1 (2018): 45–61, DOI: 10.1080/13537121.2017.1398466.

Tamir Sorek, *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: The Integrative Enclave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Additional works on Judaism and sport in Israel/Palestine:

Jon Dart, "Israel and a Sports Boycott: Antisemitic? Anti-Zionist?," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 52, no. 2 (2017): 164–88, DOI: 10.1177.1012690215583482.

Haggai Harif and Yair Galily, "Sport and Politics in Palestine, 1918–48: Football as a Mirror Reflecting the Relations Between Jews and Britons," *Soccer & Society* 4, no. 1 (2003): 41–56.

Tamir Sorek, "Hapoel Tel Aviv and Israel Liberal Secularism," in *Sport, Politics, and Society in the Middle East*, eds. Danyel Reiche and Tamir Sorek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 55–72.

Ilan Tamir and Yair Galily, "When the Private Sphere Hides from the Public Sphere: The Power Struggle Between Israeli National Identity and Football Fandom," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 52, no. 2 (2017): 189–208, DOI: 10.1177.101269021558312.

Dag Tuastad, "Football's Role in How Societies Remember: The Symbolic Wars of Jordanian-Palestinian Football," in *Sport, Politics, and Society in the Middle East*, eds. Danyel Reiche and Tamir Sorek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 41–50.

including baseball, basketball, and gridiron football.¹⁵⁶ Rebecca Alpert, professor of religion and gender, sexuality, and women’s studies at Temple University, is one of the most important voices in the field of religion and sport. Her most detailed work examines the intersection of Judaism and Black baseball in the United States; in telling a story unfamiliar to most, Alpert’s detailed research and sharp analysis lay bare the ways in which anti-Blackness and antisemitism overlapped and reinforced each other between 1930 and 1950.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Additional works on Judaism and sport in the United States:

Beyond Stereotypes: American Jews and Sports (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014). Jeffrey S. Gurock, *Judaism’s Encounter with American Sports* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005).

Leonard Greenspoon, ed., *Jews in the Gym: Judaism, Sports, and Athletics* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2012).

Ranaan Rein and David M. K. Sheinin, eds., *Muscling in on New Worlds: Jews, Sport, and the Making of the Americas* (Boston: Brill, 2014).

Note: There are some articles in the latter two works that address contexts other than the United States, but the majority of the articles focus on the United States.

¹⁵⁷ Alpert’s additional works on religion and sport include:

Rebecca Alpert, “Babe Ruth: Religious Icon,” *Religions* 10, no. 337 (2019): DOI: 10.3390/rel10050337.

Rebecca Alpert, “Jackie Robinson, Jewish Icon,” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 26, no. 2 (2008): 42–58, DOI: 10.1353/sho.0.060.

Rebecca Alpert, “The Macho-Mensch: Modeling American Jewish Masculinity and the Heroes of Baseball,” in *Muscling in on New Worlds: Jews, Sport, and the Making of the Americas* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 101–20.

Rebecca Alpert, *Religion and Sports: An Introduction and Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

Rebecca Alpert, “Social Justice, Sport and Judaism: A Position Statement,” *Quest* 71, no. 2 (2019): 138–49, DOI: 10.1080/00336297.2018.1547650.

Rebecca Alpert, “Who Is the Prophet? Jackie Robinson, Branch Rickey, and the Integration of Baseball,” in *The Prophetic Dimension of Sport*, ed. Terry Shoemaker (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018).

“Christianity”¹⁵⁸

There are three major approaches to Christianity and sport. The first looks at sports in the American context from a Protestant lens,¹⁵⁹ the second examines Catholicism and sport,¹⁶⁰ and the third is representative of global Christianity, which is often in stark contrast to American evangelical Protestantism.¹⁶¹ *The International Journal of the History of Sport* dedicated an entire issue to Christianity and sports,¹⁶² as did *Studies in World Christianity*.¹⁶³ Works addressing the intersection of multiple religions and sport are also prevalent in the literature.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ There is a comprehensive literature review of sport and Christianity. See: Nick J. Watson and Andrew Parker, *Sport and the Christian Religion: A Systematic Review of Literature* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

¹⁵⁹ Additional works on the American Protestant traditions and sport: William J. Baker, *Of Gods and Games: Religious Faith and Modern Sports* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016).

Steven J. Overman, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Sport: How Calvinism and Capitalism Shaped America's Games* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011).

Matt Hoven, Andrew Parker, and Nick J. Watson, eds., *Sport and Christianity: Practices for the Twenty-first Century* (London: T&T Clark, 2019).

¹⁶⁰ Additional works on Catholicism and sport: *Sport and Christianity: A Sign of the Times in the Light of Faith* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012).

¹⁶¹ Additional works on Christianity and sport: Michael Butterworth and Karsten Senkbeil, “Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Religion as ‘Character’: Football and Soccer in the United States and Germany,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 52, no. 2 (2017): 129–45, DOI: 10.1177/1012690215588214.

Michael Roth and Ulrich Volp, eds., *Gut, Besser, am Besten: ethische, theologische, und historische Reflexionen zu Leistung und Erfolg in Sport, Kirche, und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt GmbH, 2016).

Gregg Twietmeyer, Nick J. Watson, and Andrew Parker, “Sport, Christianity and Social Justice? Considering a Theological Foundation,” *Quest* 71, no. 2 (2019): 121–37, DOI: 10.1080/00336297.2018.1541419.

¹⁶² *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 35, no. 1 (2018).

¹⁶³ *Studies in World Christianity* 21, no. 3 (2015).

¹⁶⁴ Additional works on multiple religions and sport:

Sport as Religion

There are three options when discussing sport as religion. First, one can reject the possibility of sport being religious or a religion: “There are some who doubt that sport can be seen as religious. For them, traditions like Jainism, Daoism, Judaism, and Christianity are religious.”¹⁶⁵ This is because “these religions profess belief in the supernatural, going to church, synagogue, or temple, committing to and getting initiated into a group of like-minded believers who claim to believe the same things with regard to God, gods, the afterlife, Heaven, Hell, and on and on.”¹⁶⁶ For many, if it does not resemble their religion, it cannot be a religion; it is something else. Or one can accept that sport can be religious for some, but that it is not a religion by definition.

The second approach agrees that sports can be religions for people but argues that these religions are not the same as other religions. This differs slightly from accepting sport as religious. Accepting that sport can be religious is to recognize or agree to the idea that there can be religious elements, like rituals, to sport; people may behave religiously, but sport in and of itself is not given status as a religion. This second approach affirms that sports can be religions, but it places them on a different tier or in a different category from “real” religions. This is the dominant approach when speaking of sport as

Rebecca T. Alpert, *Religion and Sports: An Introduction and Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

William J. Baker, *Playing with God: Religion and Modern Sports* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Tara Magdalinski and Timothy Chandler, eds., *With God on Their Side: Sport in the Service of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

¹⁶⁵ Eric Bain-Selbo and D. Gregory Sapp, *Understanding Sport as a Religious Phenomenon: An Introduction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), Kindle location 92.

¹⁶⁶ Bain-Selbo and Sapp, *Understanding Sport*, location 92.

religion; religion is a religion, but not on par with Christianity, Hinduism, or Sikhism.

“We are not arguing that sport in general or any particular sport is a religion in the same way that Hinduism is a religion;” the argument is that “while fans may argue which sport is better, questions of ultimate truth are not usually raised.”¹⁶⁷ While Bain-Selbo and Sapp are trying to make a point here about sport as religion being a religion, they refuse to take those claims as a person’s truth; they inherently subordinate it to the benefit of traditional understandings of religion. This approach gives it the name religion, but then relegates sport-religions to its own “yes, but” status.

The difference in the approaches is subtle, but both of these approaches rely on definitions of religion that either include or exclude certain things. Several scholars, including Bain-Selbo and Sapp, utilize Smart; Smart’s dimensions are used to define what is or is not included as a religion in their work. This enables them to split the difference between sport and religion and sport as religion, without fully committing to either position.

The exception to this trend is the way Tara Magdalinski and Timothy Chandler frame religion in their book, because “whilst it may be useful to determine precisely what we mean when we speak of ‘religion,’ securing a suitable definition has proven a complex task.”¹⁶⁸ Because of this, they argue:

A definition of religion may not be appropriate or indeed, in the context of this project, even necessary, as any narration of the concept must come from an essentialised singular position. Indeed, the desire to define, categorise,

¹⁶⁷ Bain-Shelby and Sapp, *Understanding Sport*, location 92.

¹⁶⁸ Tara Magdalinski and Timothy Chandler, “With God on Their side: An Introduction,” in *With God on Their Side: Sport in the Service of Religion*, eds. Tara Magdalinski and Timothy Chandler (New York: Routledge, 2017), 3.

and delimitate culturally variant concepts seems reminiscent of rationalist paradigms that suggest all aspects of culture can be scientifically labelled. Thus, for the purposes of this book, we focus more on religious communities, namely those communities that may or may not be geographically congruous, but nevertheless comprise groups of individuals who regard themselves as linked to others through both a faith of their choosing and shared cultural practices. We, therefore, consider it sufficient if the community defines its cultural practices, faith, and rituals as a “religion.”¹⁶⁹

As Magdalinski and Chandler rightly note, a definition of religion is not necessary to name something as a religion; for them, if a community calls it religion then it is a religion.

Prior Articulations of Soccer-as-Religion

In the following chapter, this dissertation presents the first extended description of religious soccer. It is not the first work written about soccer’s religiosity. François Fulconis and Gille Pache use four dimensions to offer an argument for soccer as a religion. In it, they use four dimensions (the Community, the Law, the Way, and the Experience) to create a grid by which to examine religions.¹⁷⁰ They apply this to soccer, explaining “football passion from a religious perspective” and identifying “the main pillars of the conversion process according to a heteronomous logic.”¹⁷¹ Their defense of soccer as religion, however, is completely inaccessible to the vast majority of religious supporters; their audience is non-fans, attempting to explain to them why soccer is a

¹⁶⁹ Magdalinski and Chandler, “With God on Their Side,” 3.

¹⁷⁰ François Fulconis and Gille Pache, “Football Passion as a Religion: The Four Dimensions of a Sacred Experience,” *Society and Business Review* 9, no. 2 (2014): 166–85, DOI: 10.1108/SBR-09-2013-0064.

¹⁷¹ Fulconis and Pache, “Football Passion as a Religion,” 166.

religion. It is external to religious soccer, an assessment made by those who are not themselves amongst those who claim soccer as their religion.

Concluding Thoughts: Soccer, Its Fans, and Their Context

The following chapter provides additional context for the world of soccer fans. Chapter 2 is a combination of soccer history and its modern context, designed to tease out the different aspects of the world which fans inhabit. It begins by addressing the four different levels of people's relatedness to soccer, clearly defining each. It then provides five framing lenses that are designed to help non-fans better understand the way fans experience the game. These framing lenses are philosophical arguments that elucidate different aspects of the fan experience and how fans understand their relationship with soccer. Three of the lenses build on the work of Simon Critchley, Professor of Philosophy at The New School, but the other two are unique to this dissertation.

The second section provides some historical context for the modern game and a discussion of the current global state of the game, while the third section explains the governance and administration of soccer globally and in the United States. For those unfamiliar with the game, chapter 2's contents are designed to help bring the game into focus, demonstrating the interconnected nature of all things soccer; for those familiar with the game, chapter 2's contents will encourage them to reflect on their relationship with the game and hopefully see themselves reflected herein.

Chapter Two: A Brief History of Soccer and the Issues Facing Supporters

Everyone has some sort of relationship with soccer; the absence of a relationship is still a kind of relationship. This dissertation classifies these relationships in four ways: spectators/outsideers, fans, supporters, and religious supporters. Spectators and outsideers have the most tenuous relationship with the game; they may watch a match occasionally or go to a match every few years, but they do not seek the game out nor do they enjoy the game. Fans are more connected to the game and to their club, both emotionally and behaviorally; they actively seek the game, even if only occasionally, and they experience emotions related to their team, its performance, and its administration. While fans are important because they make up the vast majority of a club's support, this dissertation is focused primarily on supporters and religious supporters.¹⁷²

Supporters are committed fans; they actively seek the game out on a regular basis and they often schedule their activities around their commitment to their team. If they live near their club, supporters are typically season ticket holders; if they live far away,

¹⁷² Many of the authors utilized in this dissertation use the term "fan" as all-inclusive of those who support a team, while others make distinctions between types. When the term "fan" is used in this dissertation, it should be understood as inclusive of both supporters and religious supporters; that which is true for fans will also be true for supporters and religious supporters.

they watch every match they can in whatever way they can.¹⁷³ Supporters have deep emotional connections with their team. Not only does their team's performance impact them, but there is also an element of "meaning making" in their relationship with their club. Religious supporters have all of the characteristics of supporters, but take it one step further. Religious supporters are the supporters for whom soccer is a religion; not all supporters are religious, but for those of us who are religious supporters, everything is felt deeply and the connection between soccer and our daily lives is inseparable.

Five Framing Lenses: How to Understand a Fan's Perspective of the Game

It can be difficult for those who are not a fan of a particular sport to understand why their approach to the sport is so very different than that of passionate, committed fans. This section of the chapter provides a framework through which those who are not soccer fans can understand better the fan's perspective on the game. The five arguments in this section each address a different aspect of soccer as experienced by the fans. These arguments build upon the work on soccer and philosophy done by Dr. Simon Critchley, Professor of Philosophy at The New School, particularly his arguments that soccer is socialism and that music must resound. It also introduces two entirely new arguments that address other aspects of fandom. The first, utilizing the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, examines how soccer, like the grass upon which it is played, is a rhizome; and it

¹⁷³ Over the course of the ten years it took to write this dissertation, the access that fans/supporters/religious supporters have to their foreign clubs has increased dramatically. Social media makes it easy for fans to stay connected to their club; regardless of the platform, social media has made foreign soccer more accessible for people around the world. The biggest European leagues (the English Premier League, Germany's Bundesliga, Italy's Serie A, and Spain's La Liga) all have American broadcast partners, making matches far more accessible for fans in the United States. Prior to the signing of those broadcast deals, fans living in the United States were forced to either pay for European satellite channels or use pirated streams. Fans/supporters/religious supporters outside of Europe and the United States, are still reliant on streams to access matches.

looks at the interconnected nature of soccer, politics, team identity, and fans and argues that structure of soccer is rhizomic. The second new argument explains the contingent relationship between clubs and their fans, utilizing twentieth century German philosopher Martin Heidegger's work.

Framing Lens One: Soccer is never just soccer.

In his book *What We Think About When We Think About Football*, philosopher and lifelong Liverpool fan Simon Critchley argues that

Football is a theatre of identity—family, tribe, city, nation. But it is the presentation of identity in its ever-twisting, complicated, collapsing and doubled-over forms . . . football is the theatre of the differentiation of identity that plays itself out with the players and fans enacting their drama watched over by the forces of fate. It is this fateful drama to which we freely submit in watching a game.¹⁷⁴

There is always more going on than just what is happening during a match on the pitch.

Critchley uses two examples to illustrate his argument. When the Irish Football

Association was founded, most of the teams were centered around Belfast (which is a city in what would become Northern Ireland). But after the isle of Ireland was partitioned in two, the Football Association of Ireland was founded in Dublin. Both associations have claim over the same territory, so in a game where “the ‘Republic’ plays a football match against ‘the North,’ Ireland is playing itself.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Critchley, *What We Think About When We Think About Soccer* (New York: Penguin Books, 2017), 61.

¹⁷⁵ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 62.

His second example is the 2006 World Cup, where the team from Serbia/Montenegro was representing a country that no longer existed; Montenegro had declared independence on June 3, 2006, making the country of Serbia/Montenegro no more. “So a country that would no longer exist was obliged to sing the national anthem of a former country that no longer existed” during which “the ironies of identity and difference were carefully pointed out” by Critchley’s hosts.¹⁷⁶ Argentina won the match against Serbia/Montenegro, and Critchley’s hosts “were absolutely delighted at the disastrous, divided precariousness of their national existence had been played out for all to see: how could the team of a non-existent country be expected to play with any conviction.”¹⁷⁷ This is because “football is the place where the drama of national identity and non-identity plays itself fatefully out against a history of violence and war.”¹⁷⁸ Football is never just football; it is a confluence of events, people, places, histories, and stories.

Without referencing Georg Hegel’s *Identity of Identity and Difference* from his *The Science of Logic*, Critchley is building on Hegel’s insistence that one cannot speak of identity without presupposing difference.¹⁷⁹ That is, to speak of what something is means that one is already speaking about that which it is not. If one says, “Arsenal’s home jerseys are red,” one is also saying that the jerseys are not blue or green or yellow.¹⁸⁰ To

¹⁷⁶ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 63, 65.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁷⁹ Georg Hegel, *The Science of Logic* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁸⁰ “Store,” Arsenal FC, accessed July 29, 2019, https://arsenaldirect.arsenal.com/Football-Shirts-and-Kit/Home/c/home-kit?utm_source=meganav&utm_medium=homekit&utm_campaign=AMGretailprojects.

speak of what something is, then, is to also give an indication of what it is not, so the jerseys are both red and not not red.

Put another way, when one speaks about soccer players, especially in relation to their role or position on the pitch, saying, “Bastian Schweinsteiger is a holding midfielder for the Chicago Fire” tells us both what Schweinsteiger is and is not.¹⁸¹ Because he is a holding midfielder, one knows that he is not a striker or a winger or a fullback; because one knows that he plays for the Chicago Fire, so too does one know he does not play for Minnesota United or Manchester United. All these classifications belong to a higher order of identity that we can call “positions” on a soccer team. This can continue to spiral outward and upward, moving from one positional or personal identity, understanding it in its context within a higher order, and then that high order with an even higher order. In some ways, it resembles the classification system used for living creatures—humans are primates, primates are mammals, mammals are vertebrates, et cetera—but the classifications are less stringent. Many players will play more than one position in their careers, demonstrating how the positions are more rhizomic in structure than they are Platonic classifications with an ideal Form.¹⁸²

When one speaks, they both reveal and conceal things, and the tension between what one chooses to reveal and one strives to conceal matters. The Identity of Identity and Difference may not be the most useful tool for a discussion of the makeup of a club or a team (which are comprised of groups of people with different backgrounds, ideals,

¹⁸¹ Bastian Schweinsteiger retired after the 2019 MLS season. “First Team,” Chicago Fire, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.chicago-fire.com/players>.

¹⁸² Soccer as a rhizome is explained in the following frame.

thoughts, et cetera), yet it is incredibly helpful when one examines how we speak of things, and it encourages us to be more deliberate in our choice of wording and phrasing. In the context of soccer, it is key for understanding the multiple levels at which soccer is operative; if one listens to soccer commentators during a match, it is clear that what is said about the match both conceals and reveals the tensions in football.¹⁸³

Returning to Critchley, he takes Hegel a step further, pointing out that soccer is a “mixture of reality and unreality” that “defines the experience of a football match and with which we are utterly familiar, even if that familiarity is rarely made explicit.”¹⁸⁴ In the same way, considering Hegel’s argument that speaking of something is to always speak of what it is not, soccer both conceals and reveals itself. As soccer is never just soccer, the interconnected nature of the game presents itself in different ways at different times. While Hegel’s argument relies on speech and thought, Hegel’s insight regarding concealing and revealing is key to understanding soccer. When a player scores in a flash of brilliance, it distracts fans from the fact that their club’s ownership has hiked up ticket prices; the game itself conceals and reveals the different tensions in which soccer exists.

The game distracts from itself and attracts to itself; it is up to fans to decide how to engage with it. Some fans choose to be attentive to all the different nuances and issues happening in soccer (pay disputes in the women’s game, corruption in Federation International [FIFA], how race, religion, and gender are constantly contested on and off the pitch, et cetera), while others opt to focus solely on the actual playing of the game and

¹⁸³ The tensions in football will be addressed in a later section of this chapter, giving shape and form to the ways that identity and difference play roles in the playing and understanding of the game.

¹⁸⁴ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 47.

their team's success. Regardless of fans' level of engagement, soccer's complex nature is neither entirely accessible nor inaccessible. Soccer exists in the space of the both/and, where strict binaries are not part of the game; it is a contradiction unto itself in the way that it conceals and reveals itself to fans.

If one fails to grasp that soccer is never just soccer, they will miss most of what is actually happening on the pitch, in the stadium, and in the diaspora of fans. Soccer can reinforce traditional lines of division; in Scotland, the division between Catholics and Protestants is reenacted in the support of Celtic FC and Glasgow Rangers FC. Soccer can also work to erase divisions between groups; in July 2019, supporters of both the Seattle Sounders and the Portland Timbers banded together to jointly protest a decision Major League Soccer (MLS) made.¹⁸⁵

Framing Lens Two: Like the grass on which it is played, soccer is a rhizome.

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari have made a marked change in the field of philosophy as their approach to philosophical questions is concentrated in the everyday, interconnected nature of everything. They call philosophy's attention away from its traditional systems of classifications—which often try to get to the root of something—and toward a completely different way of imagining philosophy (and linguistics, semiotics, et cetera). In lieu of a single root source, they propose that one needs to use a rhizomic approach. Rhizomes are plants with interconnected, intricate root systems.

Ginger is a rhizome, as is grass. Deleuze and Guattari are speaking specifically of

¹⁸⁵ MLS made the decision to ban political signs and flags at matches. This directly impacted the fans from Seattle and Portland, as many had been flying the United Front flag for years. The United Front was a resistance group against the Nazis in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s; their symbol has been embraced by antifascists as a sign of their resistance to the increased fascist presence in the United States.

language in the context of writing a book, however: “A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles.”¹⁸⁶

The manner in which they approach language as rhizome is of less concern for this dissertation than the very basic understanding of what a rhizome is. You will have a hard time plucking a blade of grass (a rhizome) from its root, as the root structure is so interconnected that a single blade of grass’ roots are impossible to distinguish from the roots of the other blades of grass. The interconnected nature of grass is key to understanding soccer. Soccer is played on a grass pitch, where the rhizomic structure of the grass echoes the rhizomic nature of soccer; to understand soccer is to understand that all of soccer life is rhizomic in structure. It is impossible to separate soccer from its context, from its complexity. In the same way that one cannot pick a single blade of grass with its root structure intact, one cannot pull one fact about soccer without quickly realizing just how much is connected to that single thing. Fans, especially those whose relationship with their clubs is the strongest, feel the interconnected nature of all of soccer in their bones; it is a lived reality.

On July 7, 2019, the United States Women’s National Team (USWNT) won its record fourth World Cup¹⁸⁷ in France. After the final whistle blew, fans in the stands

¹⁸⁶ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 7.

¹⁸⁷ FIFA distinguishes between the men’s and women’s World Cups as the FIFA World Cup and the FIFA Women’s World Cup. Such a distinction is part of a larger systemic marginalization of the women’s game as always secondary to the men’s game. It is the deeply held belief of this author that how one speaks about an issue or event matters and, as such, the World Cup will be referred to throughout this dissertation as the World Cup; the context will make it clear whether it was a men’s or a women’s World Cup.

began to chant, “Equal pay! Equal pay!” Not only had the USWNT won a tournament having played with the pressures of being the best team in the world, being the favorites to win the tournament, and of carrying their country’s hopes for soccer glory, but the USWNT was also in the midst of a lawsuit against the United States Soccer Federation (US Soccer):

In a class action lawsuit filed in March and signed by 28 players on the USWNT, the women allege that they are consistently paid less than the players on the men’s team and discriminated against because of their gender, despite a strong performance record.¹⁸⁸

Shortly after returning to the United States following the World Cup, mediation between the women’s team and US Soccer failed to produce an agreement: “USWNT spokesperson Molly Levinson said they ended the meetings ‘sorely disappointed in the federation’s determination to perpetuate fundamentally discriminatory workplace conditions and behavior.’”¹⁸⁹ Despite the fact that the USWNT has won four World Cups and the United States Men’s National Team (USMNT) has never won a World Cup (and, in fact, failed to qualify for the 2018 World Cup), the compensation structure as set by US Soccer means that the men are paid more than the women.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Mahita Gajanan, “The USWNT’s Mediation with U.S. Soccer Broke Down This Week. Here’s What to Know About the Equal Pay Lawsuit,” *Time*, February 21, 2020, <https://time.com/5653250/uswnt-equal-pay-lawsuit/>.

¹⁸⁹ Gajanan, “The USWSNT Mediation.”

¹⁹⁰ The compensation structure for the USWNT and the USMNT is complicated. Players are paid for every game played, with additional compensation for matches won and a sliding scale for tournaments based on where the team finishes. While the USWNT is paid a salary for being on the national team and the men are not, the men have the advantage of being paid significantly more for any success while the more successful women are paid a fraction of what their male counterparts are paid. Additionally, the structure of US Soccer actively supports the men’s game in ways it does not support the women’s game; the lawsuit is not just about pay but also about unequal treatment of the women’s game by US Soccer.

The full filing can be found at <https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/653-us-womens-soccer-complaint/f9367608e2eaf10873f4/optimized/full.pdf> (accessed February 16, 2020).

The lawsuit is the first of its kind, but the team and its players have a history of social justice engagement, with many players using their voices as advocates for causes about which they are passionate. As a team, the players were no stranger to controversies. Throughout the World Cup, the USMNT was accused of scoring too many goals, celebrating goals in too enthusiastic a manner, and being disrespectful in their celebrations. No player has received more attention than co-captain Megan Rapinoe, and she embodies the complicated nature of the game. Rapinoe was the first soccer player to kneel in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick, after which US Soccer created a rule that players must stand for the national anthem. Rapinoe returned to standing but does not sing the anthem. Rapinoe is also openly gay, and fighting for justice is something that dates back to her college days at the University of Portland, where she took courses in social justice.

Framing Lens Three: Soccer is socialism.

Critchley begins by arguing that the proper way to understand soccer is as socialism: “The proper political form of football is socialism. Freedom is not experienced apart from others, but only in and through association, where collective action both integrates and elevates individual action.”¹⁹¹ A team is an inherently social entity; it requires multiple players that need to work together in order to win.

Football is not individualistic. Although there is no doubt that it has a celebrity-driven star-system where players demand and exert ever-increasing amounts of financial autonomy, football is not just about the individual players, no matter how gifted they might be. Football is essentially collaborative.”¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 7.

¹⁹² Critchley, *What We Think About*, 4.

Understanding soccer in this manner allows one to think of the whole, the team, and not just the eleven individuals running around on grass. No one person, whether a fan or a player, matters more than the cooperation of the whole; one player having an excellent game often does not save the team from a loss if the other ten players are not working together.

Many professional teams are made up of players from a number of different countries, cultures, and languages. For example, the first team for Critchley's beloved Liverpool currently has players from Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Croatia, Egypt, England, Guinea, Ireland, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, and Wales.¹⁹³ However, as he rightly points out, "What matters is the formality of the common football language they speak when they play together."¹⁹⁴ Soccer has its own language, one that players speak regardless of their native tongue; what changes is how that shared vocabulary transcends location and place. One could argue that while the sign (the word) may change from language to language, what is being signified is the same; whether one says "offside" or "*abseit*," players intuitively understand the meaning, regardless of the actual word used.

Jean-Paul Sartre's use of football to explain what he means by praxis also factors into Critchley's argument.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ "First Team," Team—Liverpool FC, accessed August 1, 2019, <https://www.liverpoolfc.com/team/first-team>.

¹⁹⁴ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 6.

¹⁹⁵ Sartre's use of soccer as an explanation of praxis: Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason Volume One* (London: Verso, 2004), 453–63.

The free action or activity—what Sartre call[s] ‘praxis’—of the individual player is subordinated to the team, both integrated into it and transcending it, where the collective action of the group permits the refinement of individual action through immersion into the organizational structure of the team.¹⁹⁶

This is a key point because a team is a “never ceasing dialectic between the associative, collective activity of the group and the supportive, flourishing individual actions of the players whose being is only given through the team.” In the *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, Sartre argues, “In a football match, everything is complicated by the presence of the other team.”¹⁹⁷ Even more crucially for the purposes of this dissertation, in order to explain what he means by praxis, Sartre uses football to illustrate his concept. Sartre’s praxis is key to his defense of existentialism against charges that it is hopeless, nihilistic, and little more than navel gazing. Praxis requires freedom and individual effort.

A praxis, however, though completely unintelligible unless defined in terms of tools and techniques, of the common objective and the material circumstances, is only a free organization of the practical field. . . . I mean free constituent praxis in so far as it is finally only signified by function; in fact, to the extent that the determination of the sub-possibilities becomes richer and richer in the context of function under the influence of tools, functional predetermination appears as a schematic adumbration of a sector of activity: in this sense the common individual, as function, remains mostly undetermined.¹⁹⁸

He is particularly concerned with the function of actions on a soccer pitch and how those actions relate to the function of people.

Thus no particular movement, pass, or feint, is entailed by the function itself: function only defines the abstract possibility of making particular feints, and performing particular actions in a situation which is both limited and indeterminate. The action is irreducible: one cannot comprehend it unless

¹⁹⁶ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 5.

¹⁹⁷ Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, 453–63.

¹⁹⁸ Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, 454.

one knows the rules of the game (that is to say, the organisation of the group on the basis of its objective), but it can never be reduced to these rules; it cannot be understood on the basis of them unless one can also see the whole field. Thus, this particular act is contradictory. In itself is in fact a complete individual action (it has a partial aim: to pass the ball; an assessment of the developing situation in terms of the future, a calculation of chances and a decision—which may be modified by new developments), which can either fail or succeed and whose success defines it as a self-sufficient dialectical process. In other words, if we assume that this particular individual has this particular objective (to pass the ball to the member of the team whom he thinks best placed to use it for the benefit of the entire group), the action, as a constituent praxis, irreducible to function, is completely intelligible.¹⁹⁹

The fans and players are inseparable in the stadium; the fans have their role to play, just as each of the players has a role to play on the pitch. Each player on the pitch has a defined role. The keeper is charged with ensuring the ball does not cross the goal line and end up in the back of the net; the striker is charged with scoring as many goals as possible. However, these defined roles are not as rigid as they might seem, because “how an organization shapes the relation between individual and collective action” is constantly shifting and adapting as circumstances dictate. That is not to say that one should expect to see a keeper in the opposing team’s box, attempting to score, but it is an important part of properly understanding soccer: things are always changing, and the collective has to adapt to changing circumstances and events. Fan support impacts how players play and how the match goes; the role of the fans is to cheer their team on, react to events during the match (whether they are goals or uncalled fouls), and create the atmosphere that enables players to truly play.

¹⁹⁹ Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, 457.

Critchley’s analysis of soccer-as-socialism is largely based on Karl Marx:

Football is the movement of the *socius*, the free association of human beings, as Marx said in *Capital* (although—sadly—he wasn’t talking about football). The reason why football is so important to so many of us is precisely because of the experience of association at its heart and the vivid sense of community that it provides.”²⁰⁰

Critchley, however, does not address why football is social, why the collective exists in the first place; he argues that the structure of the team and the playing of the game requires it.²⁰¹ However, the reason that football is inherently social is because humans are inherently social; we exist in relationship to and with other people.

²⁰⁰ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 7.

Though Marx’s arguments were primarily economic in nature, Critchley rightly understands that this concept of the *socius* is applicable in other parts of life, not just economics. Critchley is reading Marx through a Deleuzian lens, as the argument about the *socius* applying to more than economics is found in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. In particular, Deleuze and Guattari’s argument can be found primarily in “The Desiring-Machines” and “Savages, Barbarians, Civilized Men,” though the entirety of *Anti-Oedipus* makes the same argument. While Critchley’s use of Deleuze/Guattari is primarily as a lens on Marx, Critchley is taking the entirety of *Anti-Oedipus* into account as he is addressing soccer-as-socialism; he is condensing and concretizing their work in a manner that they do not do themselves.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977).

²⁰¹ This is similar to the way in which the social nature of humans is addressed in Catholic Social Teaching (CST), where the social nature of humans is spoken about but never truly explained, save an appeal to divine law or God’s creation. Though CST began in 1891 with Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum*, it is *Gaudium et Spes*, one of the documents produced by the Second Vatican Council, that makes explicit the Church’s fundamental understanding of the human person as inherently social and communal.

But God did not create man as solitary, for from the beginning ‘male and female he created them’ (Gen 1:27). Their companionship produces the primary form of interpersonal communion. For by his innermost nature man is a social being, and unless he relates himself to others he can neither live nor develop his potential.

Second Vatican Council, “Gaudium et Spes,” in D. O’Brien and W. Shannon’s *Catholic Social Thought: A Documentary Heritage* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), ¶ 12, 181.

The closest that *GS* comes to an explanation for this is:

God, Who has fatherly concern for everyone, has willed that all men should constitute one family and treat one another in a spirit of brotherhood. . . . Love for God and neighbor is

Framing Lens Four: The relationship between soccer clubs and their fans is a contingent one.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of this truth: in their very existence, soccer clubs and fans are contingent on each other. If there are no fans, a club cannot exist and if the club does not exist, there are no fans. German philosopher Martin Heidegger²⁰² was not the first to assert that humans are inherently communal,²⁰³ but his extended explanation of Dasein as Being-with provides the theoretical framework that explains this relationship. Many philosophers have written about the Other and the philosophical challenges that the Other presents and Heidegger's work directly responds

the first and greatest commandment. Sacred Scripture, however, teaches us that the love of God cannot be separated from love of neighbor: 'If there is any other commandment, it is summed up in this saying: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. . . . Love therefore is the fulfillment of the Law' (Rom. 13:9–10; cf. 1 John 4:20). To men growing daily more dependent on one another, and to a world becoming more unified every day, this truth proves to be of paramount importance (¶24–25).

This explanation, however, does not function outside of a faith context, which is problematic because so much of the world does not subscribe to the Catholic (or Christian) worldview. Philosophy and the natural sciences do a far better job of explaining the social nature of humans than an appeal to a deity.

²⁰² It is undisputed that Heidegger was both anti-Semitic and a Nazi; he actively turned his back on his mentor, Edmund Husserl, who was of Jewish heritage, and he was an enthusiastic member of the Party during his time as rector at Freiburg im Breisgau and maintained his membership through 1945. Though this dissertation utilizes some of his work, it should not be seen as an endorsement of Heidegger, his beliefs, or the way in which he lived his life.

²⁰³ Philosophers and theologians have long held that there is a social aspect to being a human, that even when one chooses solitude, the presence of others is still required for human flourishing. In particular, Catholic Social Teaching (CST) is grounded in this idea of humans needing other humans to be fully human, that humans were created by god to be with each other. Heidegger's approach to explaining this social aspect was novel at the time and remains one of his most important contributions to philosophical discourse.

to those who preceded him in the continental tradition,²⁰⁴ but his project is also slightly different.

In his seminal work, *Being and Time*, Heidegger seeks to uncover it means to be; the first half of the book is his explanation of Being, both that of humans (*Dasein*) and that of objects.²⁰⁵ He begins with Being²⁰⁶ and contrasts the Being of humans (*Dasein*) with that of things.²⁰⁷ He argues that *Dasein* is Being-in-the-world²⁰⁸ and that non-human

²⁰⁴ In *Being and Nothingness*, Jean-Paul Sartre provides an examination of how Heidegger responded to those who preceded him, particularly eighteenth century German philosopher Georg Hegel and Heidegger's own teacher, German phenomenologist Edmund Husserl. See: Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), 233-52.

²⁰⁵ The second half of *Being and Time* is Heidegger's explanation of time (*Zeit*) wherein he explains the complexity of time as he understands it.

²⁰⁶ "Everything we talk about, everything we have in view, everything towards which we comport ourselves in any way, is being; what we are is being and so is how we are. Being lies in the fact that something is, and in its Being as it is; in Reality; in presence-at-hand; in subsistence; in validity; in *Dasein*; in the 'there is.'" Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John MacQuarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper Perennial, 1962), 26.

The entire purpose of Heidegger's project in *Being and Time* is to investigate the nature of being, in all its forms, with a special concentration on humans and our being, which he calls *Dasein*. However, his project is not a strict ontology. "Of course 'Being' has been presupposed in all ontology up till now, but not as a *concept* at one's disposal—not as the sort of thing we are seeking" (27). He is interested in using ontology as a tool in the discovery of being but argues that ontology qua ontology itself is not how one uncovers what Being is, how it acts, et cetera. "*Basically, all ontology, no matter how rich and firmly compacted a system of categories it has at its disposal, remains blind and perverted from its ownmost aim, if it has not first adequately clarified the meaning of Being, and conceived this clarification as its fundamental task*" (31). (Emphasis in original.)

"Being is always the Being of an entity." Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 29.

²⁰⁷ Despite spending an entire volume on uncovering *Dasein* and its nature, conditions, et cetera, at no point does Heidegger define *Dasein* clearly or concretely; rather, his entire methodology in *Being and Time* is focused on teasing out the various ways in which *Dasein* exists.

²⁰⁸ "The compound expression 'Being-in-the-world' indicates in the very way we have coined it, that it stands for a *unitary* phenomenon. This primary datum must be seen as a whole." Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 78.

Heidegger's hyphens do not invariably have the force of analysing a word into its constituents. Often they bring distinct words together to form a single thought. He speaks of In-der-Welt-sein, 'being-in-the-world.' 'Being-in,' In-Sein is a specific sort of being, distinct, say, from Mitsein, 'being with' (BT, 53ff). The in has a specific sense: in this sense of in one can only be in the world, and only a human being can be in it. There cannot be a world unless someone is in it. So the constituents of In-der-Welt-sein are not strictly separable; they form a single, integrated thought.

things are present-to-hand or are handy.²⁰⁹ However, *Dasein* has a second and contemporaneous way of Being and that is as Being-with (*Mitsein*). There is never a time in which one's *Dasein* is only existing in a singular way of Being; it is always Being-in-the-world and Being-with, regardless of who or what is around.²¹⁰

Dasein's Being is understood as engaging the world through concern²¹¹ and care for the *Dasein* of the Other. Humans are unsettled in themselves and thus require care

Michael Inwood, *A Heidegger Dictionary* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 5.

“A metonym for ‘Dasein,’ ‘being-in-the-world’ signifies the holistic or unified phenomenon in terms of which Heidegger explicates Dasein’s worldhood, who Dasein is (particularly in its average everydayness), and the basic existentials (the ways it is in the world).” Daniel O. Dahlstrom, *The Heidegger Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 37.

²⁰⁹ Handiness is the manner of being of implements (tools, equipment) in use, entities circumspectively encountered in the environment. . . . Not everything is handy and not everything handy always is so . . . the difference between being-handy (*Zuhandensein*) and being-on-hand (*Vorhandensein*) is akin to a Gestalt-shift (first you see the duck, then the rabbit, or vice versa, et cetera).

Heidegger stops short of assigning an ontological priority to the handy over the on-hand, though he does contend that handiness is the way that entities are defined ‘ontologico-categorially’ as they are ‘in themselves’ and that knowledge must penetrate beyond what is handy in our concern, if it is to expose what is simply on-hand. At the same time, what announces itself in the breakdown is not simply the on-handness of the implement but what it and, indeed, the entire complex of such implements are for, namely the world. The world is neither handy nor on-hand, but pre-disclosed as part of being-here (*Dasein*).

Dahlstrom, *The Heidegger Dictionary*, 88–89.

²¹⁰ Being-with and Being-in-the-world are co-equal in terms of their importance.

²¹¹ Heidegger’s concept of concern grounds his concept of Being-in-the-world in the lived reality of people. “All these ways of Being-in have *concern* as their kind of being—a kind of Being which we have yet to characterize in detail.” *Ibid.*, 83.

Heidegger’s concern (*Besorgen*) is not equivalent to all of the different meanings that the word “concern” has in English. “‘Besorgen’ stands rather for the kind of ‘concern’ in which we ‘concern ourselves’ with activities which we perform or things which we procure.” Translator’s note, *Being and Time*, 83. Heidegger explains concern thusly: “‘concern’ means something like apprehensiveness...the expression ‘concern’ will be used in this investigation as an ontological term for an *existentiale*, and will designate the Being of a possible way of Being-in-the-world.” Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 83.

Relationships are central to *Dasein*. “It is not the case that man ‘is’ and then has, by way of an extra, a relationship-of-Being towards the ‘world’—a world with which he provides himself occasionally... Taking up relationships towards the world is possible only *because* Dasein, as Being-in-the-world, is as it is.” *Ibid.*, 84. (Emphasis in original.)

from others, and, in turn, we are called to extend care to them; the attempt to understand and engage with the *Dasein* of the Other is part of what it means to be human. The dynamic between ourselves and other people is at the heart of what humans do, who we feel we should become. Humans can truly only be human when there are other humans. Heidegger argues “because *Dasein*’s Being is Being-with, its understanding of Being already implies the understanding of Others”, which is to say that there is something innate to the being of humans that presupposes the Other before the Other is encountered.

Heidegger is clear that *Dasein* requires the *Dasein* of the Other in order to truly be *Dasein*; *Dasein* in its very nature is Being-with and for this reason the Other is required for one’s *Dasein* to be what it is.²¹²

Being with Others belongs to the Being of *Dasein*, which is an issue for *Dasein* in its very Being. Thus, as Being-with, *Dasein* ‘is’ essentially for the sake of Others . . . even if the particular factual *Dasein* does *not* turn to Others, and supposes it has no need of them...it is the way of Being-with.²¹³

The idea that humans are social creatures by their very nature is not new, yet Heidegger locates this social nature in our very modality of being, our *Dasein*. *Dasein* is Being-with (*Mitsein*) and thus the *Dasein* of the Other is constitutive for one's own

²¹² The challenge of the Other, of Other *Daseins*, belongs to this modality of Being-with. “Our investigation takes its orientation from Being-in-the-world—that basic state of *Dasein* by which every mode of its Being gets co-determined.” Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 153.

One’s *Dasein* encounters the *Dasein* of others, as each individual’s *Dasein* is uniquely theirs, though its characteristics and modalities are consistent. “The Others who are thus ‘encountered’ in a ready-to-hand, environmental context of equipment, are not somehow added on in thought to some Thing which is proximal just present-at-hand; such ‘Things’ are encountered from out of the world in which they are ready-to-hand for Others—a world which is always mine too in advance.” *Ibid.*, 154.

This is because “the kind of Being which belongs to the *Dasein* of Others, as we encounter it within-the-world, differed from readiness-to-hand and presence-at-hand... These entities are neither present-at-hand nor ready-to-hand; on the contrary, they are *like* the very *Dasein* that frees them, in that *they are there too, and there with it.*” *Ibid.*, 154. (Emphasis in original.)

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 160.

Dasein. One can only exist as a human because we exist with others and they with us. Put simply, Being requires the Being of others to be Being; *Dasein* is only possible in a world with other people.

Just as one's *Dasein* requires the *Dasein* of the Other in order to be *Dasein*, so too Heidegger provides an insight into the being of a soccer club and its fans. The relationship between clubs and their fans mirrors *Dasein* as Being-with the Other; their mutual existence requires and, to some extent, presumes this relationship, yet this has never previously been articulated succinctly within a philosophical framework. A club's very existence relies on the fans in both their being and in their being present; when fans do not attend games and buy merchandise and concessions, it destroys the club's ability to survive. Fan support, financial and otherwise, is the life blood of the team.

There is perhaps no better example of this than the financial straits in which many clubs find themselves in mid-2021. In March 2020, Covid-19 caused shut downs of sports leagues around the world. While play resumed for many leagues in April or May, fans have not been allowed inside stadiums. Not only have players been playing without fan support,²¹⁴ but many clubs totally rely upon their fan base to cover their operations and without fans in the stadium, they run the risk of bankruptcy.²¹⁵ Teams are actively

²¹⁴ The fifth fundamental truth addresses the issue of fans in stadiums in more depth.

²¹⁵ In many leagues, including those in England and Germany, there are only a handful of clubs that generate high revenues. Many clubs teeter on the edge of financial solvency. For more, see: Mark Ogden, "English Football on the Brink: Premiere League Weathering Storm of No Fans, But Lower Leagues Are in Trouble," *ESPN*, September 30, 2020, <https://www.espn.com/soccer/english-premier-league/story/4195579/english-football-on-the-brink-premier-league-weathering-storm-of-no-fansbut-lower-leagues-are-in-trouble>

Ian Nicholas Quillen, "Major League Soccer's Financial Losses 'Deeper Than We Expected' In 2020, Says Don Garber," *Forbes*, December 8, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ianquillen/2020/12/08/major-league-soccers-financial-losses-deeper-than-we-expected-in-2020-says-don-garber/?sh=71c92072574f>

losing revenue at every match without fans, because the normal team operations costs continue.²¹⁶ When MLS opened the 2021 season, fans were allowed to return in limited capacities; by July, nearly every stadium was allowed to be at its full capacity. When European leagues resume play in the fall of 2021, fans will return to matches.²¹⁷ Clubs need their fans to survive.

In the same way that the Being-with of *Dasein* requires the *Dasein* of others, fans and their existence requires the presence of the club. If there is no club for fans to support, no one becomes a fan. MLS's continuing expansion demonstrates this. As new teams are added to the league, new soccer fans in those cities are created who then support their local team; the increase in marketing of MLS clubs draws in new fans, as do the promise of rivalries with other cities and the chance to watch world-class players.²¹⁸ Some soccer fans in New York City disliked the fact that the New York Red Bulls actually play their games in New Jersey;²¹⁹ those fans were thrilled when it was

Stefan Szymanski, "Soccer's Financial Crisis Could Transform Leagues Forever," *Foreign Policy*, April 2, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/04/02/english-soccer-football-financial-crisis-leagues-project-big-picture/>

Manuel Veth, "13 of 26 Bundesliga Teams Face Financial Problems, Bayern Munich Resumes Practice," *Forbes*, April 6, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/manuelveth/2020/04/06/13-of-36-bundesliga-clubs-face-financial-problems-bayern-munich-resumes-practice/?sh=1c067dc69a79>

²¹⁶ These costs include player and staff salaries, equipment (e.g., a new kit for each player every game), maintenance of facilities, et cetera.

²¹⁷ The Premier League operated throughout 2020-21 without fans in stadiums, while Germany did allow a small number of fans to attend Bundesliga matches after vaccines became available.

²¹⁸ Many of the teams joining MLS existed prior to joining the top flight league; these cities have pre-existing fan bases, but the number of fans in an area dramatically increases when the team moves from a lower league to the top.

²¹⁹ The team's original name was the New York/New Jersey MetroStars; it changed to New York Red Bulls in 2006 when Red Bull GmbH purchased the club.

announced that a second New York-based team, New York City FC, would join the league and play their games on the grass at Yankee Stadium.

The club exists for the fans and the fans exist for the club; one cannot survive without the other. Both, like *Dasein*, are Being-with; fans are with their club and their club is with them. This relationship occurs at multiple levels simultaneously, with Being and being fused together in a variety of ways: as presence, as engagement, as existence. Understanding this inseparable, mutually existing Being-with, where neither club nor fans can exist without the other, is perhaps the most fundamental truth about soccer.

Framing Lens Five: Music must resound.

“Football is drama.”²²⁰ In fact, Critchley argues, “Football is a truer drama than theatre . . . the closest analogy to the experience of ancient theatre in Athens or Epidaurus.”²²¹ There, with crowds that rivaled the crowd sizes within today’s soccer stadiums, dramas were performed that engaged the audience in a variety of ways. Dramas relied on the participation of the audience (for applause, for their reactions to the events on stage); a drama performed without an audience was nothing more than a rehearsal. “Tragedy existed in order to have an effect on the spectator. Aristotle famously describes this effect in terms of the emotions of fear and pity which are raised or aroused by the drama and achieve catharsis.”²²² The presence of fans in a stadium makes a tremendous difference to the players on the pitch and the match as a whole, as Critchley argues, “The

²²⁰ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 60.

²²¹ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 60.

²²² Critchley, *What We Think About*, 77.

game is not for the players, but for us, the fans,” in the same way that the drama existed for the spectators, not the actors. Thus, fans exist for the game, too. Critchley is echoing the argument made earlier in this dissertation chapter about the contingent relationship of a club and its fans, albeit without making use of Heidegger.

Critchley is building on Hans-Georg Gadamer’s argument that “a drama really only exists when it is played, and ultimately music must resound.”²²³ While Gadamer’s work on drama is beyond the scope of this dissertation, Critchley gleans insights from it that inform his argument as to why soccer matches need the presence of the fans (and why fans need to be at the matches). It is the fans who create the conditions for a game to be more than practice.

The essence of football is presented in the match, when the game is being played. And, of course, music must resound . . . through the constant, complex choral accompaniment of the fans’ singing, which can exert an almost hypnotic effect, both echo and energy of the action on the pitch.²²⁴

Music is central to matches, from the music played after a goal is scored to club anthems, and works it in coordination with the fans in the stadium.²²⁵ Whether it is fans chanting the opening bars to the White Stripes’s “Seven Nation Army” or the entirety of Anfield singing “You’ll Never Walk Alone” in one voice, music plays a central role in creating and supporting a boisterous atmosphere.

The actions of the fans matter:

²²³ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 120.

²²⁴ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 67.

²²⁵ A Spotify playlist with examples of club anthems, chants, goal celebrations, and other associated music is available at https://open.spotify.com/playlist/0WauHWCrJfsTioxAWaACMu?si=3bBaFHAZSfWHKUyiVLkz3A&dl_branch=1

The collective song and intoxicating sound of the crowd does not just provide an accompaniment to the beautiful action of the players, but is the sublime matrix out of which play emerges, the force field that energizes the action, taking the form of competitive song and counter-song.”²²⁶
The call-and-response format used by teams to celebrate a goal is just one example of how the presence of fans makes a difference.²²⁷ Fans are the driving force behind the electric atmosphere in stadiums; if they were to sit silently, it would have an impact on the players’ morale, so their presence as a cheering wall of sound makes a tremendous difference in the stadium.

This is why punishments handed out by FIFA, confederations, or leagues are not just against fans who misbehave or against the team; when games are played without fans, they can hardly be called games. “A game without fans is a kind of category mistake; a mere training ground exercise devoid of sense.”²²⁸ It robs the match of what makes it essential: *the dynamic between the fans and the team creates the atmosphere of football*. “The key to football is the complex, configured interaction between sublime

²²⁶ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 70.

²²⁷ FC Bayern Munich, and a number of other clubs, use the following call-and-response script for goals scored at the Allianz. Translated from the German by the author of this dissertation.

PA Announcer: In the [number] minute of the match, a goal for FC Bayern Munich, our number [number], [Player first name]. (German: *In der [Nummer] Spielminute, ein TOR für den FC Bayern München durch unsere Nummer [Nummer], [Player first name].*)

Crowd: [Player last name]

PA Announcer: [Player first name]

Crowd: [Player last name]

PA Announcer: [Player first name, slightly drawn out]

Crowd: [Player last name, also drawn out]

PA Announcer: New score. Bayern— (German: *Neuer Spielstand. Bayern—*)

Crowd: [Actual number of Bayern goals]

PA Announcer: [Opposing team name]

Crowd: None! (This is regardless of the actual scoreline.) (German: *Null!*)

PA Announcer: Thank you! (German: *Danke!*)

Crowd: You’re welcome! (German: *Vielen!*)

²²⁸ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 71.

music and the beautiful image.”²²⁹ Football without fans isn’t really football, and without football, there are no fans. The global Covid-19 pandemic removed fans from stadiums and paused play around the world. Players were forced to play part or all of their season without fans in the stadium and when fans returned, their numbers were severely restricted. However, that does not change the validity of this argument; for soccer to truly be itself, music must indeed resound.

Section 2: The Birth of the Modern Game and Global Soccer

With the five framing lenses in mind, this chapter moves into its second section, a discussion of the birth of the modern game and the current state of global soccer. Soccer has a lengthy history, though what one pictures when they hear the word soccer came about during the Victorian era in the United Kingdom. Games where people used their feet to kick a round object appear in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. Similar games existed in China and South America. Thus, when disgraced former FIFA president Sepp Blatter said, “Football is as old as the world. . . People have always played some form of football, from its very basic form of kicking a ball around to today.”²³⁰ he is not entirely being hyperbolic.²³¹ As human society evolved, so too did the recreational activity of kicking round objects around. Journalist and historian David Goldblatt, however, points

²²⁹ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 71.

²³⁰ Sepp Blatter as quoted in David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books 2006), 3.

²³¹ Sepp Blatter’s Swiss context is key here, though; “as old as the world” in the white European mindset has a tendency to mean “white European history.” Thus, if one were to ask Blatter if he thought he was being hyperbolic, he could argue that he is not because his definition of “the world” comes from that white European mindset.

out several important facts in response to Blatter’s claim, facts that help give context to Blatter’s assertion.

Is it? Have we? Let us forgive . . . his hyperbole, let us not take him at his word. Football, at the very least, requires feet. The emergence of bipedal hominids, whose feet and hands are sufficiently differentiated that they can trap or kick or catch or throw rather than paw, bat, or shove, can be dated to around two million years ago. The world is somewhat older. And the ball? Let us forgive Blatter his carelessness with the archaeological record, for there is no evidence of any human manufactured sphere that could be kicked before 2000 B.C.E.²³²

Thus, while something quasi-resembling soccer has existed for millennia, it does not go back quite that far.

The Invention of Modern Football: British Public Schools

The modern game was created by British public schools.²³³ In the late Georgian period, the British public schools like Eton, Rugby, and Harrow began to embrace the structure of teams as a way to rewrite the social hierarchy in the schools and tame the violence of their charges. The young men studying at these schools were the elites of society and many lorded their status over the heads of teachers. “The British public schools of the early nineteenth century existed to educate the sons of the country’s old landed and new commercial families who stood at the apex of the social and economic hierarchy.”²³⁴ Despite the rigors of this education, “games were a central component of

²³² Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*, 4.

²³³ In the United Kingdom, public schools are more like the equivalent of elite American prep schools; while the United States labels schools as either private, charter, or public, they are labeled differently in the UK. The labels used in the UK are public and grammar/local.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

the boys' culture,"²³⁵ which sounds positive, but "public-school boys showed a distinct preference for cruelty and violence."²³⁶ Students at public schools often turned to the local community when they tired of things like killing small song birds.²³⁷ Football, in its semi-anarchic state, was yet another way that public school students could take out their aggression on the locals, and so the public schools all had football in some shape or form.²³⁸

As England transitioned into the Victorian era, football and sport became an important part of education. The Victorians came to see sport as a way of keeping the body, mind, and spirit healthy, and sport conveniently provided an alternate outlet for the energy of the young men at public schools.²³⁹ This movement eventually became known as "muscular Christianity," a blend of Christianity and athleticism/sport that saw a connection between a healthy body and healthy morality.²⁴⁰ "The pivotal figure in the

²³⁵ Ibid., 24.

²³⁶ The infamous Eton Wall Game, which is "just one long scrum up and down a narrow strip of earth," was actually banned between 1827 and 1836 because "the violence and danger engendered by so much teenage masculine energy in one space at one time" was dangerous. Ibid., 24

²³⁷ "Toozling was the slang at Harrow for killing small song birds. Duck hunting and beagling were favourites and stone throwing was greatly regarded. It was said that 'no dog could live on Harrow Hill' and 'ponies frequently lose their eyes if they had to pull their owners' carts near the school.'" Ibid., 24.

²³⁸ Ibid., 25.

²³⁹ The theory was that if young men are regularly getting strenuous exercise, they would be less likely to engage in problematic behaviors; in particular, it was seen as a way to prevent young men from masturbating.

²⁴⁰ For more on "muscular Christianity," see: Christina Kwauk, "Goal! The Dream Begins: Globalizing an Immigrant Muscular Christianity," *Soccer & Society* 8, no.1 (2007): DOI: 10.1080/14660970600989426, 75–89;

John MacAloon, "Introduction: Muscular Christianity After 150 Years," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no.5 (2006): 687–700;

Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

movement for reform was Thomas Arnold, who was headmaster at Rugby between 1828 and 1848 . . . [he] planned to civilize the education of the elite in the classroom and the chapel.”²⁴¹ His plan was to institute “a programme of discipline, prayer, and rational learning” to transform the “barbarous scions of the aristocracy and the philistine nouveau riche of the industrial bourgeoisie” into “more polished and mannered” gentlemen.²⁴²

Arnold believed in the power of games and sport to harness the energy of young men, but there was one major problem: the students were not really under the control of the teachers. Creating teams and placing coaches in charge provided a way for teachers to build relationships with students outside the classroom.²⁴³ “Engaging with team games, especially football, allowed staff to insert themselves into the pre-existing hierarchy of power with themselves at the top, senior boys below, and the new arrivals at the bottom and then to delegate some of their power down to the seniors.”²⁴⁴ Not only did it harness “some of the great flare of excess energy and hormonal transformation that large numbers of pubescent boys in confined spaces generate,”²⁴⁵ but it added structure the boys were lacking.

Every public school had a football tradition, but every school had different rules. There was consistency in neither the size of the playing field, the use of hands, nor anything else. Harrow preferred a style of play that kept the ball on the ground, in which

²⁴¹ Ibid., 25-6.

²⁴² Ibid., 26.

²⁴³ Ibid., 26.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 26.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

players did not use their hands to move the ball, and included rules that limited the ways in which players could take each other down. Rugby and Eton favored a more scrum-like style of play where players could throw the ball, and full-body tackling was allowed. As the schools collaborated to try to codify rules, two distinct games arose out of their work: football and rugby. The two sports are wildly different: the number of players on the pitch at any given time, the role of those players, how points are scored, and the manner in which they are played are very different.²⁴⁶ Ultimately, the Harrovians's rules were adopted in 1857 by Sheffield FC, England's first football club; it may have been assisted by Harrow, who "took the initiative in printing rules as the Football Association was formed."²⁴⁷ Eton and two others eventually acquiesced to these rules for football, and the split between rugby and football was complete. In 1877 the rules of the game were formally codified, and on which the current rules of soccer are based.²⁴⁸

The Victorian era was also the age of empire, which meant that the English game spread across the British Empire. Traditional games that involved kicking around a ball-like object began to subside in favor of the more formalized rules. As transportation methods improved, they enabled football's spread; it became more practical for teams to play against each other, as they could make the journey there and back in the same day. What began as inter-school competitions between public schools became a common

²⁴⁶ Football has eleven players per side on the pitch at any given time; there are fifteen players per side in rugby.

²⁴⁷ Giulianotti, *Football*, 4.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

After the initial split between rugby and football, further splits on the rugby side led to the formation of Australian rules football, Gaelic football, and a host of other formal sports with their own codes.

occurrence, with transportation allowing fans to travel to matches as well. By the early part of the twentieth century, formal leagues were everywhere.

Soccer in the Twenty-First Century: The Global(ized) Game

The relationship between soccer and globalization forms a modern-day chicken-and-egg question: does modern soccer explain globalization, or does globalization explain modern soccer? Did globalization intentionally expand soccer, or was the spread of soccer merely an unintended consequence of globalization? The reality is that there is no clear answer. During the age of European expansion, particularly that of the Victorian era, English colonizers brought soccer with them; this explains the prevalence of soccer across the then-British Empire. However, soccer's spread across the continent and the world was not solely the work of the Brits.

Historically, soccer fans were “blood-and-soil fans,”²⁴⁹ which is to say that people supported their local football club. Fans were exposed primarily to the football of their local area and thus supported the club closest to them. As modern forms of transportation grew, movement became easier, and thus it was simpler to export goods, services, and sports. Post-World War II, as technological advances rapidly developed, media began to connect the world in new ways. Television radically changed the reach of sports because fans no longer had to physically attend a game to enjoy it, and the invention of satellite television enabled broadcasts of European matches to travel the world. Soccer clubs now have a global reach, and the adaptations made for a globalized world continue to grow.

²⁴⁹ Simon Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy: How the World's Most Popular Sport Starts and Fuels Revolutions and Keeps Dictators in Power* (New York: Nation Books, 2006), x.

Prior to 2013, all of FC Bayern Munich's press releases and media were in German; recognizing that they have a global reach and that very few of their fans outside Germany speak German, Bayern added social media channels in English and Spanish.

Simon Kuper argues that we are now in the age of the “new fan.” In the 2006 update to *Soccer Against the Enemy*, Kuper tells the story of meeting a man named Amit, an Indian army officer with a passion for Dutch soccer. “When I travel around watching soccer now, I notice the same things repeated everywhere: the face-painted fans, the Manchester United shirts, and, increasingly, the same style of play.”²⁵⁰ As the world becomes more and more interconnected, the nature of soccer fandom continues to change. While Kuper argues that new fans are globalized, they are more appropriately called global fans; as the academic understanding of globalization continues to evolve in ways that Kuper writing in 2006 had not anticipated.²⁵¹

As soccer grows in popularity every year in the United States, the availability of soccer matches also grows. NBC Universal currently owns the broadcast rights for the English Premier League (EPL), while ESPN owns the rights for the Bundesliga. On Saturday mornings, fans of European leagues have a multitude of options for watching soccer that did not exist a decade ago. When the author of this dissertation first became a soccer fan, watching matches usually required finding a pirated stream because it was not being televised outside of Europe or was televised on an expensive, subscription-required

²⁵⁰ Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, xi.

²⁵¹ No one could have predicted the impact that COVID-19 had on soccer around the world. Soccer stopped across the continent and in the UK for the first time since WWII. While play resumed during the late spring/early summer of 2020, most European teams are still playing in empty stadia.

satellite channel. It was nearly impossible to find English-language broadcasts; this author learned German by watching German soccer matches and is not the only one. “Around the nation, people now get up at crazy times to cheer on teams based in countries that they will never visit.”²⁵²

One no longer needs to seek out a soccer-specific bar to watch matches on Saturday mornings; bars across the United States regularly open early on Saturday and Sundays to accommodate soccer fans who want to gather to watch matches together. Most of the biggest clubs have satellite fan clubs in cities around the world; fan clubs provide opportunities for fans to coordinate, gather together at one location to watch matches, and help keep people around the world connected to their club, wherever it may be.²⁵³ There are two soccer-specific bars in the city of Denver, Colorado, (The British Bulldog and The Three Lions Pub), and there are fan club chapters for nearly every EPL team; there is also a Bayern fan club called Mia San Denver.²⁵⁴

The connection between European clubs and Americans is also reinforced by the presence of European youth academies across the United States. Many soccer development programs in the United States are part of the youth systems of major European clubs. Tottenham Hotspur, one of two teams from north London, has eighteen

²⁵² Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, x.

²⁵³ These fan clubs often serve the same purposes as supporters’ groups, which are addressed later in this chapter and in more depth in chapter 4.

²⁵⁴ “Mia san” is Bayerische (Bavarian) for “we are.” Mia San Mia, Bayern’s motto, means “We are who we are.”

youth academies in the United States.²⁵⁵ European clubs have also signed deals with universities; the University of Denver has a partnership with FC Bayern Munich to “explore a multitude of opportunities, including cultural exchanges, research collaborations, educational opportunities, and the sharing of coaching and leadership philosophies, methodologies, and techniques.”²⁵⁶ All of these connections serve to draw the soccer world more tightly together, blurring the lines between teams around the world and American teams. This dissertation contains a case study of American fans of a Major League Soccer (MLS) team, but many of those fans also have a European club for which they cheer; some of those fans actively cheer for a team in multiple leagues, where they have a favorite team in the Bundesliga, La Liga, and EPL in addition to MLS. The global, the national, and the local in soccer are all connected and often in ways that go unnoticed; uncovering some of this interconnection helps further demonstrate that it is difficult to strictly parse things when it comes to soccer.

Section 3: Soccer Governance & Structure, Globally and in the United States

FIFA is global soccer’s governing organization. Headquartered in Switzerland, FIFA controls the rules of the game, decides who hosts the World Cup, and sets the standards by which everything is governed. In practical terms, FIFA’s reach is vast. They set the policies across a broad spectrum, from rules regarding player conduct to how much funding the Togolese Football Association receives for its women’s team. The experience of their influence is both overt and covert. Few fans think about the wording

²⁵⁵ “GlobalFootballDevelopment USA,” Tottenham Hotspur, <https://www.TottenhamHotspur.com/the-club/football-development/global-courses/USA/> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

²⁵⁶ “University of Denver United with FC Bayern Munich,” University of Denver, <https://www.du.edu/news/university-Denver-unites-FC-Bayern-Munich> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

of the official rules of the game, but everything that happens on that pitch happens in accordance with, or in opposition to, those rules; fans are watching the game and reacting to it without thinking about who wrote or controls the rules of the game. However, FIFA-led initiatives to combat racism, sexism, and homophobia are received skeptically by fans, as they know that FIFA has no true enforcement power over fans.²⁵⁷ FIFA controls much of what happens in soccer, but their control is not always experienced by fans.

FIFA's Structure: Confederations and Federations

FIFA is the global soccer entity. FIFA is responsible for the administration of both the men's and women's World Cups. It is comprised of six confederations, each responsible for a particular geographical region. The six FIFA confederations are:

- Asian Football Confederation (AFC)
- Confederation of African Football (CAF)
- Confederation of North, Central American, and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF)
- Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (CONMEBOL)
- Oceania Football Confederation (OFC)
- Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)

While the vast majority of countries play within their geographic region, there are a handful of countries that play in a confederation of countries that are not nearby; the most obvious example of this is Israel, who plays in UEFA and not the AFC with their neighbors, while Australia competes in the AFC and not the OFC like neighboring New

²⁵⁷ A fan can be banned at a particular venue or by a league, but those bans rarely involve FIFA personnel; FIFA is not particularly concerned about any one fan. Fans have also noticed that the decade-plus of anti-racism and anti-homophobia initiatives spearheaded by FIFA are nothing more than performative activism; there is no strategic plan to actually address racism, merely statements rejecting racism. After years of anti-racism statements before major matches, racism remains a major problem in soccer around the world. Players are still subjected to racist abuse, homophobic slurs, and a whole variety of hate speech.

Zealand.²⁵⁸ Confederations are responsible for running the World Cup qualifying tournament for their region and each administers a Champions League.²⁵⁹

Each confederation is comprised of a number of federations, one for each country that plays football; there are 211 FIFA federations, more than there are member states of the United Nations.²⁶⁰ Each country is represented by a federation, often called a Football Association (FA) that governs soccer life within a country. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important federations are the Deutscher Fußball-Bund (DFB), the English FA, and the United States Soccer Federation (US Soccer); these three federations demonstrate the wide variety of naming conventions used for federations. Professional club soccer leagues, like MLS or the British Premiere League, are under the control and influence of the federation of the country wherein they exist. The DFB is responsible for the Deutsche Fußball Liga (DFL), which runs the Bundesliga and other professional leagues in Germany; the DFL is a sub-organization under the DFB's control. US Soccer

²⁵⁸ FIFA, on its Confederations page, provides a full list of the membership of each confederation. "Confederations," FIFA, <https://www.fifa.com/associations/#all> (last accessed May 4, 2020).

²⁵⁹ Champions Leagues are intercountry competitions where the top team or teams in each country's league within the confederation compete against each other in a tournament (round robin matches in a group, followed by a single-elimination bracket). The most famous Champions League is the UEFA Champions League and, unless otherwise noted, all references to the Champions League in this dissertation mean the UEFA iteration; references to other Champions Leagues will include a confederation referent.

²⁶⁰ There are 193 countries that are members of the United Nations; two additional nations have observer status: the State of Palestine and the Holy See. The full list of United Nations member countries is available on the United Nations' website at <https://www.un.org/en/member-states/> (last accessed May 4, 2020).

There are countries that compete together for the Olympics (like team Great Britain, comprised of English, Scottish, and Welsh athletes) that compete separately in FIFA competition. There is an English Football Association (The Football Association), a Scottish Football Association (Scottish FA), and a Welsh Football Association (Football Association of Wales). Thus, FIFA federation status is not dependent on nation-state status within the global community. Additionally, there are a few FAs that cover a geographic territory and not a nation, like the British Virgin Islands Football Association. The full list of FIFA member federations is available at <https://www.fifa.com/associations/#all> (last accessed May 4, 2020).

is responsible for MLS, the United Soccer League (USL), and the North American Soccer League (NASL). The English FA administers the English Premiere League.²⁶¹

The World Cup

All of soccer life, at the professional level, happens in a four-year cycle. Every four years, the World Cup is held. The World Cup is the only truly global championship of its kind, bringing together countries from around the globe, all playing the same sport.²⁶² While the Olympics historically celebrates amateur competition,²⁶³ the World Cup is where the best of the best in the world meet.²⁶⁴ Its host location changes every

²⁶¹ Depending on the season, the name of the Premiere League adjusts to reflect whether any Welsh teams are playing in the Premiere League; when a Welsh team is in the top flight, it is the British Premiere League, and when there are only English teams in the top flight, it is the English Premiere League. During the 2020–21 season when this dissertation was completed, it was the English Premiere League.

²⁶² Some might make the argument that the World Baseball Classic, introduced in 2005, purports to be the baseball equivalent; however, its relatively young age coupled with the small number of baseball-playing nations mean that it is nowhere near the scale and grandeur of the World Cup. Playing professional baseball is the aspiration; making one's national team for the World Baseball Classic is not yet the stuff of childhood dreams in the same way that making one's national team for soccer is. The sheer number of soccer players worldwide, in hundreds of professional leagues, means that competition for spots on national teams is far more competitive across the globe than its baseball counterpart, where there are only professional baseball leagues in eighteen countries.

²⁶³ Though the rules have been somewhat relaxed to incorporate professional athletes in certain sports, the Olympics was designed to primarily celebrate those who compete and excel without financial benefit to themselves.

²⁶⁴ Unlike the Olympics, where rules bar those playing in certain professional leagues in certain sports from competition, the best professional players in the best leagues in the world represent their home countries at the World Cup. For example, of the players called up to the Brazilian national team for the November 2013 international break, players represented eight different top-flight leagues (Brazil, England/Wales, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, and Ukraine) and fourteen different professional clubs (Atlético Mineiro; Chelsea, Queens Park Rangers, and Tottenham Hotspur; Paris Saint-Germain; Bayern Munich and Wolfsburg; Lazio and Roma; Zenit St. Petersburg; Barcelona and Real Madrid; Shakhtar Donetsk). Three of those clubs (Barcelona, Bayern Munich, and Real Madrid) reached the semifinals in the 2012–13 Champions League, and most players played in interleague competition in either a Champions League or the Europa League.

The Europa League is much like the Champions League but is comprised of teams that fell just short of qualifying for the Champions League. Some countries get more slots in the Champions League than others; in England and Germany, the top four teams qualify to the Champions League, while teams finishing fifth and sixth qualify for the Europa League.

four years, and despite the fact that hosting the World Cup generally produces a financial loss for a country, the prestige that comes from being selected to host is enough that countries vie for the opportunity; it also affords countries that would not otherwise qualify for the World Cup a chance to compete on the world's biggest stage.²⁶⁵

There are actually two different World Cups. While the vast majority of fans around the world mark time in soccer by the men's World Cup, a small group of others mark it by the women's World Cup.²⁶⁶ As FIFA and most of the world mark time with the men's game, that will be the cycle discussed here. The pattern is the same for the women's edition, but it occurs in the odd year following the men's edition; the next women's World Cup will be in 2023. In even years without a World Cup, coinciding with US presidential elections, each confederation operates a tournament for its teams; the 2020 men's European Championships were postponed due to COVID-19 and will be played during the summer of 2021, while the 2021 women's European Championship has moved to the summer of 2022, opposite the 2022 men's World Cup.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ The host is given an automatic berth. Most countries that serve as hosts for the World Cup field teams that outright qualify for the tournament, like Germany in 2006; in 2010, South Africa was the exception, as their national team would not have otherwise qualified out of the CAF. Additionally, the defending World Cup champions are automatically awarded a berth, so Germany, who won the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, were automatically qualified for the 2018 World Cup in Russia; Germany could have lost every single qualifying match and would still have been able to compete at the World Cup. As winners of the 2018 World Cup, France has a guaranteed berth at the 2022 World Cup in Qatar.

²⁶⁶ FIFA's nomenclature designates the men's edition as the World Cup and the women's edition as the Women's World Cup. It is the firm belief of this author that the nomenclature inherently diminishes the women's game and tries to subordinate it to the men's game. Additionally, this is also because there is no nomenclature or true discussion of the role of trans athletes; given the sheer size of professional and international football worldwide, there are assuredly trans and nonbinary athletes who are forced to exist within a false gender binary. Thus, this dissertation will utilize the term World Cup only, with a lower case designation as to the group of people playing.

²⁶⁷ Out of all the confederation tournaments, by far the most widely known and watched is the European Championships that UEFA operates. Viewership for the 2016 UEFA European Championships

The 2022 World Cup in Qatar will have thirty-two teams. To qualify for the World Cup, teams compete in a qualifying tournament operated by their confederation. Each confederation is granted a certain number of berths at the World Cup; UEFA has thirteen berths, while CONCACAF has three guaranteed, with a fourth team competing in an inter-confederation play-in.²⁶⁸ Once qualified, teams gather in the host country; teams set up a training base somewhere in the country, usually in a location convenient to their group stage matches. The World Cup has two stages: the group stage and the knockout stage. In the group stage, eight groups of four countries compete in a round robin, with each team in the group playing the others. Teams are awarded three points for a win, one point for a draw, and no points for a loss; the team with the highest point total after three matches wins the group.

tournament topped two billion, with 600 million viewers for the final. Conversely, the US-hosted 2016 Copa America Centenario, a competition between countries from both CONCACAF and CONMEBOL, drew only 9.8 million viewers for the final between Chile and Argentina; the semifinal match between the United States and Argentina was watched by eight million people, a then-record for FoxSports1.

Associated Press, “Euro 2016 Seen by 2 Billion on TV; 600M Tune in for Final,” *USAToday*, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/soccer/2016/12/15/euro-2016-seen-by-2bn-people-on-tv-600mn-tune-in-for-final/95462450> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

“Nearly Ten Million Viewers for Copa America Final,” *Sports Media Watch*, <https://www.sportsmedia watch.com/2016/06/Copa-America-ratings-nearly-ten-million-viewers-Arentina-Chile-Univision.fsl> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

Kevin Baxter, “Copa America U.S.-Argentina match draws over 8 million viewers,” *The Los Angeles Times*, <https://www.latimes.com/sports/soccer/la-sp-Copa-us-Arentina-tv-ratings-201660622-snap-story.html> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

²⁶⁸ Berths by confederation:

AFC—four, plus a fifth team competing in the inter-confederation play-in

CAF—five

CONCACAF—three, plus a fourth team competing in the inter-confederation play-in

CONMEBOL—four, plus a fifth team competing in the inter-confederation play-in

OFC—zero or one, depending on the inter-confederation play-in. This is why it is advantageous for Australia to compete in the AFC, as that confederation has guaranteed berths.

UEFA—thirteen

The berth for the host nation is separate from the confederation allotments.

At the conclusion of the group stage, the top two teams in each group advance into the bracketed knockout stage; a total of sixteen teams advance out of the eight groups. Each group winner plays the runner-up from another group, and the bracket is single elimination; if a team loses, they are out of the competition. The World Cup Final is held in the largest of the stadia, and more people tune in for the World Cup Final than any other sporting event. Following the final, there is an awards ceremony, where the winning team is handed the actual cup for the first time.²⁶⁹

However, the World Cup is far more than just a competition. It is a spectacle, with musical performances and celebrities, where football takes on a carnivalesque aspect; it is as much about the experience for fans as it is about the football. Each host country has a reason they want to host the event. For countries like Russia, hosting the World Cup allows them to assert their dominance on a world stage; others believe that the tournament will provide an internal political benefit to them, though an analysis of election results in host countries demonstrates that there is no internal political benefit for leaders in power.²⁷⁰ Hosting the World Cup serves as a giant advertisement for the host

²⁶⁹ In addition to trophies, medals are awarded to every player and coach from the winning team, the runner-up, and the third place team. The third place team is determined in a match between the two losing semi-finalists, held before the World Cup Final.

²⁷⁰ While the 2018 World Cup in Russia drew over five million tourists, only 2.9 million of those visitors were from countries other than Russia. Conversely, Brazil saw tourism numbers triple in 2014 over the previous year in June, but when the total number of foreign tourists is compared year-to-year, it's clear that the bump of the World Cup exists only around the tournament. Brazil had 5.81 million foreign tourists in 2013, 6.43 million tourists in 2014 (the year they hosted), and 6.3 million in 2015.

Russia numbers:

“More than 5 Million Tourists Visit FIFA World Cup Host Cities in Russia,” TASS, <https://Tass.com/sport/1012057> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

Brazil numbers:

OECD (2018), “Table 1 – Brazil: Domestic, inbound, and outbound tourism: Brazil”. in Partner country profiles, (Paris: OECD publishing, 2018).

country, which is one of the reasons that countries fight for the opportunity; they pay dearly for that privilege. Countries often spend billions of dollars preparing to host the World Cup, both on stadia and infrastructure. South Africa, host of the first World Cup in Africa in 2010, spent \$2.7 billion on their World Cup.²⁷¹ Brazil spent somewhere in the neighborhood of \$14 billion on stadiums and infrastructure, which led to widespread protests in the country.²⁷² However, neither number is anywhere near what Qatar is expected to spend on the 2022 World Cup.

According to a report released this week, from Deloitte, Qatar—population 2 million, with only 225,000 or so Qatari citizens—will spend \$200 billion on the 2022 World Cup. That’s \$100,000 per capita, compared to \$350 per capita for the Sochi Games, \$73 per capita for Brazil, and \$54 per capita for South Africa. Qatar will spend 286 times more money per capita on the World Cup than Russia will spend on the most expensive Olympics ever, the Sochi games. The country will spend 1,852 times more capita to stage the same event that South Africa did in 2010.²⁷³

Qatar has effectively embarked on a \$200 billion public relations campaign, drawing international attention to Qatar and all it has to offer.²⁷⁴ Yet despite the tremendous cost of hosting the World Cup, countries still want the honor of hosting the event, expecting to

²⁷¹ Sean Gregory, “Why Qatar Is Spending \$200 Billion on Soccer,” *Time* <http://keepingscore.blogs.time.com/2013/07/11/why-Qatar-is-spending-200-billion-on-soccer/> (last accessed August 25, 2013).

²⁷² The protests were not only in response to spending on the World Cup improvements; they were also in response to massive cuts in social programs, as well as the razing of neighborhoods and the displacement of people for construction projects. The World Cup provided a focal point for the protestors; many called for people to boycott the 2014 World Cup in Brazil because of the aforementioned issues.

²⁷³ Gregory, “Why Qatar Is Spending \$200 Billion on Soccer.”

²⁷⁴ Qatar’s public relations campaign about their World Cup has been dramatically overshadowed by the deaths of migrant workers, who are used as an underpaid and undervalued labor source and who have little-to-no recourse for relief.

Annie Kelly et al, “Revealed: Hundreds of Migrant Workers Dying of Heat Stress in Qatar Each Year,” the *Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/oct/02/revealed-hundreds-of-migrant-workers-dying-of-heat-stress-in-Qatar-each-year> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

recover the costs paid out from revenue created by tourism. Even if they face a financial loss when all is said and done, the prestige of hosting the best in the world, of having their national team on the world's stage,²⁷⁵ of having their country's stories told,²⁷⁶ outweigh the financial considerations. South Africa, which had expected to earn enough to cover most of the \$2.7 billion they spent on improvements, found that they made far less than had been forecasted.

Tourism during the June–July tournament brought in some 3.6 billion rand (\$519.6 million), far less than the government had initially expected. Tourism Minister Marthinus van Schalkwyk told reporters. The global economic downturn contributed to fewer overseas spectators attending the games, making it difficult for President Jacob Zuma's government to recoup the nearly 40 billion rand it had spent on infrastructure.

A Bloomberg/Quint analysis of World Cup host countries and the contribution that the World Cup makes to its host's economy; the World Cup has no real impact on a country's gross domestic product.²⁷⁷

The World Cup's significance is felt throughout the soccer world. It is somewhat inescapable because it interrupts and interferes with professional club soccer; in most top-flight leagues, play stop for what are called "international breaks." If a soccer fan only cares about club football, they are still impacted by international competition; likewise, if they only care about international competition, they are impacted by the length of the

²⁷⁵ This is where the automatic berth for host countries comes into play.

²⁷⁶ During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, much attention was paid to the soccer played on Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and others who would come to be political leaders postapartheid ran a league for those incarcerated among the harshest conditions in the infamous prison. That, combined with how smoothly the tournament ran, helped to give global legitimacy to the government of South Africa.

²⁷⁷ Azman Usmani, "World Cup 2018: Hosting Football World Cup Boosts Pride, Not Economy," *Bloomberg/Quint*, <https://www.bloombergquint.com/fifa-world-cup-2018/world-cup-2018-hosting-football-world-cup-boosts-pride-not-economy> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

club season. The title “World Cup winner” is one players and managers carry for life. Commentators during league matches regularly reference player performance in international competition and the same is true in the reverse; during World Cup or qualifying matches, commentators regularly talk about a player’s feats in league play.

Soccer in the United States

Soccer arrived in the United States with immigrants from football-playing countries. Much like England, the places where soccer flourished initially²⁷⁸ were not metropolises but smaller towns. The first soccer enclaves were often where immigrants made up the bulk of the workforce, such as places like Fall River, Massachusetts. The only real exception to this small-town sport was St. Louis, which had a vibrant soccer culture due to its immigrant population. However, “virtually from the time of the first organised games, the United States has been much more concerned with establishing its own existence and playing by its own rules than in joining any international fraternity.” American exceptionalism²⁷⁹ shaped the game in the United States, with soccer’s inviolable rules changed for an American audience. The United States has always been somewhat out of step with the rest of the world, as this section will show.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ David Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World: The Story of America’s Forgotten Game* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 16.

²⁷⁹ American exceptionalism, in short, is the belief that the United States is the best country in the history of the world, and therefore, anything that is American is better than anything deemed un-American.

For more, see:

Christian Collet, “Soccer, Politics, and the American Public: Still ‘Exceptional?’” *Soccer & Society* 18, nos. 2–3 (2017), 348–67.

²⁸⁰ Among the crazy rules tried in US leagues were mandatory shootouts (regardless of the score, every game ended with a variation on a penalty shootout), playing in quarters instead of halves, playing in thirds instead of halves, and a number of other rules that are far outside FIFA’s official rules. The US national

USA Governance Structure

Soccer in the United States is governed by US Soccer.²⁸¹ US Soccer is a monolith. They have authority over MLS, the USL, the NASL, and the youth development systems, including training academies, and they handle the marketing for MLS and the national teams.²⁸² Soccer United Marketing (SUM) is the group responsible for marketing MLS and the official (and sole) marketing partner for US Soccer.²⁸³ US Soccer has near total control of professional and amateur soccer in the United States.

Competition Structure

The soccer competition structure in the United States is similar to that of other countries in many ways: there are several professional leagues and US Soccer oversees them to an extent. MLS is the top league, while both the USL and NASL are considered to be equal second division leagues; there is one third division league (USL League One, which began in 2019), and one fourth division league (USL League Two). One of the

teams are forced to follow FIFA's rules for international duty, but soccer leagues in the US have freedom to play with the rules of the game.

²⁸¹ While the abbreviation of the United States Soccer Federation is USSF, and that can be used in lieu of the full name, the USSF's preferred nomenclature is US Soccer. For the purposes of this dissertation, US Soccer will be used to refer to the governing body of soccer in the United States, while references to soccer in the United States will be either "soccer in the United States," or alternate phrasing to prevent confusion.

²⁸² Both the USWNT and the USMNT are governed by US Soccer, as are the US youth national teams, the US Paralympic teams, and US Soccer has an affiliate relationship with the US Olympic Committee and the International Olympics Committee. US Soccer hires coaches, determines rosters, and has ultimate authority over who is selected to represent the United States in international competition.

²⁸³ "MLS Digital Properties & Soccer United Marketing," Major League Soccer, <https://www.MPLSsoccer.com/advertise> (last accessed July 15, 2019).

For more about SUM, see "Chapter 6: Soccer United Marketing" in Gary Hopkins, *Star-Spangled Soccer: The Selling, Marketing and Management of Soccer in the USA* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 155–68.

biggest differences between the United States and other soccer countries, beside the lack of promotion/relegation, is that the United States plays their season from March through November, while the rest of the soccer world runs from August to May or June.

Major League Soccer

MLS was founded in 1996 with ten teams,²⁸⁴ though there had been prior professional leagues in the United States, most notably the NASL and the New York Cosmos of the late 1970s, when German great Franz Beckenbauer and Brazilian phenom Pelé played together.²⁸⁵ In 1998 the league expanded to twelve teams,²⁸⁶ but in 2001 two of the teams, the Tampa Bay Mutiny and the Miami Fusion ceased operations, bringing the league back down to ten teams. Beginning in 2005 MLS expanded as additional teams joined the league; there were twenty-seven MLS teams competing during the 2021 season.²⁸⁷ As previously noted, the season runs from March through November.

Most soccer leagues pause play when players are called up for international duty; this is due to the large number of players who represent their nations on the world stage

²⁸⁴ The ten original MLS teams were: Colorado Rapids, Columbus Crew, D.C. United, Dallas Burn (now FC Dallas), Kansas City Wiz/Wizards (now Sporting KC), LA Galaxy, New England Revolution, New York/New Jersey MetroStars (now New York Red Bulls), San Jose Clash (now San Jose Earthquakes), and the Tampa Bay Mutiny.

²⁸⁵ The New York Cosmos won the Soccer Bowl, the NASL championship, in 1977, 1978, 1980, and 1982. Signings like the two players mentioned in the above paragraph, Beckenbauer and Pelé, were part of the dominant team during the NASL's heyday in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

²⁸⁶ The Chicago Fire and Miami Fusion joined the league in 1998.

²⁸⁷ MLS Teams (alphabetically by conference):

Eastern Conference—Atlanta United FC, Chicago Fire FC, FC Cincinnati, Columbus Crew FC, D.C. United, Inter Miami FC, CF Montréal, Nashville SC, New England Revolution, New York City FC, New York Red Bulls, Orlando City SC, Philadelphia Union, Toronto FC.

Western Conference—Austin FC, Colorado Rapids, FC Dallas, Houston Dynamo, LA Galaxy, Los Angeles FC, Minnesota United FC, Portland Timbers, San Jose Earthquakes, Seattle Sounders FC, Sporting Kansas City, Vancouver Whitecaps.

and would miss matches, but MLS is an exception to that rule, too. MLS teams continue their competition during these breaks. The argument behind this policy is that not enough players miss to justify the suspension of play, but that argument is largely centered around the idea that not many MLS players also play for the USMNT. When international play happens, a club like FC Dallas loses four players to international call-ups, while Toronto FC potentially loses seven and Minnesota United FC loses eight. When rosters are limited to a certain number of players (usually thirty), losing seven or eight players can seriously impede a club's progress within the league, as players called up for international duty are usually starters for their clubs; that means that MNUFC could potentially only have three of their normal eleven starters for matches.

This refusal to pause the season like every other league does for international play puts undue strain on players; not every player in MLS plays for their country, but when players are absent for international duty, it means that other players on the team cannot be rested for a game. The soccer season is long (usually in the neighborhood of thirty-two games before any playoffs), and the ability to rest players is vital. In other countries, because play pauses, non-international players are training but otherwise resting. Players have asked the league to pause for international breaks, yet the league counters that argument by pointing out that adding these breaks will extend the season by another month. So instead of ending in early November, the season would end in December, and there are some locations in the United States and Canada where playing soccer outdoors in December can be dangerous (e.g., Minnesota).

Current Challenges

Prior to the start of the 2020 MLS season, MLS and the players' union Major League Soccer Players' Association (MLSPA) had to negotiate a new collective bargaining agreement (CBA) due to the expiration of the previous agreement. In 2015 when the previous CBA was negotiated, the league narrowly avoided a players' strike. There was tremendous contention in particular around two issues: MLS's player trade policy²⁸⁸ (and the lack of free agency) and compensation. MLS is a single-entity league, meaning that all the teams in the league are part of the same group; individual owners essentially own a percentage stake in MLS as a whole that represents their club's share. Players do not negotiate their own contracts, and those contracts are with the league, not with the club for which they play.

In other sports when a player's contract expires, they become a free agent and their manager or agent is able to find them another team; the whole point is that players not under contract are able to make their own decisions about where they would like to play. In MLS a player can be traded during any transfer window and the player has no say in that trade; at the expiration of their contract, players are at the whims of MLS.²⁸⁹ The only exception is for transfers or loans outside of MLS, where players get the right of

²⁸⁸ "Unless otherwise agreed to in an SPA addendum, a Player may be required, without his consent, to relocate to any Team in the League as directed by MLS. With regard specifically to trades made during the League Season, such trades may only occur during the FIFA transfer windows for the U.S."

Collective Bargaining Agreement between Major League Soccer and the Major League Soccer Players' Association, 15.1.

²⁸⁹ "For a Player not eligible for Free Agency who will be at least twenty-three (23) years of age in the year in which the applicable Re-Entry Draft will take place and who has completed at least three (3) MLS Service Years, if such Player's option is not exercised, then in accordance with the procedures... The Player is placed in the Re-Entry Draft and made available to all Teams other than his previous Team during Stage One of the Re-Entry Draft. If the player opts out of Stage One of the Re-Entry Draft, his current team shall retain a right of first refusal in the event the Player is offered a contract with the League." CBA 29.1.

refusal.²⁹⁰ The 2015 CBA did introduce a very limited form of free agency, but there was only one player in all of MLS in 2015 who qualified for free agency due to its restrictive nature.²⁹¹

The 2020 CBA between MLS and the MLSPA expanded free agency to include all those “who are 24 years or older and have five years of service in MLS.”²⁹² The new CBA also changed salary caps for teams, increased player salaries, increased retirement contributions from the league, required teams to use charter flights²⁹³ for at least some of their travel, and included the first revenue-sharing agreement between the league and players: “beginning in 2023 and 2024, MLS will increase player spending by an amount equal to 25 percent of the increased media revenue about the amount generated in 2022 plus \$100 million.”²⁹⁴ Players were happy with the CBA, and everything seemed set for the 2020 season. Play began as normal, with teams traveling for the first few weeks of the

²⁹⁰ “MLS shall have the right during the Term of a Player’s SPA to loan the Player’s services or to transfer, assign and/or sell the rights to the Player’s services to any professional soccer team or league outside of MLS provided that the player consents to any such loan, transfer, assignment, or sale.” CBA 15.2.

²⁹¹ Free Agency: Option Decline Players

(a) Option Decline—Eligibility:

Age and Service Years: Free Agency is available for option decline Players who will be at least twenty-eight (28) years old in the year in which the immediately preceding League Season concluded and have at least eight (8) MLS Service Years.

(b) Option Decline Players Free Agency Process—Parameters: A Player who meets the eligibility requirements set forth above and whose option has been declined by his Team may select his Team (from a list of interested Teams). CBA 29.5.

²⁹² Simon Borg, “MLS, MLSPA Agree on New CBA to Run through 2024 Season,” MLS, <https://www.mlssoccer.com/post/2020/02/06/mls-mlspa-agree-new-cba-run-through-2024-season> (last accessed May 15, 2020).

²⁹³ Prior to this CBA, teams had the ability to decide what form of transportation was appropriate for travel. In attempts to save money, many teams flew commercially. This CBA requires teams to use private air charters for certain travel, providing a more comfortable experience for players, staff, and management.

²⁹⁴ Borg, “MLS, MSLPA Agree.”

season for competition as they would normally, despite the fact that the CBA had not been ratified and formalized by the membership of the MLSPA.

When COVID-19 forced MLS to stop competition in March 2020, MLS reopened the CBA negotiations to account for the loss of revenue created by pandemic closures. The initial ask of players was to forego 50 percent of their salaries for the season; players rejected that offer immediately. Eventually, players agreed to a 7.5 percent salary reduction for the season, along with agreeing to a cap in individual player bonuses; in exchange, MLS asked to extend the 2020 CBA an additional two years.²⁹⁵ MLS also added a *force majeure* clause, allowing either side to reopen negotiations for thirty days; they added the clause in June so that they could address their lost revenue. In December MLS announced its intention to use the *force majeure* clause and renegotiate the CBA.²⁹⁶

Concluding Thoughts: Toward Soccer-as-Religion

Now that non-fans have a better understanding of the world of soccer fans, and soccer fans have had the opportunity to reflect on their own context, this dissertation moves into its second set of questions, those regarding whether or not soccer is a religion. It is easy to argue that soccer has religious elements or that it plays the role of religion in someone's life; neither of those claims require deciding whether or not soccer is a religion. Chapter 3 begins with a short discussion about the problem with defining religion; I argue that defining religion is not a prerequisite to speaking of something as a

²⁹⁵ Jeff Carlisle, "MLS Labor Negotiation: What Does Force Majeure Mean for CBA, Players, 2021 Season," *ESPN*, <https://www.espn.com/soccer/major-league-soccer/story/4282033/mls-labor-negotiation-what-does-force-majeure-mean-for-cbaplayers2021-season> (last accessed April 5, 2021).

²⁹⁶ Austin Lindbergh, "MLS Informs Players' Union that It Will Invoke Force Majeure Clause in CBA-Source," *ESPNFC*, <https://www.espn.com/soccer/major-league-soccer/story/4275493/mls-informs-players-union-that-it-will-invoke-force-majeure-clause-to-terminate-cba-source>.

religion and justify why no definition of religion will be provided in this dissertation. The chapter then begins its presentation of religious soccer.

It begins with the role of soccer in everyday life, utilizing Christopher Stone's ethnographic work with English supporters. The rituals of soccer fans, as reported in my own ethnographic research, are presented in their simplicity and their complexity; the roles that rituals play in religious soccer are teased out, including examples of rituals that fans typically did not report but in which they regularly participate. The final section of chapter 3 examines meaning making, specifically in the context of professional club soccer, and argues that there are a set of experiences that are part of the conversion process for fans.

The presentation of religious soccer in chapter 3 is followed by the XI Commandments at the start of chapter 4. The XI Commandments are a set of arguments that describe different beliefs among soccer fans. Religious supporters will recognize their experience throughout the XI Commandments; these arguments are directly drawn from my ethnographic research and are formal presentations of the trends, beliefs, and practices of religious supporters. While the average religious supporter might not phrase things the way they are in this dissertation, religious supporters will recognize these aspects of their religiosity.

Chapter Three: Soccer is a Supporter Religion

This dissertation now moves into its second part, which examines religious soccer. Returning to the personal narrative of the author, these questions developed in the context of my own discovery of my religiosity. Previous behavior patterns, such as going to Mass and praying, shifted to new ones: getting up early for matches, eating the right food, drinking the correct beverage, et cetera. Thus, the first question to answer was simple: could soccer be a religion? Experientially, I knew that answer was yes, but that satisfied neither my curiosity nor my academic training; one example does not prove or disprove anything. In conversations, research, and interviews with other soccer fans, it quickly became apparent that I was not alone in my religiosity.

However, arguing that soccer *could be* a religion is different than determining whether or not it *is* a religion. While these questions could be approached in a variety of ways, as demonstrated in chapter 1, scholars of religion and sport typically start with a definition of religion and then assess whether or not a sport meets that definition. Those who are willing to grant sport status as a religion often argue it is not a *real* religion in the way that, say, Islam is,²⁹⁷ and those who are unwilling to grant sport status as a religion rely on definitions that serve as gatekeepers to prevent things like sport being counted as religions. The real issue, however, is that so much time has been spent debating whether

²⁹⁷ Eric Bain-Selbo and D. Gregory Sapp, *Understanding Sport as a Religious Phenomenon: An Introduction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), Kindle location 92.

or not soccer (or any sport) is a religion that scholars rarely move to the more important questions, like what sport-as-religion looks like in practice, the importance that it holds for fans, the difference it makes in their lives, and how sport-as-religion impacts the sport as a whole.

Because the focus of this dissertation is the world of professional club soccer, the claims throughout this section are about religious soccer supporters and their professional clubs. That is not to say that soccer is not a religion for others; it might very well be that there are players for whom playing the game is their religion and some fans may experience their soccer religiosity in relationship to a national team or to a college team;²⁹⁸ however, such beliefs/practices are outside the scope of this dissertation. This chapter makes the argument that soccer is a supporter religion and describes three broad categories within that religion: the role in everyday life, rituals, and meaning making.

The Problem with Defining Religion

When writing about religion, the common practice is that most authors offer a definition of what they consider to be a religion. This means there nearly as many definitions as there are scholars, something that nineteenth century German philologist F. Max Müller pointed out more than a hundred years ago:

There seem to be almost as many definitions of religion as there are religions in the world, and there is almost the same amount of hostility between those who maintain these different definitions of religion as there is between the believers in different religions. . . . Is it really impossible to

²⁹⁸ One of the individuals interviewed for this dissertation centers his religiosity on his college team, the University of Maryland men's soccer team.

give a definition of religion, that should be applicable to all that has ever been called religion, or by some similar name?"²⁹⁹

There is no consensus amongst scholars as to *what* constitutes a religion. This section examines several popular definitions of religion, each representing a definition of religion from a different discipline, demonstrating how soccer could be both included and excluded from the classification of religion according to those definitions. I then offer two definitions of my own; the first is the operative definition of religion utilized in this dissertation and the second is the operative definition of ritual utilized herein.

There are two general types of definitions of religion. The first type is *exclusive definitions*, which involve multiple criteria that must all be met for inclusion as a religion. This section examines two examples of such definitions, those of American anthropologist Clifford Geertz and Scottish religious theorist Ninian Smart. The second type of definition is *inclusive definitions*, which are intentionally broad and designed to include a wide variety of traditions and beliefs as religions. The two inclusive definitions examined in this section are those of American psychologist William James and philosopher Frederick Ferré.

Geertz

American anthropologist Clifford Geertz's definition is one of the most popularly cited definition of religion, both inside and outside of religious studies. He defines religion thusly:

Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods in [humans] by formulating conceptions of a

²⁹⁹ Max Müller was a German philologist and scholar of religion during the latter part of the nineteenth century. F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1878), 21.

general order of existence and clothing those conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.³⁰⁰

This definition includes several aspects that are often highlighted in other definitions of religion: symbols, human emotions, making sense of the world in which one finds oneself, and how religion impacts one's motivation for action.

In religious soccer, there is a clear system of symbols (red and yellow cards, universally recognized rules, and a shared vocabulary)³⁰¹ and the emotion and passion of soccer fans is obvious to those who have watched even a small part of a televised match.³⁰² , Soccer is how religious supporters make sense of the world and how they make meaning in their lives. The connection between soccer and their lives alters their behavior and that connection is incredibly real for them. While non-religious supporters might not include soccer as a religion under Geertz's definition, as a religious supporter, I can make the case for its inclusion for precisely the reasons set forth above.

³⁰⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 90.

³⁰¹ Due to FIFA's dominance in world football, and because colonization helped spread soccer around the world, the vocabulary is more or less the same; the only difference is the language in which the vocabulary is presented. Even when the words have slightly different formulations across languages, soccer fans watching matches in languages other than their own are able to make mental connections between the language of the broadcast and the rules of the game. For example, the term "offside" is "hors-jeu" in French (literally off-game), "abseit" in German (literally offside), and "fuera del juego" in Spanish (literally out-of-the-game). If a player is ruled offside, the linesman raises their flag, cuing the fan watching, and the connection can be made from the combination of the term and the raised flag; when an offside call is made in a match that is being broadcast, the play is usually replayed several times while discussing how and why the player was offside, providing multiple opportunities for fans to make the connection between the word(s) used by the broadcasters and the rule.

³⁰² In addition to this, the passion of soccer fans is well-documented in popular culture, in academic literature, and in popular titles; in fact, the stereotype of soccer fans is that they are rather rabid and passionate.

Smart

Ninian Smart outlines seven dimensions of religion in one of the definitions that is most popular with other scholars; under this definition if each dimension is part of a tradition/practice, that phenomenon would be included as a religion. These seven dimensions are: the practical and ritual dimension, the experiential and emotional dimension, the narrative or mythic dimension, the doctrinal and philosophical dimension, the ethical and legal dimension, the social and institutional dimension, and the material dimension.³⁰³ Looking at the depth and breadth of these dimensions it would appear difficult to include soccer as a religion under his schema upon an initial view; however, that is not the case. Following the same order of Smart's definition the following phenomena derived from the survey and related data discussed in this dissertation demonstrate that all seven dimensions of the definition are to be found in soccer: fan rituals, the experience of being in a stadium or with other fans, the legends of players and club glory, the work of Simon Critchley on philosophy and soccer, the rules of the game, the shared experience of soccer fandom, and the wide variety of apparel and other items available for purchase.³⁰⁴ Whether one employs a narrow or a broad interpretation of Smart's criteria, soccer can arguably be within the ambit of his definition.

³⁰³ Ninian Smart, *The World's Religions*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12-21.

³⁰⁴ Question eight of the surveys, discussed later in this chapter, asked fans to report the items they own that are related to their club. Jerseys topped the list, with 65% of fans owning an official The full range of reported items owned is available in Appendix B

James³⁰⁵

American psychologist William James, brother of novelist Henry James, had a keen interest in religion and was one of the leading public intellectuals of his day. He defined religion as: “the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual [people] in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider divine.”³⁰⁶ As a psychologist, James’ focus on the individual likely stems from his experience with patients; the internal motivations of individuals and their solitude is the much of the content discussed in therapy. The most interesting part of James’ definition, however, is that it recognizes the positionality of individuals; one’s relationship with whatever one considers divine can only be determined by that individual. The question of divinity, then, is entirely subjective, yet James’ inclusion of divinity in the definition poses the largest barrier for soccer’s inclusion as a religion. The difficulty in assessing divinity in religious soccer lies in each individual’s conception of the divine. For some religious supporters, religious soccer may include some idea of the divine, while for others, it may be included.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ When selecting definitions for this section of the dissertation, I wanted to use definitions of religion from a variety of approaches. As Geertz is an anthropologist and Smart is a religious theorist, the inclusion of James’ definition brings insights from psychology, adding another perspective from another discipline to the conversation.

³⁰⁶ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1923), 31.

³⁰⁷ Neither the surveys nor the interviews inquired about the religiosity of fans.

Ferré³⁰⁸

In a 1977 address to the American Academy of Religion, philosopher Frederick Ferré defined religion as “... *one’s way of valuing most intensively and comprehensively.*”³⁰⁹ As definitions go, Ferré’s is about as broad as possible, centering as it does upon the individual’s commitments and the things that matter most to them. The definition has a very low threshold for inclusion of a belief or action within the definition of religion. The most problematic aspect of this definition, however, is the absence of a communal or collective element. This definition does not mean that community cannot be created amongst those whose share the same way of “valuing most intensively and comprehensively,” but for Ferré it is not an essential part of religion. Religious supporters value soccer intensely and comprehensively, something this chapter and the following chapter demonstrate over and over again.

Operative Definitions: Religion

The four examples discussed above can be interpreted in a very malleable fashion. One’s perspective as to whether or not something meets a definition is entirely dependent on whether or not one *wants* it to meet the definition; the way in which one interprets the wording of a definition is basically up to the interpreter. The definition of religion utilized in this dissertation is this: a religion is 1) claimed by someone as their religion, 2) has a ritual/behavioral component, and 3) has some communal or community aspect to it. Soccer easily meets these three conditions. Religious supporters claim soccer as their

³⁰⁸ The selection of Ferré’s definition stems from my familiarity with his work; my father was his student at Dickinson College (1968-72).

³⁰⁹ Frederick Ferré, “The Definition of Religion,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 38, no. 1 (1970), 11. (Emphasis in original)

religion, thereby satisfying the first part of the definition. There is a clear ritual/behavioral component (examined in depth in the following section) and there is a clear communal aspect to it; every professional soccer club has more than one fan.³¹⁰

Defining Ritual

In the same way that defining religion is fraught, defining ritual is difficult. Scholarship around ritual has largely examined the relationship between myth and ritual. There are four primary approaches to ritual: “several early theorists who raised the issues; the myth and ritual schools, which tended to see ritual as the source of religion and culture; a loose set of phenomenologists of religion who tended to emphasize myth; and, finally, the psychoanalytic approach, which borrowed heavily from all these areas.”³¹¹ This section examines each of these approaches in brief before offering the operative definition utilized in this dissertation.

Myth and Ritual

The definition of religion provided by F. Max Müller, examined in the previous section, is largely informed by the questions he asked about ritual and religion.

Müller argued that what we know as myths were originally poetic statements about nature, especially the sun, made by the ancient Indo-Europeans...however, their poetry was subsequently ‘misunderstood’ by later generations of the cultural groups they conquered.³¹²

Müller’s initial inquiries led to the formation of the myth and ritual school, where the primary question was whether myths gave rise to rituals or whether rituals gave rise to

³¹⁰ As there are eleven players on the pitch and another dozen or so on every team, their family members would be an example of

³¹¹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³¹² Bell, *Ritual*.

the myth. Another early theorist in the field, anthropologist Edward Burnett Tyler, argued that myths were a way of explaining the world and that rituals arose out of those attempts to make sense of the world.³¹³ The connection between myth and ritual was the primary focus of many of the early theorists to grapple with ritual.

Within religious studies, ritual has generally been a broad category that few scholars define in a concrete way; there is an assumption that religious rituals exist because religions exist and repeated patterns of behavior potentially tied to meaning-making exist. Religious rituals existed before humans began to record their history, which demonstrates that people have always sought to connect with something outside of themselves. Examinations of ritual outside of a religious context, though useful in other fields, fail to address the intersection between religion and ritual and thus are not addressed in this dissertation. A religious ritual for a religious supporter cannot be divorced from its religious context, even though an outside observer might not recognize the religious aspects of said ritual.

Soccer has its own set of myths, largely stories of epic victories or defeats, the incredible performance by a superstar, or how a club overcame all the odds. The definition of ritual utilized herein is: a ritual is a repeated behavior that holds the potential for meaning making.³¹⁴ However, those myths are not tied to ritual in the way religious theorists have explored myth and ritual in the past. In religious soccer, the myths and legends of the game are distinct from the ritual behavior of fans. Each club has its own

³¹³ Edward Burnett Tyler,

³¹⁴ Rituals, including dominant definitions of them, are discussed in depth later in this chapter, at the start of the section examining fan rituals.

set of epic stories, yet many fan rituals exist across clubs despite the lack of shared stories.

Both the survey and the interviews demonstrate clearly the wide variety of rituals fans employ and/or participate in. Soccer is built around community and communal effort; whether it is the eleven footballers on the pitch, the crowd in the stands, or even when home alone, other people are always involved in soccer. Returning to the third framing lens in chapter 2, Critchley's "soccer is socialism," the game cannot be played by a single person; it inherently requires the presence of other people on the pitch, ensuring there is always an element of community or communal effort involved.

The difference between fan rituals and those of religious supporters largely comes through the second part of my definition. While fan rituals hold the potential for meaning-making, they are the site of meaning-making for religious supporters. Wearing a jersey on match day can be a simple fan act, or it can be part of a religious supporter's devotional routine. The difference is in the meaning that it has for the person in question. Superstitions can lead to ritualized behavior, but it is those who find meaning and purpose in their ritualized behaviors that matters in this dissertation. The following section examines the variety of fan rituals, all of which are represented within communities of religious supporters.³¹⁵

³¹⁵ The ethnographic research for this dissertation was not solely focused on religious supporters, thus the section on ritual is based on the responses from the survey. Religious supporters primarily identified themselves on the survey by their answers to questions nine and ten.

Religious Soccer

Every religion has a rhythm to it. Feasts, fasts, and celebrations across religions have a rhythm. The Christian liturgical rhythm is a three-year cycle, with one year using readings from the Gospel of Matthew, another using the Gospel of Mark, and the third using the Gospel of Luke. The liturgical rhythm of soccer is a four-year cycle, with the World Cup as its focus. Every year, soccer has a season. Soccer begins in August and ends the following May or June.³¹⁶ The pattern of weekend match days, with midweek cup or international club cup competition matches for the best teams, is comfortable and familiar.³¹⁷ Every two years, fans transition from cheering for their club to cheering for their country (or, often, the country for which their favorite footballer plays, especially during the European Championships).³¹⁸ Summer tournaments bring regions of the world together every four years and bring the entire world together every four years. When the women's game is included, though it is often not, every year there is a tournament that extends soccer through the summer.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ The United States is the primary exception to this rule; the seasons for MLS, the USL, the NASL, and the CONCACAF Champions League begin in February or March and conclude in October or November.

³¹⁷ To qualify to either the UEFA or CONCACAF Champions Leagues, a team must win their domestic league, or, in the more dominant leagues, a team must finish in the top three or four in their domestic league. Qualification to the UEFA Europa league is similar to that of the UEFA CL but is generally the next one to four finishers in the league behind those qualifying for the Champions League. The use of "best" here denotes "the teams that are currently competing in the Champions League after having a season that year that qualified them for that competition."

³¹⁸ This is usually because one's country is not participating in said tournament, but not exclusively; for example, the author of this dissertation cheers for the Deutsche Nationalmannschaft (the German men's national team) over the USMNT but supports the USWNT in all competitions.

³¹⁹ For example, the most recent cycle, pre-COVID-19, was:
2018—World Cup (men)
2019—World Cup (women)

The hunt for club glory dominates the “ordinary time” of soccer life.³²⁰ The focus during the season is on winning the league or avoiding relegation, on advancing in cup and international club competition. Religious supporters are heavily invested throughout the season, tying their hopes and dreams to that of their team. It bleeds into their daily lives, which are often ordered around soccer. There is a true sense of community, believing that how fans react to things and how they act matters to the outcome of the match; this is where ritual and superstition find their home and importance. Not all religious supporters would say they have rituals around their team; nevertheless, they still often participate in rituals without realizing it, recognizing it, or identifying it as such. Rituals inherently include liminality, and, as will be demonstrated in a few pages, there are multiple axes upon which rituals operate. The everydayness of soccer is the context for those rituals and thus precedes discussion of the rituals.

Soccer in Everyday Life

The most comprehensive ethnography of soccer fans appears in Chris Stone’s 2011 dissertation, “Car Stickers and Coffee Mugs: A Study of Football and Everyday

2020—European Championships (men)

2021—European Championships (women)

That cycle has been shifted slightly, as the 2020 European Championships were moved to the summer of 2021; as of May 2020 no announcement has addressed whether the men and women’s European Championships will run concurrently or if the 2021 European Championships will be moved to the summer of 2022, opposite the men’s World Cup in Qatar. This is one more example of how the women’s game continues to be subordinated to the men’s game.

³²⁰ In the higher ritual Christian traditions, like Catholicism, Ordinary Time makes up the majority of the liturgical year. Many people are familiar with Lent and Advent, both of which precede major holidays; Advent and Lent are two of the other parts of the liturgical calendar. Easter lasts from Holy Saturday until Pentecost Sunday, while Christmas begins on December 25 and lasts for twelve days, concluding on Epiphany (January 6 or the first Sunday after January 1). Ordinary Time is the liturgical equivalent of the regular club season; it is the regular, everydayness of soccer life. It is the *ordo regularis*.

Life.”³²¹ Utilizing participant diaries, interviews, and observation, his aim was “to explore the position of football in the everyday lives” of supporters ignored by previous ethnographies of soccer, those who are “beyond ideal types of spectators, to move away from the study of fan movements, supporter subculture and aggressive behavior connected with following football.”³²² Prior to his ethnography, the focus had been on particular types of fans and their behaviors;³²³ Stone’s was the first to move beyond hooligans and traditional supporter cultures and examine how soccer reveals and conceals itself in daily life.³²⁴ In the years since Stone completed his work, a large number of new

³²¹ Chris Stone, “Car Stickers and Coffee Mugs: A Study of Football and Everyday Life” (PhD dissertation, (Sheffield Hallam University, 2012), available through ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global at <https://du.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.du.idm.oclc.org/docview/1970388654?accountid=14608> (last accessed June 15, 2020).

³²² Stone, “Car Stickers and Coffee Mugs,” 9.

³²³ Ethnographies of soccer, prior to Stone’s, include:
Shaun Best, “Liquid Fandom: Neo-Tribes and Fandom in the Context of Liquid Modernity,” *Soccer & Society* 14, no. 1, <https://www-tandfonline-com.du.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1080/14660970.2012.753534?needAccess=true> (last accessed May 1, 2020).
Adam Brown, Tim Crabbe, and Gavin Mellor, *Football and Its Communities* (Manchester, UK: Manchester Metropolitan University Press, 2006).
Tony Blackshaw, *Leisure* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
Markwart Herzog, *Fußball zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Alltag—Medien—Künste—Stars* (Stuttgart, Germany: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2008).
Martin Curi, “Samba, Girls, and Party: Who Were the Brazilian Soccer Fans at a World Cup? An Ethnography of the 2006 World Cup in Germany,” *Soccer & Society* 9, no. 1 (2008): 111–34, <https://www-tandfonline-com.du.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1080/14660970701616795> (last accessed May 1, 2020).
Norbert Dittmar, “Soziolinguistischer Stilbegriff am Beispiel der Ethnographie einer Fußballmannschaft,” *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 10, no. 4 (1989): 423–44, <https://www-jstor-org.du.idm.oclc.org/stable/23974586> (last accessed May 1, 2020).
Mike Weed, “The Story of an Ethnography: The Experience of Watching the 2002 World Cup in the Pub,” *Soccer and Society* 7, no. 1 (2004), <https://doi-org.du.idm.oclc.org/10.1080/14660970500355603> (last accessed May 1, 2020).

³²⁴ Ethnographies that followed Stone’s:
Oliver Brooks, *Football, Fandom and Consumption* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
Andrew Hodges, *Fan Activism, Protest and Politics: Ultras in Post-Socialist Croatia* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

ethnographies of soccer fans have appeared in articles and books, yet Stone's remains the only one to look at soccer in the everyday lives of fans in an intentional and concrete way.

Following the precedent of much sociological research, football literature has tended to focus on the exceptional, the subcultures attached to hooliganism or football fanzines, or the impact that structurally imposed factors such as race, gender, or class has on one's relationship with the sport and the culture that surrounds it. The mundane, unspectacular, and everyday ordinariness of how the majority of supporters relate to football is often overlooked by academia as being too obvious and unworthy of study.³²⁵

Stone's work immediately makes it clear that this lacuna fundamentally skews how soccer and its adherents are understood; when little attention is paid to the typical fan, it is the extraordinary that becomes the stereotype of the ordinary. Stone's more comprehensive ethnography seeks to address this hole in the research and scholarship of soccer fans, while teasing out the ways in which soccer operates across four locations: at work, at home, in the pub, and in the city.

Geoff Pearson, *An Ethnography of English football Fans: Cans, Cops and Carnivals* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012).

Alexandra Schwell, Malgorzata Kowalksa, Nina Szogs, and Micha Buchowski, *New Ethnographies of Football in Europe: People, Passions, Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Nina Szogs, *Football Fandom and Migration: An Ethnography of Transnational Practices and Narratives in Vienna and Istanbul* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

William Tantam, *An Ethnography of Football and Masculinities in Jamaica: Letting the Football Talk* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

Mariann Vaczi, *Soccer, Culture and Society in Spain: An Ethnography of Basque Fandom* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

There are only two ethnographies that exclusively examine women's soccer, both of which were written by the same male author and were independently published. They are:

Joseph C. Wilson, *Behind the Goal: An Ethnography of Women in Soccer* (independently published, 2015).

Joseph C. Wilson, *Behind the Goal 2: An Ethnography of the National Women's Soccer League* (independently published, 2018).

³²⁵ Stone, "Car Stickers," 285.

Here, Stone stands squarely on the shoulders of novelist Nick Hornby, whose *Fever Pitch* is an

Evocative account of supporting Arsenal . . . littered with explanations of how his passion for football permeates all aspects of his life, from personal relationships with friends, relatives, and colleagues, to metaphorical excuses for feelings of professional underachievement.³²⁶

In it, Hornby uses individual matches/tournaments/etcetera as “contextually driven narratives concerning subjective notions of identity, masculinity, community, work, family, and relationships beyond the match-day experience itself.”³²⁷ Though “Hornby identifies himself as possibly being unrepresentative of the majority of football supporters,” he, in fact, exemplifies the kind of supporter of interest here—a religious one.³²⁸

The role of soccer in everyday life is part of the fabric that religious supporters wear; it is where their football life intersects with everything else. Stone’s conception of everyday life is utilized herein because it is the most accurate interpretation of the fluidity of modern life while still addressing identity formation. To get to Stone’s understanding of the term, it is imperative to understand what makes Stone’s project unique. To do that one needs to examine what preceded Stone’s interpretation of daily life. There are two scholars whose work on everyday life shaped the discourse: Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau.

³²⁶ Stone, “Car Stickers,” 8.

³²⁷ Stone, “Car Stickers,” 8.

³²⁸ Stone, “Car Stickers,” 8.

A scholar in the Marxist tradition, Lefebvre “recognises that researching everyday life involves making connections between ‘humble events’ as they are subjectively experienced,”³²⁹ while paying attention to “alienation and the ideal of the ‘total person’ . . . [it] exposes the relationship between the processes of modernity and cultural experiences.”³³⁰ Importantly, Lefebvre argues,

Our route to enlightened understanding must be through engagement with the praxis of everyday life. It is here that people act out their lives and where, in his case, modern forms of capital and the connected alienation are routinely incorporated as they reverberate across a number of different registers.³³¹

Conversely, de Certeau “is interested in the ordinary ‘practices’ that make up people’s everyday lives and the connectivity that gives them meaning within the social world.”³³² Less concerned with grounding his work in a particular tradition, “de Certeau attempts to offer an approach that, although elusive at times, is supported by a more empirical approach of his thinking.”³³³ De Certeau’s primary contribution is that “it is through a focus on the practices of everyday life that the smallest actions, that seem inconsequential when contextually isolated, can be revealed as so significant in the constitution of society and navigation thereof.”³³⁴ As Stone explains:

His speculative solution was to circumscribe the orthodoxies of empirical research epistemology; to see research itself as a practice of everyday life

³²⁹ Stone, “Car Stickers,” 61.

³³⁰ Ibid., 60.

³³¹ Ibid., 61.

³³² Ibid., 62.

³³³ Ibid., 61.

³³⁴ Ibid., 63.

in order to reveal the subtle forms of “*bricolage*” through which individuals arrange their daily lives. De Certeau is keen to point out that his “tactical” engagement with the field of “popular culture” is with specific avoidance of what had become labelled as “counter culture” . . . de Certeau’s interest is with less dramatic ways in which consumers “make do.”³³⁵

Stone’s goal is to

Open a dialogue between these theorists of everyday life and the ideas of Zygmunt Bauman in order to establish an appropriate way of attending to the problem of registering, interpreting, and making meaningful the mundane presence of football of daily life in liquid modernity in as wide a sense as possible given the limitations inherent in such a task.”³³⁶

By utilizing Bauman’s conception of liquid modernity, Stone’s ethnography “revealed the spatial/temporal delineations that still help people shape their everyday lives despite the transience and fluidity of modern living.”³³⁷ For those who participated in the study, “Their daily lives, within which football is to greater or lesser extents embedded, are made up of both taken for granted aspects and consciously (de)constructed elements. Furthermore, football itself emerges in people’s daily lives at both a conscious and unconscious level.”³³⁸ The result of his ethnography is that:

What is clear is that football, and its attached cultural products and codes, is present both everywhere and nowhere in everyday life. . . . For different people at different times, football emerges to reinforce their sense of self, to aid connectivity amongst friends, family, colleagues, and strangers. It helps regulate viewing or listening habits, interactive routines, and consumption practices. Football can provide spaces within the ordinariness of daily life for the portrayal of different versions of the self, of multiple versions of the self.³³⁹

³³⁵ Ibid., 62.

³³⁶ Ibid., 66.

³³⁷ Ibid., 67.

³³⁸ Ibid., 287.

³³⁹ Ibid., 290–91.

In a world of fluidity and liquidity, soccer provides a touchstone, a “focus for collective memories, personal biographies, and transient meetings between strangers.” This is because “it provides common ground between friends and strangers in a world where other aspects of life such as work, neighbourhood, or family are less likely to provide a connection between people.”³⁴⁰ This is because

For these individuals football acts as a default setting. It is the Ctrl/Alt/Del of everyday life; a simple shortcut that can be enacted to seemingly reset the world around us when it seems too difficult to cope with so much going on in increasingly complicated lives.³⁴¹

This point is key. When soccer is a religion for a supporter, it often becomes someone’s modus operandi. It can change their engagement with their world, shift their beliefs, and become an all-consuming passion. However, as Stone rightly points out,

This default setting is now not as secure . . . as it is increasingly likely that such individuals are brought into consciously having to justify themselves as a ‘supporter,’ to defend what football means to them, to question other supporters’ commitment, to reflect on themselves and where football fits into their lives.³⁴²

It is not something easily understood by others, and thus religious supporters are often forced to justify their religious conversion in ways they would not have had to had they converted to a more traditional religion.

The final important contribution from Stone is his understanding of the process by which soccer and everyday life continually inform each other. Stone prefers the use of a

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 288.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 288.

³⁴² Ibid., 288.

spiral to that of a circle, echoing the hermeneutical spiral of the modified See-Judge-Act methodology used by liberative theologians and employed throughout this dissertation.³⁴³ He does this because he recognizes that there is no return to the same exact place, as events change one's location. He does this through the analogy of a corkscrew, a cork, and a whirlwind. It describes how "the mundane and carnivalesque are intertwined" and how perspective impacts one's understanding of soccer in everyday life in liquid modernity.

As individuals spin around the edge they never return to the same point. Like looking at the profile of a corkscrew thread as it turns, there is the illusion that nothing changes but on each turn any fixed point moves up a level. Similarly, as we metaphorically move around the reflexive spiral we may feel like we keep returning to the same positions but due to the intervening experiences we will have moved on a level. Experiences will travel downwards adding to one another, a stock of knowledge and experience. Like a corkscrew, some kind of solid reference point is needed for it to be of use. The cork in this analogy represents more solid representations of and relationships with football culture. Without solidity it is difficult to discern any change. In liquid modernity, change is superficial. But unavoidable. Everyday life in liquid modernity resembles a whirlwind which unlike a corkscrew has no fixed point of contact. The speed at which life moves means that the cultural possibilities surrounding us are sucked in, consumed, used up before being thrown out the top of the twister. In other words, football appears in many forms within everyday life but maybe only briefly. We are whisked around and around, relationships with football culture constantly changing and it is how the fragmented debris of this cultural tornado is put back together on a daily basis that defines individual relationships with football culture in liquid modernity.³⁴⁴

³⁴³ Most of this chapter is an example of the first step, the observation of what is happening and what exists. The last portion of this chapter moves into the "Judge" step in its case study of DBG and FCD. The contours of religious soccer precede judgment about religious soccer. The fifth chapter of this dissertation focuses on the "Act" step. Like Stone, the author of this dissertation prefers an alternate representation of the cycle to that of the circle; Stone's corkscrew analogy is similar to the spiral advanced by this author.

³⁴⁴ Stone, "Car Stickers," 290.

Rituals

Rituals in soccer are everywhere and many are found in fans' everyday lives.³⁴⁵ Fans, players, and entire clubs have rituals. Rituals exist and occur along multiple axes: personal–communal, private–public, simple–complex. As fans engage with soccer, they naturally develop rituals around it, in the same way that people develop rituals in their lives. For a soccer fan, their Sunday morning ritual may be getting up early, throwing on a jersey, and eating breakfast while watching one's team; for the non-soccer fan, their Sunday morning ritual may be reading the paper with coffee while sitting in the same place. While this section will touch on player rituals briefly, the focus will primarily be on the rituals of fans and of clubs.

It is unsurprising that many players have rituals and superstitions; stories littered across pop culture and sports writing describe the particular foibles of a player as part of a profile or article. This is especially true in soccer, as statistical analyses demonstrate that soccer success is about 50 percent skill and 50 percent luck.³⁴⁶ Ahead of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, the German Football Association (DFB) released a series of videos in which players shared their personal rituals for their game. Some spoke about needing their boots to be a certain color, others about being the last to step onto the pitch, and others their pre-match music.³⁴⁷ Stereotypes of superstitious players exist in every

³⁴⁵ All references to survey responses will be formatted as Survey Number/Language—Response Number. Thus, 1—1 refers to the first response to Survey 1.

³⁴⁶ Chris Anderson and David Sally, *The Numbers Game: Why Everything You Know About Soccer Is Wrong* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 37.

³⁴⁷ Prior to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, members of the German national team were asked about their rituals and superstitions. Bastian Schweinsteiger spoke about always wearing white boots and being the last on the pitch, while others like Mesut Özil talked about their music preferences.

professional sport, and, indeed, every sport has players who are superstitious or engage in rituals to bring luck to their game. Whether it is wearing the same pair of lucky underwear, not washing the shirt one wears under one's football pads for the entire season, or always stepping onto the court/pitch/field with the same foot, the fickleness of uncertainty will always breed superstition and ritual. When faced with uncertainty, people turn to the concrete in order to handle the ephemeral. Finally, for many players who are themselves religious, displays of faith form their own rituals. In fact, players' increasing sensitivity to each other's backgrounds has created opportunities for culturally- and religiously-appropriate celebrations.³⁴⁸

Ultimately, though, it is the fan rituals that matter. Fan rituals vary widely. Many fans reported having no rituals, while others shared very detailed and elaborate routines that require time and energy to complete. It is the opinion of this author that all religious supporters have rituals but that many might not recognize their rituals as such. There were several ritual trends that fans reported in the ethnographic survey for this dissertation. The first is social media; the second involves food, beverages, and mind-altering chemicals; the third is composed of clothing. This section concludes with an examination of fan rituals that do not fit within those three trends.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ In Germany, the team that wins the Bundesliga celebrates that victory with three liter beers, provided by Paulaner (the official beer sponsor of the Bundesliga). Very little of the beer is actually consumed; it is more commonly poured over the heads of players and managers. In 2013, after Bayern Munich won the league as part of their treble that season, Jérôme Boateng poured a beer over the head of Franck Ribéry. Ribéry, a Muslim, was upset, until Boateng informed him that Paulaner had provided non-alcoholic beer, too. Even this small incident demonstrates how soccer intersects with religion and how soccer rituals are adapted to accommodate different religious traditions.

³⁴⁹ Whenever possible, examples and responses from FCD and FC Bayern München will be utilized, as the two case studies presented in this dissertation involve those two clubs.

Social Media

The vast majority of fans mentioned social media in their responses to question 9 of the ethnographic survey.³⁵⁰ Twitter was mentioned most frequently. Social media has drastically increased the reach that clubs have around the world. Every team in the top international leagues has a social media presence, as do most professional and semi-professional teams. Websites are still a useful resource for tickets and information about a club's history, but platforms like Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook are the most common ways that fans engage with their team and keep up with the latest information. Fans also follow their favorite players; one supporter's pre-match ritual is to "like" Olivier Giroud's latest Instagram post.³⁵¹

Twitter is especially important on match days.³⁵² An increasingly large number of fans have Twitter open and are commenting and arguing with other fans throughout the match. Twitter, in effect, provides a sort of virtual pub wherein people are able to gather and banter despite the physical distance separating them.³⁵³ COVID-19 radically changed

³⁵⁰ "Question 9: Do you have any rituals around your team? Are there things you do on match day? Things you do on draw days? Tell me about how you interact with your team. Do you blog? Tweet? Please be as descriptive as possible."

When this research was conducted in 2014, Instagram was beginning its rise as a popular platform for soccer fans. The number of fans utilizing Instagram in 2020 as a means to communicate with and about their teams has increased significantly since this research was conducted.

³⁵¹ 4–34

³⁵² Responses mentioning Twitter: 1–6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 46, 55, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, and 75; 2–1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 34, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 61; 3–3, 6, 16, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 41, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, and 59; 4–1, 3, 4, 13, 18, 20, 22, 25, 30, 35, 37, and 40; 5–2, 10, 11, and 25; Fr–15 and 29; Ger–5 and 8; Sp–3, 8, and 14.

³⁵³ See: Mike Weed, "The Pub as a Virtual Football Fandom Venue: An Alternative to 'Being There'?" *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 2–3 (2007): 399–414.

how soccer is played, with no fans in the stands for matches. Twitter enabled fans to continue to congregate and commune with each other; their existing comfort with and use of the platform meant that there were already existing fan communities and support systems in place. Yet even at matches, when fans are in the stadium watching their team, people regularly tweet. It is a way of extending what is happening at the stadium, of inviting others into the experience. Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook all enable people to record and/or stream video, so FCD fans can still enjoy the scarfing ceremony before the game, even half a world away

Blogs are another way that fans communicate with and about their team; they are a popular way for fans to process matches, do statistical and tactical analyses, and share club passion.³⁵⁴ They also provide an outlet for fans to write about soccer.³⁵⁵ The diversity of soccer blogs enables fans to seek out exactly the kind of coverage they want to read; for those who prefer statistical analyses, there are blogs that only examine statistics, and for those who want to live or relive the experience of a match, many blogs offer match reports, wherein someone who attended the game gives a play-by-play account of being in the stadium and experiencing the game. The author of this dissertation has written for two different soccer blogs. The first, FC Hollywood, was a

Wayne Wilson, "All Together Now, Click: MLS Soccer Fans in Cyberspace," *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 2-3 (2007): 381-98.

³⁵⁴ Responses of fans who read blogs and/or comment on them: 1-22, 1-26, 1-52, 1-65, 2-20, 2-24, 2-37, 2-45, 2-50, 2-58, 3-1, 3-16, and 3-28.

³⁵⁵ Responses of fans who write for blogs: 1-7, 1-30, 1-32, 2-7, 2-10, 2-20, 2-25, 2-29, 2-34, 4-19, 3-38, and Ger-6. Fans who used to blog: 1-22, 1-67, and 3-58.

Bayern fan blog created by this author and three of her friends.³⁵⁶ She was a staff writer at the second, Big D Soccer, which is the official SB Nation blog for FCD.³⁵⁷

Clothing

The second most common trend in responses involved clothing. For many it is simply wearing a jersey on match day.³⁵⁸ Indeed, jerseys are the item most commonly owned by fans; 65 percent of those who responded to question 8 owned an official replica jersey, and 19 percent owned knockoff jerseys.³⁵⁹ Scarves were the second most commonly owned item.³⁶⁰ While only a handful of fans mentioned scarves as part of their rituals, for FCD fans scarves have a special meaning, as there is a ceremony before every

³⁵⁶ All four of the founders and writers of FC Hollywood began graduate school around the same time; as time constraints mounted, the blog naturally died.

³⁵⁷ SB Nation is one of the largest sports blogging platforms in existence, with 300 different teams across all sports represented; this includes sixty different soccer clubs.

In 2015, when news of the FIFA arrests broke, this author was asked to write a guest piece for Big D Soccer about the arrests, FIFA's history of corruption, and social ethics. After writing that piece and a follow up, she was asked to permanently come on board as a staff writer; due to time constraints and other commitments, she stopped writing for Big D soccer in 2015.

The posts about ethics and soccer can be found here: https://www.bigdsoccer.com/2015/5/28/8678237/fifa-and-ethics-an-ethicist-weighs-in?_ga=2.162147454.354343705.1591814326-1243729367.1591814326.

https://www.bigdsoccer.com/2015/6/2/8716203/its-a-start-towards-a-post-blatter-fifa?_ga=2.162147454.354343705.1591814326-1243729367.1591814326

<https://www.bigdsoccer.com/2015/6/27/8855909/gay-marriage-and-the-game>

³⁵⁸ 1–20, 23, 34, 39, 50, 66, and 67; 2–6, 7, 14, 15, 18, 37, 44, 48, 50, 51, 52, 55, 58, and 62; 3–3, 26, 40, 45, 47, and 56; 4–3, 20, 24, 25, 37, and 40; 5–11; Ger–6, 7, and 9.

³⁵⁹ Official jerseys, when not on sale, are generally between \$70 and \$120, depending on the team and whether or not the jersey has a player name/number on it, or if it is customized (often those who order custom kits with their own last name choose the number 12, representing the idea that the fans are the twelfth member of the team, joining the eleven on the pitch). Conversely, knockoff jerseys are usually a fraction of the price of official jerseys; Amazon and other retailers make it easy for fans to procure knockoff jerseys. The author of this dissertation owns both official replica jerseys and knockoff jerseys; all of the knockoff jerseys were under \$30 when purchased, and that included international shipping.

³⁶⁰ Of those who responded to question 8, 55 percent own a scarf.

home match in which someone puts a soccer scarf on the statue of Lamar Hunt.³⁶¹ One fan “drape[s his] entertainment center/TV with scarves and jerseys on match day.”³⁶²

Clothing rituals, however, are more complicated than merely wearing a scarf or a jersey on match days. While many fans wear jerseys on match days, others do not because it brings bad luck to their team: “I won’t wear my jersey on match day; the first three times I did, the team lost every match.”³⁶³ Or the location where one is wearing the jersey determines whether or not it is “good luck” for their team.³⁶⁴ Another fan wears his jersey during the match; if his team loses, he takes it off immediately after the match, but if his team wins, he wears it the entire day.³⁶⁵ One fan does not wash their jersey until the end of the season,³⁶⁶ and another sleeps in their jersey the night before the match.³⁶⁷ One fan matches his jersey to the location of the game: “I always wear a matching kit based on the venue where the game is being played, e.g. away kits for away games.”³⁶⁸

While jerseys and scarves are the most common clothing-related rituals, there is wide variety in these clothing rituals. Some have nothing to do with anything directly soccer-related: “I wear the same pair of Air Force ABU pants to every game . . . even

³⁶¹ The scarfing ceremony will be addressed in more depth in chapter 5.

³⁶² 1–20.

³⁶³ 1–57.

³⁶⁴ 4–19.

³⁶⁵ 4–24.

³⁶⁶ 5–24.

³⁶⁷ 2–21.

³⁶⁸ 2–6.

when it's 105 degrees out."³⁶⁹ Several fans said that they never wear anything in the other team's colors. One fan takes this very seriously: "I won't wear anything of the opposition's colors, including undies/makeup."³⁷⁰ The realities of work and family life often dictate the extent to which one can incorporate clothing rituals; in order to support their team while at work, one fan wears soccer shorts under his pants.³⁷¹ Creativity is often employed in this way, wherein fans find a means to get around the rules. One fan wears a dog tag, something that is easily tucked into a shirt and goes unnoticed by others but still gives the fan the security of knowing that they are representing their team.³⁷²

Alcohol, Food, and Marijuana

The third major trend in responses to question 9 involves alcohol, food, and marijuana. There is overlap between alcohol, food, and marijuana, where two or three are part of someone's ritual(s).³⁷³ This often includes team-specific glassware, though one fan reported drinking from a boot glass.³⁷⁴ There are two prominent types of glassware mentioned in responses: coffee mugs and glasses. The time difference between the United States and Europe means that the majority of matches are early in the morning;

³⁶⁹ 1–32.

³⁷⁰ 2–2.

³⁷¹ 1–40.

³⁷² 2–51

³⁷³ Example: "My only ritual, if you can call it a ritual, is that on game days I usually drink one or two beers no matter what day it is. If I'm watching the game at my home, alone or with a few people, I smoke weed." 3–6.

³⁷⁴ 1–43.

team coffee mugs are a better fit for 5:00 a.m. matches than pint glasses.³⁷⁵ “On match days, there is always coffee/tea/anything in a Bayern cup (without being really superstitious, if I forget it, it usually brings bad luck).”³⁷⁶

The most common responses, unsurprisingly, included alcohol. Beer has a long history with sports. Americans are familiar with the incessant beer advertising during grid iron football, baseball, basketball, and hockey games. Beginning in the early 2010s, Heineken’s sponsorship of the UEFA Champions League added another set of sport-related beer commercials, while American beer companies have begun to sponsor teams/leagues/etcetera and/or heavily advertise during matches. For members of the DBG, whose home is in the Beer Garden at Toyota Stadium, beer has always been central to the fellowship of the group.³⁷⁷ Drinking beers with friends while watching matches is a tradition for many;³⁷⁸ soccer pubs in England predate the more recent phenomenon of the American sports bar. With each passing year the number of American bars and pubs that show soccer matches increases; many bars serve as the official home for SGs, often opening hours early in order to accommodate fans.

³⁷⁵ 1–3 and 37.

³⁷⁶ Original: “*Am Spieltag gibt es immer Kaffee/Tee/irgendetwas aus einer Bayerntasse (und ohne wirklich abergläubisch zu sein, wenn ich esse vergesse, bringt das meistens Pech).*” Ger—10.

³⁷⁷ The relationship between DBG and beer is discussed at length in chapter 5.

³⁷⁸ 1–24 and 37; 3–6, 10, 26, and 47.

Beyond beer, hard alcohol also plays a role. One fan “drink[s] a shot of tequila every time a certain player [Chicharito] scores.”³⁷⁹ DBG members often take shots of Fireball, a cinnamon whiskey, and are occasionally joined by the mother of FCD captain Matt Hedges. For one fan, “Prematch activity normally includes a bottle of Tullamore [D]ew, a good mix of tunes like Arctic Monkeys or Foals, and passin’ the ball around.”³⁸⁰ One fan talked about doing Irish car bombs at the pub before matches, while another enjoys an Irish coffee.³⁸¹

Food most often forms part of public, communal rituals. Tailgating is now part of the match day experience at every Major League Soccer (MLS) stadium. Some SGs throw very organized tailgates, complete with themed activities and meals.³⁸² The communal experience around food extends from before the match to days later. Many teams in the United States partner with fast food chains for promotions; this practice is adopted from other sports, like baseball and basketball. If FCD wins a home game, fans who take their ticket to Raising Cane’s receive a free meal. On the personal level, food matters, too. One fan eats a Chipotle burrito every match day, while another said, “The bigger the match, the more German food I make in preparation.”³⁸³ These personal food

³⁷⁹ 4–28. Chicharito, a Mexican international whose given name is Javier Hernández, plays for the LA Galaxy.

³⁸⁰ 1–4.

³⁸¹ 4–17, 4–7.

³⁸² In September or early October every year, DBG throws a massive Oktoberfest tailgate. The food is exclusively German (bratwurst, cabbage, Käsespätzle), and it is the same weekend of The Beer Olympics, a series of challenges in which teams of four compete to win a prize (usually a signed jersey donated by FCD).

³⁸³ 1–70.

rituals mirror the communal rituals, but on a much smaller scale; regardless of the scale, both come from the same impulse to ritualize and sanctify the match day.

Two fans discussed their use of marijuana in the survey, and others mentioned it in their interviews. One fan simply stated, “I smoke weed,”³⁸⁴ while the other was more descriptive: “A joint before a match and at half time.”³⁸⁵ In interviews fans discussed using marijuana to lower their anxiety and improve their enjoyment of the game.³⁸⁶ While most use marijuana when they are home watching a match, several fans talked about their social anxiety and how marijuana makes it easier for them to attend matches. As states continue to legalize recreational use of marijuana, the links between soccer and marijuana will likely strengthen, and users will be more likely to share openly. As one fan said, “When Colorado legalized rec[reational] use, it made it so much easier to procure. I can bring gummies with me to the match, which lets me control my dosing, and that means I get to enjoy the sport I love while in the right state of mind to enjoy it.”³⁸⁷

Miscellaneous Rituals

Fans also shared rituals that fall outside of the previously discussed trends. Rituals vary from very simple things to incredibly complicated and time-consuming things.

Solitude is needed by some fans: “When I watch matches live I tend to either watch with a good friend of mine who is from Liverpool if I can. If not, I tend to sequester myself

³⁸⁴ 3–6.

³⁸⁵ 3–42.

³⁸⁶ As marijuana is considered a Schedule 1 controlled substance under Federal Law, all those who spoke about their marijuana use in relation to the game requested not to be identified by name. That request is honored herein.

³⁸⁷ Interview with author, March 15, 2014.

alone. I get super tense and can't focus on anything else. I tend to yell and scream at the TV, players, refs, etcetera. I'm not a fun person to watch a match with unless you're on my level as a fan."³⁸⁸ Repeating what has worked for victories in the past is common: "Always stay with the same friends in the same place and drink the same beer."³⁸⁹ Another fan has to sit on the left side of the couch.³⁹⁰ Some rituals are only needed in certain circumstances: "Except on penalty shootouts; then I do things like knock on wood a certain number of times, try to replicate the circumstances/repeat the stuff I was doing when my team scored a given penalty."³⁹¹

Some rituals have multiple layers, wherein supporters perform a number of different rituals in a particular order:

My pre-match rituals usually start by listening to the Arsenal Arseblog Arsecast [podcast] on the way to work on Fridays before weekend matches, reading relevant threads on /r/gunners [Reddit's Arsenal supporters subreddit] before all matches, and checking the Facebook page for my local supporters group, Orlando Gooners, to find out where we will be meeting up to watch the match. If it's the pub located at the indoor soccer facility right down the road from me, I try to make it out to the match, if my schedule as a dad allows. I can usually make the tail end of weekday matches if I get out of work on time and enjoy a few pints before heading home. Meetups for big matches (North London Derby!) are usually downtown at a pub called The Celt, the best place to watch soccer in town. I plan ahead well in advance to try and make it downtown for those matches, and enjoy the company, and a few pints there. And, if the budget allows, a good breakfast. If I'm watching from home, I wake up early, make a big breakfast for my wife, daughter, and I, and sit down in front of the computer (I don't have cable) to watch the match. I usually chat with other Redditors

³⁸⁸ 5-2.

³⁸⁹ Original: "*Quedar siempre con los mismos amigos en el mismo lugar y beber la misma cerveza.*" Sp-16.

³⁹⁰ 4-39.

³⁹¹ 2-5.

on the /r/soccer chat room during the match. And enjoy a few pints. Can't have soccer without beer. After matches I usually read all the relevant threads on /r/gunners, or watch the postgame analysis on NBC Sports. I also tend to tweet about the match, but I don't think any of my followers care, nor do my Facebook friends. Doesn't matter, I'll shove my love of Arsenal down their throats all day. I also tend to wear my jersey on weekend matchdays, because what's the point of spending \$90 on the kit if you won't wear it?³⁹²

Another fan says,

I have to shower the night before a match (meaning not in the morning), can't cross legs or arms during match, all dishes have to be done—can't really tell you which aspects of that are solely to do with Chelsea and which are due to some undiagnosed OCD. Haha.”³⁹³

The avoidance of crossing legs and/or arms during matches was echoed by another respondent: his ritual is “sitting with feet and hands relaxed, not crossed.”³⁹⁴ Several talked about playing football on match days,³⁹⁵ and others talked about playing the matchup from that day in FIFA's video game.³⁹⁶

Two fans shared the role that masturbation has in their match day rituals,³⁹⁷ while another carries a “crystal quartz for good luck.”³⁹⁸ Respondents to the French survey were the only ones to name predicting the score as a ritual, though that behavior is

³⁹² 2–37.

³⁹³ 2–11.

³⁹⁴ Original: “*Assis et les pied et main détendus pas croisées.*” Fr–13.

³⁹⁵ 4–36

³⁹⁶ 4–34.

³⁹⁷ 3–9 and 33.

³⁹⁸ 4–2.

mirrored throughout the world.³⁹⁹ Other notable rituals included “always donat[ing] to the SA [Salvation Army] collection outside White Hart Lane”⁴⁰⁰ and stopping by the same “lucky sweet shop” on the way to Arsenal matches at the Emirates.⁴⁰¹ Those with friends who play professionally report texting them on match days.⁴⁰² Perhaps the most interesting and unique ritual is this: “I listen to the ‘Lux Aeterna’ from Mozart’s ‘Requiem in D Minor’ before important matches.”⁴⁰³ The rich diversity of rituals is part of what gives shape and meaning to soccer-as-religion; they serve as tools for religious supporters who, throughout their everyday lives and on match day, utilize them to make meaning in their lives and further connect their football lives to their everyday lives.

Meaning Making

Living humans are constantly processing information about their world, attempting to wrap their brain around that information, and categorizing that information in the ways that make the most sense to them. There is an extrapolation from one’s own experience to an understanding that all people, in some way or another, are also trying to make sense of the world. Meaning making is part of that process; in addition to categorizing and distilling information, humans attempt to make meaning out of the

³⁹⁹ Sports betting has made every little moment of minutiae something on which fans can bet; even fans who do not bet money often make predictions for their team. This has become even more prevalent with the rise of fantasy sports; fantasy sports require a level of detailed knowledge that many sports fans will never achieve.

⁴⁰⁰ 3–31.

⁴⁰¹ 4–41.

⁴⁰² 1–36, 2–30.

⁴⁰³ 2–17.

events of their lives. Big moments like births, marriages, and deaths have clearer meanings, while small moments are the everydayness of life. But those smaller moments are also the fodder of meaning making. For religious supporters, the meaning making they attach to soccer is different from that of a casual fan or spectator; soccer carries a deeper meaning for religious supporters, and thus it plays a larger role in their meaning making than it does for those who are not religious supporters.

Question 10 of the ethnographic survey was, “What is one soccer moment or memory that stands out for you? Tell me about that moment or memory.” The memories and moments that fans shared ranged from the first match they attended/watched to seeing their country’s team win the World Cup. Casual fans, as Giulianotti says, spend their soccer lives “strolling from one football experience to the next, enjoying the multiplicity of mediated forms available to the contemporary consumer.”⁴⁰⁴ Religious supporters, conversely, hold fiercely to their allegiance to one club above all others. Regardless of what type of fan (casual, spectator, supporter, or religious supporter), “expression of these identities does not take place in a vacuum. Neither is it restricted solely to the football stadium or football specific environments.”⁴⁰⁵ Soccer and its influence can be seen everywhere: “Football is such a part of the current Zeitgeist that it pervades institutions, cultural practices, and personal interactions across many different domains. It has become part of the battle of identity politics.”⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Chris Stone, “The Role of Football in Everyday Life,” *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970701224319> (last accessed May 15, 2020), 177.

⁴⁰⁵ Stone, “The Role,” 177.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

This is a key insight because it lays bare the complexity of how identities intersect, recreate themselves in repetition, and battle for domination. This dissertation is grounded in an intersectional understanding of identity/ies; one has no choice in many forms of identity (i.e., race, gender/gender presentation, sexual orientation, country of origin, immigration status, etcetera), and to presume that people can separate the various threads of their identity from each other is an act of violence. While the focus here is on football identities, they must be understood as merely one piece of the identities of religious supporters.⁴⁰⁷

After all, “football, both as the experience of a collective allegiance and the symbolic representation of individuality, forms part of the expression of a ‘liquid’ self as its presence emerges in some situations and diminishes at other times.”⁴⁰⁸ This liquid modernity means that “the loss of the social anchors that made identity seem ‘natural,’ predetermined, and non-negotiable leads the individual on a desperate search for ‘we’ through which, and in relation to, a sense of the self can be negotiated.”⁴⁰⁹ Thus, soccer is used for meaning making, both to make sense of modern life and as a way to create identity.

There is tremendous complexity around identity vis-à-vis soccer. There are also some common characteristics and experiences amongst religious supporters. All were

⁴⁰⁷ Stone rightly notes that there also exists a group of people whose relationship to soccer is “through the identification of others: friends, relatives, colleagues, partners.” They, however, are not the focus here, though their existence is worth noting. Stone, “The Role,” 178.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, 178–79.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 179.

exposed to club soccer at some point. All have had experiences that included club soccer in some manner. Community is another commonality. All have reflected on experiences with their club. All know the crush of defeat and the thrill of victory. Each of these commonalities is discussed in depth below, utilizing responses to question 10 of the ethnographic survey, interviews, and participant observations.

Exposure

Initial exposure to soccer and one's club takes many forms. For some, it is that initial moment that stands out, whether it was the first match they watched or the first to which they paid attention.

It was when I first started following them. Thierry Henry scored a last-minute header to beat Man United at the Emirates. I was at home watching with my dog, when Henry scored I yelled so loud I woke my parents up.⁴¹⁰

One of the first matches that got me excited about watching soccer was Manchester United vs Manchester City in the Community Shield in 2011. I was at home watching on television. Nani scores a game winner in extra time, and I got really excited, and that sparked me to want to pay more attention to soccer.⁴¹¹

I remember when LFC played FBK Kaunas and it was 0–0. I said: “Don’t worry Gerrard will come on and score.” And he sure did. It’s my first memory.⁴¹²

Luis Suarez’s handball against Ghana at the 2010 WC [World Cup]. It was my first match, and it was insane.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ 3–67.

⁴¹¹ 1–9.

⁴¹² 2–16.

⁴¹³ 2–25.

Another fan described how he was moved by the emotions of the players, which in turn led him to become emotional and cry over what was happening in the game.⁴¹⁴ Exposure to the emotions of the game, to the importance it holds for players and fans alike, is also a factor in how religious supporters move from a casual watcher into a fan, from a fan into a supporter, and from a supporter to a religious supporter.

The author of this dissertation accidentally became a soccer fan.⁴¹⁵ A friend, who remains a diehard FC Bayern München fan to this day, suggested a deal: “Watch one match, and if you still think that it’s boring or whatever, I will never talk to you about soccer again.” The match in question was the final group stage match of the 2009–2010 UEFA Champions League.⁴¹⁶ Bayern was at away against Juventus in Turin. A few minutes before the end of the first half, Bayern earned a penalty kick. I tuned into the game just in time to see Hans Jörg Butt take the penalty shot and successfully convert it.⁴¹⁷ Butt, at the time, was Bayern’s number one keeper (as well as Germany’s number two at the 2010 World Cup), a position whose players rarely take penalty kicks; they are

⁴¹⁴ “In 1994 I was...watching Spain and South Korea play in the WC [in the] U.S. Spain were ahead 2-0 so I was instinctively rooting for the underdogs...until South Korea equalized and I saw the faces of the Spanish players and Nadal getting sent off...I found myself crying and then rooting for Spain. I guess it kind of showed me that loyalties/fandom[s] are something you discover within you versus choosing them.” 2–1.

⁴¹⁵ The autobiographical elements contained within this chapter are important for the reasons highlighted in chapter 2’s discussion of the importance of using the writing of soccer fans whenever possible. It is precisely because the author herself is a religious supporter that her autobiography matters.

⁴¹⁶ The match was played on December 8, 2009.

⁴¹⁷ It was Butt’s first and last goal for Bayern. The goal, however, made him the first German goalkeeper to score against Juventus while playing for three different German clubs; he previously scored against Juventus as a member of Hamburg SV and Bayer Leverkusen.

usually tasked with stopping penalty shots. This author was immediately hooked and fell head-over-heels in love with Bayern.

For many other fans, their soccer fandom shifted radically after their first experience attending a match in person. The experience in the stadium is such that it can override memories that preceded it:

Going to see S [Stuttgart] play at home vs EC [Energie Cottbus]. My first ever match outside of the United States. The intros to the players were so exciting and even the regular fans were pumped. The whole stadium cheering each and every name as they are introduced into the big screen and running onto the field. To see real tradition and real passion in a stadium like that was just unreal. The support[ers'] groups on both ends were enormously loud with their chants. Overall fan interaction was something that was out of this world.⁴¹⁸

Within a few weeks, soccer became an all-consuming passion for this author. A lifelong insomniac and night owl, Saturday and Sunday mornings became devoted to watching matches regardless of how early they were.⁴¹⁹ Along with two friends, those mornings included nonstop instant messaging and streaming the match;⁴²⁰ most streams were of poor quality and nearly universally in languages other than English.⁴²¹ Ten years

⁴¹⁸ 2–67.

⁴¹⁹ Many European leagues have since adjusted their schedules somewhat to accommodate American audiences, pushing start times back an hour or two so that Americans were less likely to need to get up at 5:00 a.m. to watch their team play. The author of this dissertation is grateful to them for their cooperation in this regard.

⁴²⁰ The Bundesliga was not regularly broadcasted on television until Fox Sports purchased the broadcast rights in 2015. Beginning in the fall of 2020, ESPN will be the broadcast partner of the Bundesliga, with their ESPN+ platform airing all games and select games airing on ESPN's cable channels. For more information, see: "ESPN+ to Be the New Home of the Bundesliga in the U.S. Beginning August 2020," *Bundesliga*, <https://www.bundesliga.com/en/bundesliga/news/espn-to-broadcast-bundesliga-in-the-usa-august-2020-7272> (last accessed May 20, 2020).

⁴²¹ While most streams were in German, this author also watched streams in French, Italian, Mandarin, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish.

ago being a fan of a foreign club, especially one outside of the Premiere League in England, required a lot of intentionality, as accessing information and watching matches were complicated tasks. By June 2020 information was far easier to access; all top flight clubs (and many others) maintain massive social media presences and many clubs in France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain have English-language versions of their websites.

Perhaps the biggest change is the ease with which supporters are able to introduce others to their club. Gone are the days of having to try six or seven different streams to find a working one or desperately trying to find a bar that might show a certain match. The expansion of European team fan clubs make it easy to find a place to watch matches with other fans. Fans now have a wide array of options for viewing matches, and sharing is as easy as texting someone and saying, “Turn on NBC! My team is playing!”⁴²²

Club Soccer Experiences

All religious supporters have had some kind of experience with their club. For some watching them play on television is the experience that makes them fall in love with a team. However, it is far more common that the first time someone sees their team play in the stadium—the first match of their club they attend—forms the lasting memory of their exposure to soccer:

For the Sounders, it was my first live match, Sounders vs Barcelona. Became hooked, and now I have Sounders Season Tickets.⁴²³

⁴²² NBC Universal owns the broadcast rights for the English Premiere League; on some weekends, all of the channels in the NBC Universal family broadcast matches. During those weekends, every match is broadcast in the United States, on channels like Bravo, SyFy, and USA.

⁴²³ 2–28.

FCB–Wolfsburg (5–0, 1999) first live match at Olympia Stadion, with family, nice match, still remembering a lot of details.⁴²⁴

First time saw Pele live . . . old NASL . . . NY Cosmos vs who cares . . . just to see a man actually play who I’d been watching on TV, in films, etcetera.⁴²⁵

First time at the stadium. [F]ell in love with the club. I was 5.⁴²⁶

Going to Anfield for a match for the first time, hearing “YNWA” and everyone singing, then everyone singing again a few minutes later the first time Suarez scored.⁴²⁷

Going to Wembley for the first time to see Crystal Palace win the playoff final vs Watford (2013).⁴²⁸

Community

Community is a big part of the experience for fans. Being surrounded by other fans, everyone cheering and chanting in unison, is a powerful experience. Religious supporters, if their club is local, get to experience it regularly and have a chance to get to know other fans. Other fans form communities that seek out soccer because they have no local options or because they do not see their local option as worthy of their attention. Some supporters convert their friends and family members into fans, but if a supporter really wants to be surrounded by other supporters, being around fans is an inadequate

⁴²⁴ 2–56

⁴²⁵ 2–49.

⁴²⁶ 3–28.

⁴²⁷ “YNWA” stands for “You’ll Never Walk Alone,” a song from Roger’s and Hammerstein’s *Carousel*. While it is most famous as Liverpool’s club anthem, it is used by clubs around the world. 3–43.

⁴²⁸ 3–45.

experience.⁴²⁹ “My first FC Dallas match sitting down in the Beer Garden with the Dallas Beer Guardians. The opponent was LA Galaxy and the goal keeper for the Galaxy was Josh Saunders. This match happened to be Saunders’s first match back from rehab, and I remember how the Guardians started chanting ‘Don’t snort the line’ at him. At that moment, I knew I was home.”⁴³⁰

The Agony of Defeat and the Joy of Victory

Losing is painful, but defeats are gut-wrenching. Defeats happen at big moments: in the semifinals of a major tournament, when a draw would have prevented relegation, or when a star player misses a penalty kick and gets injured in the process. As a club FC Bayern München fans know well the feeling of an agonizing defeat. In 2010’s Champions League final, Bayern lost to Inter Milan; that was a loss, but not a defeat. In 2012 Allianz Arena was the slated host of the final, and, in a rare occurrence, FC Bayern München qualified for the final.⁴³¹ They lost on penalties to Chelsea FC. Bayern fan Charyse shares her perspective of that game:

I started following Bayern in 2010. They won the league that year and defeated Werder Bremen in the DFB Pokal final. All that was left to claim the treble was the CL final against Inter Milan. It was the first time I went to a bar to watch a match . . . though I was upset about the loss, the experience of being surrounded by fans was incredible.

⁴²⁹ While residing in Denver, the author of this dissertation connected with several others who are also supporters (of clubs other than Bayern) and routinely met her friends to watch matches in pubs. She chose not to join the local Bayern fan club, instead building a small community of like-minded fans with whom she watched matches. Denver has a vibrant soccer scene, which affords individuals the opportunity to choose their interaction level with other fans and supporters.

⁴³⁰ 1–40

⁴³¹ It is really only by coincidence that a team’s stadium hosts the final in a year they also qualify for the final. The likelihood of that happening depends somewhat on how recently a stadium has hosted a Champions League final and how successful a team is.

Two years later we were in the same position: we'd clinched the league and were through to the Pokal Final and all that stood between us and the treble was the CL final. We'd barely squeaked out of our semifinal pairing with Real Madrid (literally won on penalties), but it was a *huge* deal that we'd made the CL final! The final that year was in our home stadium.⁴³² The match was . . . painful. Agonizingly slow. We finally scored, and then our manager takes Müller out and put him on the bench. Who the f*ck benches the dude who just scored? I get we needed another defender out there, but there were plenty of guys who were not playing nearly as well as Müller was!

Just before the end of stoppage time in the second half, Chelsea equalized. Despite having done little more than park their entire team in front of their goal for the entire game, somehow Drogba found just enough space to make us pay for it. After 30 minutes of extra time, it went to a penalty shootout. That we lost. Müller wasn't able to take one of the shots, because Heynckes had benched him, but we all felt it in our bones as Basti stepped up: he was not going to make the shot, and we were going to lose. Hell, it felt like he was thinking that, too, as he took the kick.

It was gutting. The friend I was with kept laughing, and I just sat there in disbelief. Part of me had known it was coming, but that didn't make it any less horrid. After a few minutes, I just started crying. I felt silly, but I left as quickly as I could and cried most of my drive home. I didn't realize how much I'd wanted the win, how much I needed the win, until we lost.⁴³³

The agony of defeat eventually gives way to the thrill of victory; what constitutes victory depends on how one defines it. For Bayern Munich supporters, the expectation is that Bayern will win the Bundesliga and the DFB Pokal every year; victory is winning the UEFA Champions League in addition to those trophies. If one supports FC Augsburg, the other Bavarian team in the Bundesliga, victory is beating Bayern Munich (or, in

⁴³² The location of the UEFA Champions League final changes year to year, rotating around UEFA member nations and stadia. The 2019–20 final was to be held on May 30 at Atatürk Olympic Stadium in Istanbul. On June 17, 2020, UEFA announced that the remaining matches of the 2019–20 Champions League would be completed as a tournament in Portugal in August 2020.

⁴³³ Charyse, interview with author, February 15, 2014, Denver, CO.

drought seasons where success is difficult to find, drawing Bayern is a victory). The more success a club has, the more that fans expect success as a part of regular life.

In 2013 we're back in the CL final. Third time in four years. In the semis we handed Barça their worst aggregate loss in the Champions League ever. No barely squeaking in; we obliterated them. We humiliated them. 7–0. Beat 'em 4–0 in Munich and then 3–0 in Barcelona. It was amazing.

Somehow, our German arch rivals, [Borussia] Dortmund, managed to beat Real [Madrid]. It's a German final, plus the match is at Wembley; it could not have been a bigger deal to German soccer fans (well, at least those of us who cheer for Bayern, those who cheer for Dortmund, and all the people around the world who love to root against us). Schalke fans might not have gotten over losing yet.⁴³⁴

Anyway, it's not just a Champions League final; it's that too *plus* a battle for German supremacy. Dortmund had lost in the Pokal, and they'd already lost the league to us, so they wanted blood. The match itself was much better than the last two finals we'd reached. We played like we wanted to win, instead of playing not to lose.

Mandy⁴³⁵ got the breakthrough goal in the 60th minute, but like eight minutes later, Dortmund equalized. The pub was like 90 percent Bayern fans and when Franck did that cheeky little back-heel to Robben, Mr. "Tulips von Amsterdam" himself,⁴³⁶ I knew what was going to happen. We all did. When you put the ball on Robben's left foot that close to the goal, it's going in. And it did.

It's been a few years, and I think my hearing is still recovering. The entire bar went nuts. The Dortmund fans, all ten or so of them, were whinging and whining about losing. The Bayern fans were ecstatic. Strangers were hugging, sharing high fives, and jumping all around. The dude next to me at the bar bought a round of shots for a huge group of us. It was the most amazing thing. After losing in the final twice, finally achieving the treble

⁴³⁴ In the Round of 16, Schalke 04 dropped 4–3 on aggregate to Turkish club Galatasaray.

⁴³⁵ Mandy is the nickname of former Bayern player Mario Mandžukić, a Croatian international.

⁴³⁶ In the 2012–13 season, "Tulips from Amsterdam" was Arjen Robben's Torhymne (goal song). Every time Robben scored that season, the song was played. Beginning with the 2014–15 season, the Torhymnen that preceded the Toransag (goal announcement) became standardized across all players; that year, the song was "7 Nation Army" by The White Stripes.

was finally in our sights: all we had to do was win the Pokal final the following week. And we did.

It wasn't our first treble, but the four years of effort, pain, devastation, loss, and grit made it so much sweeter. If we'd won in 2010 or in 2012, 2013 wouldn't have mattered as much, but those losses, especially the loss at home, made this treble epic. I mean, how many teams can say they handed one of the best clubs in the world their worst aggregate loss ever, then they beat their arch rivals in the CL final? Not many.

We also didn't stop at the treble. We'd already won the German Super Cup⁴³⁷ in 2012, before the season started, so that was four trophies. After we won the FIFA Club World Cup in December of 2013, we had five trophies in hand, and it was blatantly clear to everyone who follows soccer that we were the best team in the world that year.⁴³⁸

The interplay between victory and defeat creates a liminal tension that supporters experience with varying degrees of anxiety. Victory and defeat are the poles of the success-to-failure spectrum; most teams rattle around somewhere in the middle of that spectrum.

Setting Up the XI Commandments

In the following chapter, the XI Commandments of religious soccer present eleven unique arguments that describe different aspects of religious soccer. The arguments contained in chapter 4 come directly from my interviews with religious supporters. The XI Commandments structure came from noticing the trends in what religious supporters talked about in their interviews. It is a convenient presentation format, mirroring the number of players on the pitch, and helps non-religious supporters to understand the

⁴³⁷ The German SuperCup was started in 2010 and happens before the beginning of the Bundesliga season and that year's DFB Pokal. It features the team that won the Bundesliga the previous season against the team that won the Pokal. In the event the same team wins both, their opponent in the SuperCup is the team that finished second in the Bundesliga.

⁴³⁸ Charyse, interview.

beliefs, practices, and experiences of religious supporters. Religious supporters should see themselves reflected throughout the chapter. After the XI Commandments, supporters's groups and the role they play is examined, demonstrating the need for an ethical intervention to improve the relationships between clubs and their SGs.

Chapter 4: Religious Supporters, Supporters' Groups, and the Challenge They Pose

In the previous chapter, some of the basic elements of religious soccer (rituals and meaning making) were discussed, giving shape and contour to religious soccer. This chapter builds on that work and begins with the XI Commandments, a series of eleven arguments about the what and how of religious soccer. Throughout the interviews with religious soccer supporters, these were the themes that came up again and again. Thus, while religious supporters will see themselves reflected in these commandments, the phrasing they use when talking about these issues most likely was quite different than the presentation here.

The XI Commandments each represent a different aspect of religious soccer. They draw on the familiarity that people have with the Ten Commandments in Abrahamic traditions as a way to explain religious soccer to those who are not themselves religious supporters. As presented in this dissertation, the XI Commandments should not be linked to any particular tradition and should be understood as completely separate from their initial referent, despite some obvious overlap in language. There are eleven commandments because there are eleven players per side in a match; the eleventh commandment focuses on hope, which is central to the belief and experience of religious supporters.

The XI Commandments⁴³⁹

1. You shall have no other clubs than this.

Allegiance to one's club is paramount. "There is a deeper significance to club loyalty than merely supporting a team. It is constitutive of personal identity."⁴⁴⁰ Supporting the same club is passed down through the generations. As Nick Hornby says, "There must be fathers around the country who have experienced the cruelest and most crushing rejection of all: their children have ended up supporting the wrong team."⁴⁴¹ The adolescent rebellion of Rev. Matt Burnett's son took the form of cheering for Chelsea, despite the fact that his father has been a lifelong Arsenal supporter.⁴⁴² Traditionally, this generational attachment was because of the strong links between soccer clubs and other forms of identity. Perhaps the most obvious example is the historical divide between Glasgow's Rangers and Celtic football clubs, where Protestants supported Rangers FC and Catholics supported Celtic FC; on match days, Glaswegians used to dress very carefully, as accidentally wearing the colors associated with the other club could result in the wearer receiving unwanted, and sometimes violent, attention.

⁴³⁹ A version of the XI Commandments was presented at the AAR/SBL Great Plains/Rocky Mountain Annual Meeting in 2013; that presentation was a collaboration with Fr. Matthew Spotts, SJ. A more robust version of the XI Commandments appears in *God and Popular Culture: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at the Entertainment Industry's Most Influential Figure Volume 2*; that chapter was written by the author of this dissertation, with some assistance from Jay Neal. However, the XI Commandments were created by the author of this dissertation and thus is eligible for use herein; when the previously published version is quoted, it will be indicated in a footnote.

⁴⁴⁰ Rebecca A. Chabot with Jay Neal, "Soccer Is My Religion, the Stadium Is My Church: Soccer and/as Religion," in *God and Popular Culture: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at the Entertainment Industry's Most Influential Figure Volume 2*, ed. Stephen Butler Murray and Aimée Upjohn Light (Denver, CO: Praeger, 2015), 5.

⁴⁴¹ Nick Hornby, *Fever Pitch* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1998), 130.

⁴⁴² Matt Burnett, interview with author, February 17, 2014, Castle Rock, CO.

As fans become increasingly global in their soccer consumption, these traditional dividing lines between teams are fading, but the fact remains that fans are expected to have a primary club, one which they will never forsake. Of the 502 people who answered question 5, 83 percent of respondents hold allegiance to one professional soccer club; the majority of the 17 percent of those who do not hold allegiance to one club are either living in a country on the African continent or whose country of origin is a country on the African continent.⁴⁴³ This does not mean that people only cheer for one club, as many fans support a handful of teams across several leagues; it means that there is one primary allegiance to a single club and then secondary or tertiary interest in others.

For religious supporters, this allegiance is part of their identity. Bailey Brown, a Texas-based FC Bayern fan, explained,

I have Bayern stuff in my classroom. I have Bayern stuff in my home. I have it on my keychain, I have it on my car. My dog's name is Ballack.⁴⁴⁴ It's just one of those things that you identify yourself by and you don't even mean to...I'm willing to be a Bayern fan, to let it play this kind of role in my life. [It's] something I put on my 'About Me'.⁴⁴⁵

Simon Critchley explains his religiosity thusly:

⁴⁴³ Countries on the African continent represented in the study are: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Ghana. The majority of these responses came in through the French language survey, which was completed by thirty-four people. This is partly due to the fact that some of those who shared the links for the surveys publicly are French-speaking Jesuits either from a country on the African continent or who are working in a French-speaking country on the African continent.

⁴⁴⁴ Ballack is named after Michael Ballack, former captain of the German national team and a Bayern player for many, many years, who was incredibly popular between 2006 and 2010 when he led Germany to a third place finish at the 2006 World Cup, held in Germany, and in the run up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Ballack sustained an injury shortly before training camp for the 2010 World Cup and did not compete with Germany at the tournament.

⁴⁴⁵ Bailey Brown, interview with author, Dallas, TX, October 20, 2014.

My only religious commitment is to Liverpool Football Club. All my family came from Liverpool, and although there was an Evertonian wing in my mother's family, LFC always predominated. I was raised with a fanatical devotion to LFC and a belief that my team was not just very good, but that its fans were special and its culture unique."⁴⁴⁶

This is what Critchley terms "Anfield exceptionalism,"⁴⁴⁷ the belief that one's club is special and unique, that it is the only club like that in the world. The degree to which this exceptionalism occurs varies from person to person; all religious supporters are guilty of this. You shall honor the match day and keep it holy.

For religious supporters everything is planned around the team's schedule. This extends beyond the supporters themselves to the people around them; scheduling anything that conflicts with the match is to be avoided at all costs. Perhaps Nick Hornby explained it best:

As I get older the tyranny that football exerts over my life, and therefore over the lives of the people around me, is less reasonable and less attractive. Family and friends know, after long years of wearying experience, that the fixture list always has the last word in any arrangement; they understand, or at least accept, that christening or weddings or any gatherings, which in other families would take unquestioned precedence, can only be plotted after consultation. So football is regarded as a given disability that has to be worked around. If I were wheelchair-bound, nobody close to me would organize anything in a top door flat, so why would they plan anything for a winter Saturday afternoon?⁴⁴⁸

The author of this dissertation scheduled her doctoral classes so as not to collide with midweek FC Bayern München matches; though not entirely successful, she was able

⁴⁴⁶ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 20.

⁴⁴⁷ Critchley, *What We Think About*, 20.

⁴⁴⁸ Hornby, *Fever Pitch*, 213.

to see the vast majority of Bayern's Champions League and DFB Pokal matches during coursework. Philosopher Simon Critchley finds that

Having the inconvenience of a day job entails quite a lot of creative deception on my part. I will often say that I have very important, indeed unavoidable, meetings on weekday afternoons: "Yes, sorry, I'd love to see you, but I have to go uptown. I should be back around 5:30."⁴⁴⁹

Critchley then "slip[s] out of the office and into the bar across the street, where I watch alone, intently and as inconspicuously as possible". That might sound like a solitary activity, "but there are usually a few others around me in the same situation, watching games in a serious, semi-covert manner, interspersed with the occasional quiet fist pump when our team scores."⁴⁵⁰ But he "tend[s] to teach in the evenings, when the risk of a class with important games is minimized."⁴⁵¹

This is the reality for many fans: their desire to watch matches does not always triumph over other things.

I don't typically do anything else on match days after the game. On weekday matchdays I'll just watch the game around my regular schedule. It's not ideal because I like having days where all I do is watch soccer, but there are times you just can't help it.⁴⁵²

In her interview, one fan admitted to occasionally faking illness when important matches conflict with her work schedule. "How they haven't figured out that my

⁴⁴⁹ Critchley, *What We Think About*, xix.

⁴⁵⁰ Critchley, *What We Think About*, xix.

⁴⁵¹ Critchley, *What We Think About*, xix.

⁴⁵² 1–22.

migraines and food poisoning are tied to match days is beyond me. I guess it helps that none of my coworkers care about soccer.”⁴⁵³ Another fan explained it this way:

As a first-year teacher, it’s nothing short of categorically insane that I wake up at 6:30am in the morning on a Saturday, after a long week of teaching, to watch Arsenal play, and yet, there I am, on the couch, swaddled in a Snuggie and my Arsenal jersey to watch my guys play.⁴⁵⁴

Rituals, as previously discussed in the preceding chapter, form part of the reverence of the match day. “Whether in the stands, having made the pilgrimage from home to the ‘cathedral,’ or at home or a pub, watching alone or with friends, often over beers, [these] rituals matter.”⁴⁵⁵ Supporters wear “lucky” jerseys, knowing that the right shirt makes all the difference for the team; they surround themselves with posters and scarves. Some fans “cross their fingers and clutch rosaries, refuse to sit, or pace restlessly, feeling a physical connection to the action of the match.”⁴⁵⁶ The efficacy of these rituals is not of concern to supporters, but rather it is the sense of participation in something far larger than oneself. In 2014, Budweiser ran a series of advertisements during NFL games based on the idea of supporter rituals, stating that “it’s not weird if it works.” Fans of soccer know this truth well; rituals are not weird if they work.

2. You shall not take the name of the club in vain.

Things do not always go well in soccer. Deserving teams lose matches, star players leave for rivals, and sometimes the team’s manager is completely and totally

⁴⁵³ Samantha, interview with author, February 15, 2012, Denver, CO.

⁴⁵⁴ Matthew Spotts, interview with author, Denver, CO, February 6, 2012.

⁴⁵⁵ Chabot with Neal, “Soccer Is My Religion,” 6.

⁴⁵⁶ Chabot with Neal, “Soccer Is My Religion,” 6.

incompetent. “Football is all about the experience of failure and righteous injustice. It is about hoping to win and learning to accept defeat. But most importantly, it is about some experience of the fragility of belonging: the enigma of place, memory and history.”⁴⁵⁷ Religious supporters will spare no love for players who are underperforming or managers who are incompetent, but there is one thing that supporters do not do: they do not curse the name of the club.

All else is fair game, but the club itself is not. This is, in large part, because the club is not just the team; the club is the team, the reserves, the coaches, the trainers, the physicians, the board of directors, the front office staff, and the fans who claim allegiance to the club.⁴⁵⁸

To take the name of the club in vain, to commit apostasy, is to be avoided at all costs.

When religious supporters and their clubs clash, it might appear that some are taking the name of their club in vain, but when supporter rhetoric is examined, it becomes clear that supporters make it very evident with whom they are angry and why they are angry. After a series of decisions radically changed the experience of enjoying a match in the Beer Garden at Toyota Stadium, the leadership of the Dallas Beer Guardians published an open letter to the front office of FC Dallas at the end of the 2018 season. Their support for their team is obvious in that letter; it is equally obvious that they wrote the letter because they want the best for their team and believed that the way to bring that

⁴⁵⁷ Simon Critchley, “Working Class Ballet,” text of talk provided to author by Dr. Critchley on February 12, 2014.

⁴⁵⁸ Chabot with Neal, “Soccer Is My Religion,” 7.

about is to put pressure on the people who make the decisions.⁴⁵⁹ While the letter is addressed to FC Dallas, it is obvious that their issues are with the people running the club and not with the club itself.

There's a simple reason for this: fans are also part of the club. In Germany, fans own 50+1 percent of the professional soccer teams.⁴⁶⁰ In rare circumstances, religious supporters do cross the line and commit apostasy, but it is usually only when there is no other recourse. When the situation between clubs and religious supporters is fraught, and when the club continues to alter the experience of the match day, it becomes too much for some supporters. In his interview, Aaron described the conditions under which he would walk away from FC Dallas. "If they mess with our traditions, if they mess with what makes us us, if they jack up ticket prices while ruining things."⁴⁶¹ Within six months of that interview, as the tension between DBG and FCD intensified and tickets prices rose, he did indeed walk away.

In many countries, wealthy owners make decisions based on their bottom lines. Billionaires and their sporting groups have radically changed the face of the game's ownership. At present, outside of Germany, the only dominant clubs that are majority fan-owned are Real Madrid FC and FC Barcelona. There has been pressure increasing

⁴⁵⁹ "An Open Letter from DBG Leadership to FC Dallas," *Dallas Beer Guardians*, November 2018, <https://www.dallasbeerguardians.com/single-post/2018/11/08/an-open-letter-from-dbg-leadership-to-fc-dallas>.

⁴⁶⁰ There are three exceptions to the 50+1 rule: Red Bull Leipzig (owned by the Red Bull corporation), VFL Wolfsburg (owned by Volkswagen), and Bayer Leverkusen (owned by the Bayer corporation). Because these clubs have always been majority owned by a company, they were granted an exemption from the rule. The level of fan ownership stakes in clubs varies widely between leagues; in MLS, there are no clubs with even partial fan ownership, due to the fact that it is a single-entity league.

⁴⁶¹ Aaron, interview with author, February 22, 2014, Dallas, TX.

pressure from fans on their wealthy club's owner(s). For example, people have urged Roman Abramovich, the Russian oligarch billionaire owner of Chelsea FC in London, to sell the club for years⁴⁶²; English fans, and Chelsea fans in particular, dislike the foreign ownership. As soccer became bigger and bigger business, clubs often moved away from fan ownerships, even in part, and consolidated the decision-making power of the club in the wealthy investors. However, any protests were directed at the owner(s), not the club itself. Owners come and go, but the club itself remains.⁴⁶³

3. You shall make no graven images (until they retire or officially sign with another team).

Passions in football run high, especially when it comes to club superstars. When a player expresses the desire to leave a club, supporters often take it personally. After Manchester United star Wayne Rooney announced he wanted to leave the club in 2010, fans feared he would sign with crosstown rivals Manchester City, who had expressed interest in Rooney, and fans reacted with varying levels of anger. After “up to 30 hooded men converged on the star's . . . mansion” on October 21, 2010, Rooney was forced to

⁴⁶² After the Russian invasion of Ukraine in early March 2022, Abramovich announced that he would sell the club. Until that sale happened, Chelsea was forced to play all home games with an empty stadium, ensuring that Abramovich was not earning additional money from the club.

⁴⁶³ The good news is that there is a lot of pushback on non-fan-owned teams. Many teams with wealthy owners are realizing that giving up some of their decision-making power and including fans in the conversation. In response to a hike in ticket prices at Anfield, Liverpool's stadium, fans created their own ownership group. In the United States, Minnesota Aurora FC, a team in the women's development league, is entirely community-owned. The author of this dissertation is a minority owner in the club, owning four shares.

call Manchester police.⁴⁶⁴ Ultimately, Rooney re-signed with Manchester United on October 22, 2010. That November a 49-foot tall effigy of Rooney, complete with Shrek ears, was erected in Kent as part of their annual bonfire night. “Full of fireworks . . . the effigy is clutching a five-year contract under one arm, with a holdall of cash in his other hand.”⁴⁶⁵ The same supporters who had been excited about the creation of the effigy were then forced to watch their star player set on fire and explode; statues and effigies should always wait until players retire or actually sign with another team. Otherwise, supporters look especially foolish, and no one wants to be made to look the fool.

This commandment has another aspect to it as well. Players who aggressively promote themselves as a brand often make poor decisions about their own legacies, thereby supporting the idea that tributes that are better left for after retirement. In one spectacular case of self-aggrandizement, Portuguese international and global superstar Cristiano Ronaldo operates a museum dedicated to himself on the island of Madeira, where he grew up. Fans can view all the trophies that Ronaldo has won and enjoy an augmented reality experience with the superstar.⁴⁶⁶ In interviews, several religious supporters talked about the ridiculousness of opening a museum to oneself and the fact that it is both presumptuous and unnecessary. As one religious supporter said, “The size

⁴⁶⁴ Mike Keegan, “Wayne Rooney Dials 999 as United Mob Protest Outside His Home,” *Manchester Evening News*, October 22, 2010, <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/wayne-rooney-dials-999-as-united-901524> (last accessed May 25, 2020).

⁴⁶⁵ BBC, “Wayne Rooney Effigy to Burn at Edenbridge Bonfire,” *BBC Online*, November 3, 2010, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-kent-11684777> (last accessed May 25, 2020).

⁴⁶⁶ “Homepage,” <https://museucr7.com/>.

of that man's ego is the root cause of global warming."⁴⁶⁷ It is an over-the-top testament to one of the biggest egos soccer has ever seen and, as such, it is the object of much ridicule.⁴⁶⁸

The sole exception to this is a statue of Thierry Henry located at the Emirates, Arsenal's home ground in north London. After Henry departed the club, the club erected a statue in his honor. "He's got a statue of him though he's very much alive. He's still an active player and has a statue made of him. When he came back [to Arsenal] for a loan spell, there was already a statue of him, which is an extraordinary thing."⁴⁶⁹ In the research conducted for this dissertation, this is the only exception to the graven images commandment; the fact that it worked in one place with one player demonstrates just how fraught the creation of honorariums is when a player is still in the game.

4. You shall honor your club mother and father.

There is a growing sentiment amongst religious supporters that the traditional way of understanding this commandment needs to fade away so that the community can become more equitable, inclusive, and welcoming. Traditionally, honoring your club elders meant learning the club's history: memorizing the minutiae of important matches,

⁴⁶⁷ Clearly, he's being hyperbolic, but the sentiment was echoed by others. Will Andras, interview with author, March 8, 2014, Denver, CO.

⁴⁶⁸ There is an argument to be made that Ronaldo is the best player of all time, but there is a world of difference between a player believing that they are and the soccer community as a whole agreeing with them. Given that Ronaldo is in the same generation of players as Lionel Messi, Robert Lewandowski, and other superstar talents, there is no consensus amongst fans and critics as to whether he is the best player of his generation, let alone of all time. He is certainly the first to open a museum dedicated to himself while still playing the game.

⁴⁶⁹ Matthew Spotts, interview with author, Denver, CO, February 6, 2014.

players from seventy years ago, and significant dates. Fans were expected to know their club inside and out, and being a neophyte was no excuse for ignorance.

Starting in the 2000s, this began to shift. Supporters are still expected to learn about the club, but the pressure for detailed fanaticism has lessened. Now, religious supporters often care far more about creating welcoming spaces, about intentionally creating inclusive communities. Thus, this commandment becomes more and more about social issues: who has access to soccer, who feels welcome within the group, how to diversify membership, etcetera. Soccer has an incredibly diverse audience and it is growing. Within communities of religious supporters, there is growing awareness that everyone who enters the stadium, be it for the first or the thousandth time, deserves to have an excellent experience. The language of chants and cheers has been adjusted so there is less cussing.

The changes in fan behavior stem in large part from the witness of players who have been vocal about social justice issues and inequity both in and out of their sport. Megan Rapinoe was the first American international soccer player to kneel during the national anthem, following the lead of then-San Francisco 49ers quarterback, Colin Kaepernick. Shortly thereafter, U.S. Soccer created a policy requiring all players to stand respectfully for the anthem when playing for their country, and leagues followed suit. After George Floyd was murdered by Minneapolis police officers on May 25, 2020, the attitude of the sporting world radically changed regarding racism and antiracist work. U.S. Soccer repealed their requirement to stand for the anthem; to the surprise of everyone, NASCAR repealed theirs as well. The Bundesliga resumed play in mid-May,

and beginning with their first match after the murder, the team warmed up in shirts that read “*Rot gegen Rassismus*,”⁴⁷⁰ while Eintracht Frankfurt wore jerseys with “Black lives matter” on the front, where the name of a sponsor would normally appear. Every team in the English Premier League played the week of June 15, 2020, in jerseys that read “Black Lives Matter” instead of their names.

In 2010 a group of soccer supporters from around the world, who were connected through LiveJournal, created Red Card Homophobia,⁴⁷¹ a campaign to kick homophobia out of soccer.⁴⁷² In 2011 several Ajax players participated in a photoshoot for Red Card Homophobia.⁴⁷³ Three years later in 2014 American international player Robbie Rogers came out as gay. He was the first professional soccer player to come out while playing since Justin Fashanu in 1990;⁴⁷⁴ Rogers was also the first male American athlete to come

⁴⁷⁰ “*Rot gegen Rassismus*” means “Red against racism.”

⁴⁷¹ For more information about Red Card Homophobia, see: <https://redcardhomophobia.wordpress.com/>

⁴⁷² Red cards are given to players for flagrant or dangerous fouls. They are also given for obviously egregious violations of the laws of the game, for example, using your hands intentionally to stop the ball from going into the goal. During extra time of Uruguay’s quarterfinal match against Ghana at the 2010 World Cup, striker Luiz Suarez leapt up and used his hands to keep the ball from going into the goal. He was given a red card and Ghana was awarded a penalty; Asamoah Gyan took the shot for Ghana and failed to convert it. Uruguay went on to win the penalty shootout 4–2.

⁴⁷³ Ajax is a Dutch soccer club. The players who posed for the photoshoot were: Toby Alderweireld, Belgian international playing for Tottenham Hotspur in 2020; Lorenzo Ebecilio, former Dutch youth international playing for Jubilo Iwata in Japan’s top flight league, J1 League, in 2020; Derk Boerrigter, who retired in 2016; Siem Stefan de Jong, former Dutch international playing for FC Cincinnati in 2020; and Vernon Anita, former Dutch international playing for CSKA Sofia in Bulgaria’s top league in 2020. “Supportive Players,” *Red Card Homophobia* (blog), May 1, 2013, <https://redcardhomophobia.wordpress.com/supportive-players/> (last accessed May 29, 2020).

⁴⁷⁴ Justin Fashanu, who played for multiple English clubs over the course of his professional career, publicly came out in October 1990, making him the first professional footballer to ever do so. He left England and moved to the United States, but in 1998 he was charged with the sexual assault of a 17-year-old. Before authorities could arrest him in Maryland, where homosexual acts were still subject to criminal

out while playing. In his post he announced he was stepping away from the game; he did for a time, but within a year, the LA Galaxy signed him, making him the first openly gay male athlete to be signed by a team in his sport. Upon his return to professional soccer, he became the first openly gay male athlete playing in a top league in the United States. His bravery had ripple effects: shortly after Rogers came out, NBA player Jason Collins came out, and in 2014 Michael Sam became the first openly gay football player ever selected in the NFL Draft.⁴⁷⁵

Respecting club elders as a move to continue what is good about traditions while removing barriers to inclusion is a very welcome development. More and more SGs include equity as a core value. At the start of the 2019 season, MLS introduced a new fan code of conduct:

The code of conduct bars fans from using (including on any sign or other visible representation) political, threatening, abusive, insulting, offensive language and/or gestures, which includes racist, homophobic, xenophobic, sexist, or otherwise inappropriate language or behavior.⁴⁷⁶

penalties under the law, he left the United States and returned to England, where he committed suicide. For more about Justin Fashanu, see:

Amal Fashanu, "The Silence Over Gay Footballers," *BBC Magazine*, January 27, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16722196> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

Camille Mijola, "Netflix to Showcase Justin Fashanu's Story, Britain's First Openly Gay Footballer," *EastLondonLines*, November 18, 2017, <http://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk/2017/11/netflix-showcase-tragic-tale-hackneys-justin-fashanu/> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

Martin Rogers, "Before Jason Collins, There Was Justin Fashanu," *Yahoo! Sports*, May 1, 2013, <https://sports.yahoo.com/news/soccer--before-jason-collins--there-was-justin-fashanu-203628017.html> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

⁴⁷⁵ Jason Collins came out in May 2013, about two months after Robbie Rogers. Michael Sam was drafted in 2014.

⁴⁷⁶ Jamie Goldberg, "MLS Players Association Wants League to Revoke Ban on Political Signage at Games," *Oregonian*, August 14, 2019, <https://oregonlive.com/timbers/2019/08/mls-players-association-wants-league-to-allow-fans-to-bring-political-signs-to-games.html> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

The intention was to create an environment in which all felt welcome, but it backfired from the beginning. Fans protested immediately, but it was not until August 2019 when MLS formally banned the Iron Front flag⁴⁷⁷ that things escalated to the point of open hostilities.

In the Pacific Northwest all three of the major SGs (Timbers Army for the Portland Timbers and Emerald City Supporters and Gorilla FC for the Seattle Sounders) regularly flew the Iron Front flag, as both teams have strong ties to their respective cities' antifa movements. ESPN reported, "MLS stated that since the Iron Front symbol is linked with antifa, which it views as a political organization, that the flag couldn't be displayed."⁴⁷⁸ The MLS Players Association, the union to which all MLS players belong, issued a statement urging MLS to repeal the ban on political statements.⁴⁷⁹ When the Sounders and Timbers played on August 24, shortly after the ban was announced, the fans in the stands spent the first thirty-three minutes of the match absolutely silent. Players from both teams stood united with their fans, posing with banners reading, "Anti-Fascist" and "Anti-Racist," prior to kickoff; one Portland player, Zarek Valentin, wore a United Front T-shirt after the match when he did media interviews.⁴⁸⁰ "In a joint statement released before the game, the three supporter groups called for MLS to rescind

⁴⁷⁷ The Iron Front was the German resistance during the Third Reich.

⁴⁷⁸ Jeff Carlisle, "MLS Suspends Ban on Iron Front Flag for Season," ESPN, September 24, 2019, <https://espn.com/soccer/mls-all-stars/story/3951035/mls-suspends-ban-on-iron-front-flag-for-season> (last accessed June 20, 2019).

⁴⁷⁹ Goldberg, "MLS Players Association", August 14, 2019.

⁴⁸⁰ Michael Errigo, "Sound of Silence: Sounders, Timbers Fans Go Quiet in Protest at MLS Match," *Washington Post*, August 24, 2019, <https://washingtonpost.com/sports/2019/08/24/sound-silence-sounders-timbers-fans-go-quiet-protest-mls-match/> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

its ban on the Iron Front flag, to remove the word ‘political’ from its ban because it is ‘inherently arbitrary’ and to work with international experts on human rights to craft new language in the fan code of conduct.”⁴⁸¹

A month later on September 24, 2019, MLS met with representatives of the Independent Supporters Council (ISC) as well as the three Pacific Northwest SGs; in a joint statement, MLS rescinded the ban on the Iron Front symbol on flags, signs, etcetera.⁴⁸² “As part of this decision to update the Fan Code of Conduct for 2020, MLS has suspended the prohibition on the Iron Front imagery at matches for the balance of the 2019 season and MLS Cup Playoffs while the working group conducts its analysis.”⁴⁸³ The ISC expressed their appreciation of Major League Soccer’s willingness to engage, listen, and learn: “We look forward to continuing the dialogue, moving away from direct action in the stands on this issue, and instead focusing our energy on making progress around the table.”⁴⁸⁴

5. You shall not commit bad fouls.

Fouls happen in every game and most are mild. Bad fouls are something altogether different. Players are bound by the rules of the game: that they are to play the ball and not the man. However, the theory of bad fouls and the practice thereof are very different things. Cynical challenges, designed to stop a play at all costs, often lead to injuries; for

⁴⁸¹ Eriggo, “Sound of Silence,” August 24, 2019.

⁴⁸² MLS, ISC, et al., “A Joint Statement on Iron Front Symbol and Fan Code of Conduct,” *Timbers Army* (blog), September 24, 2019, <https://timbersarmy.org/Blog/7899139> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

⁴⁸³ MLS, ISC, et al., “A Joint Statement,” September 24, 2019.

⁴⁸⁴ MLS, ISC, et al., “A Joint Statement,” September 24, 2019.

the offender, if often leads to disciplinary action (i.e., receiving a yellow/red card, suspension for a number of games). The most important thing about bad fouls is this: what constitutes a bad foul is entirely dependent on 1) who committed the foul and 2) against whom the foul was committed. If a player on one's team commits a bad foul, their fans are quick to accuse the opposing team of overreacting, arguing it was not that bad. Likewise, if a player on one's team is fouled by an opponent, fans react swiftly, urging the referee to eject the opponent who fouled their player. The perspective regarding the gravity of the foul is *always* contextually contingent.

There is no shortage of YouTube videos that demonstrate what bad fouls look like and Bleacher Report reporter Greg Lott, in the introduction to his list of the twenty-five worst tackles, explains why bad fouls are so problematic:

Fundamentally, football is down to skill, talent and ability. Yet there is a far more abhorrent practice that underpins the essence of the game itself. Sadly thuggery⁴⁸⁵, and its practitioners are as much a part of football as the maelstrom of tricks and goals that make the game so aesthetically fulfilling. Whilst normally contained within the guise of a tackle, on occasion (*sic*) transcends boundaries between the football pitch and real life; occasions that shake the moral fibre of the game to its core.⁴⁸⁶

There are times where players know exactly what they are doing and choose to make dangerous tackles; the violence of the game is by far and large intentional. One religious

⁴⁸⁵ It is important to note here that the term "thug" has different connotations in the European soccer context than it does as it is colloquially used in the United States. While American audiences should generally understand the term as racially coded to mean Black folk, in this instance it is referring to players who participate in very specific behaviors during matches that mirror some of the tactics used by those working as enforcers for crime syndicates.

⁴⁸⁶ Greg Lott, "World Football: Ranking the 25 Worst 'Tackles' of All Time," *Bleacher Report*, February 9, 2011, <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/599839-ouch-schumacher-and-more-ranking-the-25-worst-examples-of-football-thuggery>.

supporter, during his interview, talked about a tackle that broke Welsh international Aaron Ramsey's leg. "It was horrific. As soon as they collided, you could tell that Ramsey was seriously injured. Watching your favorite player be carried off the pitch is something you never forget."⁴⁸⁷ When a player intentionally uses their studs, like Belgian international Axel Witsel did when he tackled Marcin Wasilewski during a club match in 2009, the odds that the player being tackled will be injured go up dramatically; Witsel's tackle broke Wasilewski's leg.⁴⁸⁸ The top bad foul on the list, in a match between Aberdeen and Glasgow Rangers in 1988, saw Aberdeen's Neil Simpson take out Rangers's Ian Durrant in a "high, studs up, premeditated" tackle; it was so horrific that it took three years before Durrant was able to play professionally again.

Bad tackles are not the only cause of injury in soccer; Bastian Schweinsteiger landed awkwardly after a tackle and broke his collar bone in a 2011 Champions League match against Napoli. The tackle itself was clean, but that did not stop Bayern fans from blaming Napoli as a whole for his injury. If a player on one's team is hurt and there are players from the opposing team nearby, the blame will always be placed on the opposition, regardless of whether or not they actually were the cause of the injury.

6. You shall not bear false witness.

There is a stereotype that many non-soccer fans hold: footballers spend more time writhing on the ground than they do actually playing the game. As one American put it:

The more customary method of getting a penalty is to walk into the "area" with the ball, get breathed on hard, and then immediately collapse . . . arms

⁴⁸⁷ Will Andras, interview with author, Denver, CO, February 26, 2014.

⁴⁸⁸ ETR Studios, "Marcin Wasilewski Broken Leg After Horror Tackle Axel Witsel Standard-Anderlecht", *YouTube* (2009), <https://youtu.be/NuERX-5kc0>.

and legs splayed out while you twist in agony and beg for morphine, and your teammates smite their foreheads at the tragic waste of a young life. The referee buys this more than you think. Afterward the postgame did-he-fall-or-was-he-pushed argument can go on for hours.⁴⁸⁹

The amount of simulation varies widely across the globe. While Germany favors a clean style of play, with very little simulation, Italy favors a more dramatic style of play.

Though the style varies around the world, supporters always believe that their players are innocent of any form of simulation. If it is a player on one's team, they were fouled; if it is the opposing team, they are clearly faking it.

Legitimate strategy in some places is seen as overly dramatic in others. Players who develop a tendency to go to ground easily, as well as those who spend more time arguing with referees, are easy targets for abuse from opposing fans. Juventus superstar Cristiano Ronaldo has a well-earned reputation for going to ground easily; he often spends as much time on the ground whining or arguing with officials as he does actually playing during the match. For fans who prefer a cleaner style of play, watching players try and milk as much advantage as they can get from the referees feels like a needless pollution of the purity of the game...unless it is their player on the ground.

Simulation also occurs in other ways. In their Round of 16 match against England at the 2010 World Cup, German goalkeeper Manuel Neuer stopped a shot from England's Frank Lampard. The ball hit the crossbar, bounced down, and Neuer then cleared it. Neuer's performance was so convincing that play continued and no goal was awarded. Goal line technology was not yet in operation, nor were there video assistant referees;

⁴⁸⁹ Simon Kuper and Stefan Szymanski, *Soccernomics*, 114.

however after the match it was determined through replay and multiple camera angles that the ball had crossed the goal line by about two feet when Neuer caught it. That incident led FIFA to adopt goal line technology ahead of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil and introduced video assistant referees at the 2018 World Cup in Russia.⁴⁹⁰

Regardless of the form that simulation takes, it is part of the game. Regional variations in preferred style of play are important; in Italy and much of South America, the style of play is more dramatic, with diving and bad fouls a regular occurrence, while Americans and Germans have very little stomach for such theatrics (unless an American or German team does it, in which case it is fine). Much like Commandment VI, it is all about perspective. It is simulation if it is one's opponent, but when it is one's own team, it was clearly a bad foul that the referee needs to immediately address.

7. You shall not steal.

Teams that are geographically and politically separated have become rivals in the search for promising young players. Arsenal FC in north London and Barcelona FC have developed an intense competition to sign and develop young talent; during the 2010s, players regularly were traded between the clubs. The global nature of soccer now means that the biggest clubs in the world run development academies in countries without a

⁴⁹⁰ Goal line technology involves sensors in the ball and along the goal line; when a ball crosses the line, the sensors register it and confirm a goal has occurred. Video assistant referees watch multiple camera angles and assist the referee in running a fair match. Video replay is used to check every goal (to ensure the scorer was onside, etc.), but it also assists in discipline during a match. Some fouls may go uncalled or under called on the pitch; those are checked by the VAR, and, if the VAR finds that something was more severe than the referee's original call, the original call is overturned and a player can then be booked.

common language. There are now development academies in the United States for teams in every major European league.⁴⁹¹

Smaller clubs face constant poaching of players by bigger clubs. There are anecdotal reports of certain club presidents triggering panic by merely attending another team's game or practice, though there is a lack of actual evidence to back up these anecdotes. Players long for the chance to play for the best teams, but while their sale provides a financial boon for their former club, it also means that a team loses its best (and occasionally their only good) player. Big clubs are predators and smaller clubs are the prey; no one ever wants to be the prey. Throughout its history Bayern Munich has regularly poached the best players from other German clubs, earning them the nickname "FC Hollywood" for their ever-growing list of stars. The buying and selling of players nearly universally benefit the purchasing team more than it does the seller.

8. You shall not commit club adultery.

In 1958 Manchester United traveled to Belgrade for a European Cup match.⁴⁹² After the match the plane stopped in Munich to refuel. The plane crashed shortly after takeoff, killing twenty-three people in total. Among the casualties were several players, the pilot, and Manchester United staff; of the players who survived the crash, many never played again. United was in the middle of their season when the crash happened; they won the title in 1955–56 and 1956–57 and were the heavy favorites to win a third title.

⁴⁹¹ "A European Power Play: Elite Soccer Clubs Develop Roots with American Youth Academies," *USA Today*, May 2, 2016, <https://usatodayhss.com/2016/a-european-power-play-elite-soccer-clubs-develop-roots-with-american-youth-academies> (last accessed June 20, 2020).

⁴⁹² The European Cup has gone through multiple iterations over the course of the last century. Its current form is the UEFA Champions League.

The crash more than decimated the club, and it took years for the club to see similar competitive success.⁴⁹³ Yet fans did not abandon their team; they kept their faith in United and in team manager Bill Busby. The first generation of “Busby babes” won the team their first two championships; the second generation of “Busby babes” won them their next English Premiere League title in 1964–65, another in 1966–67, and in 1968 they won the European Cup.

Committing club adultery is the worst sin for religious supporters. Nothing is considered so grievous as to justify abandoning one’s club. No run of bad luck, no player misconduct, no political issues justify changing one’s club allegiance. It is far better to be an apostate, to curse one’s club, than to abandon one’s club for another. This fierce loyalty extends to how religious supporters view players. Rivalries are fierce everywhere and every club has a nemesis; in places where a league is dominated by one club, everyone considers that team to be their nemesis. Beloved players, especially ones who came up through a club’s academy system, get signed by rival clubs all the time. No matter how beloved a player is, as soon as they sign elsewhere, they are *persona non grata*. In 2011 Barcelona approached Arsenal about signing Spanish international Cesc Fabregas, a product of Barcelona’s youth system, who was signed by Arsenal when he was just sixteen and helped his country win the 2010 World Cup. At the time Fabregas swore that the only club he would ever play for that was not Arsenal was Barcelona. Fans were understanding that he wanted to return home and were generally good sports about

⁴⁹³ For the full account of the crash and its aftermath, see: Stephen Morrin, *The Munich Air Disaster—The True Story About the Fatal 1958 Crash: The Night 8 of Manchester United’s “Busby Babes” Died* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2014).

the news; however, when Fabregas left Barcelona and joined London-based Chelsea, Arsenal fans made their extreme displeasure known.

To fans, players are only relevant or important when they play for one's team; once they leave, fans are forced to let them go, but they may never let that player forget it. Any player who swears allegiance to a club and then moves elsewhere will forever face vitriol. Most players are strategic enough not to make public pronouncements about their fidelity to their club, but many make foolish statements they come to regret later. Religious fans take such oaths seriously; if a player breaks an oath, it is considered to be equal to a fan jumping ship for another club. Once someone picks their club, they are expected to stick with that club forever.

9. You shall not covet your neighbor's striker.

No one wants to see their team play against stars on other teams; star players and footballers who are in the middle of a great run of form make it more difficult for one's team to win. When Lionel Messi is in the midst of a multi-game scoring streak, the opposing team's fans are not excited about getting to watch one of the all-time greatest footballers; they are hoping and (sometimes) praying that the superstar will have a terrible match or be stricken with a case of food poisoning just bad enough to cause him to miss the game. While supporters respect the talent of players, that does not mean that they want their team to sign one of these superstars. If it happens, and the team signs a superstar, the fans will coalesce behind that player, but supporters will always default to, "If they're not ours, they're the enemy."

Soccer is full of superstars. While many play for the top clubs around the world, others may be the only international-caliber player at their club. Small clubs are routinely forced to see their best players go to bigger clubs. However, there is a truth about soccer than many miss: even the biggest clubs hate the fact that the business of soccer often impedes the enjoyment of the game, yet no one can stop the influence of money. Thus, fans have come to embrace *ressentiment* despite the fact that it is highly doubtful that most soccer fans have even heard the term. As Max Scheler explains,

To relieve the tension, the common man seeks a feeling of superiority or equality and he attains his purpose by an illusory devaluation of the other man's qualities of a specific 'blindness' to those qualities. But secondly—and here lies the main achievement of *ressentiment*—the falsities the values themselves bestow excellence on any possible object of comparison.⁴⁹⁴

It is less about wanting what one cannot have and more about rejecting what others have as “not better,” even when it is clear that the other team's striker is better than one's own.

Fans want homegrown players, local lads for whom they can cheer; bringing in outside players is risky, as it always impacts team chemistry. Religious supporters do not want their team to bring in superstar players from their rivals. Sometimes fans hold a grudge because a player was injured, or they play for a bitter rival, or they have a reputation for diva behavior. After the 2010 World Cup, German goalkeeper Manuel Neuer became the top-rated keeper in the world. A product of the Schalke 04 youth system, Neuer had always played in his hometown of Gelsenkirchen.⁴⁹⁵ When the rumors

⁴⁹⁴ Max Scheler, *Ressentiment*, trans. Lewis B. Coser and William H. Holdheim (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2003), 34.

⁴⁹⁵ Schalke 04 is based in Gelsenkirchen. Neuer played for Schalke's second team from 2004 to 2006 and the Schalke first team from 2004 to 2011, when he was signed by Bayern Munich. In 2017, after the

began to swirl that Bayern was going to sign Neuer, fans of both teams were upset. Schalke fans attacked Neuer, arguing that the only reason that he was leaving was because he wanted to make more money. Bayern fans in the Südkurve held signs that read, “*Koan Neuer*,” when Bayern hosted Schalke for a Pokal match.⁴⁹⁶

Once Neuer was formally signed, however, Bayern fans embraced him as one of their own. As one fan explained during her interview, “I was one of those fans [protesting Neuer’s signing]. Jörg was still playing incredibly well and we didn’t need him.” Butt announced his retirement shortly after the news about Neuer’s signing broke. “Without him, though, we needed a keeper and getting the best one in the world turned out to be pretty great for the team.”⁴⁹⁷ Until the contract is signed, fans will rarely be excited about signing external players; once signed, fans take varying amounts of time to warm up to new players, but generally speaking, the better the performance of the player, the faster they are accepted. In Neuer’s case, his performance on the pitch quickly won fans over.

10. You shall have hope, for there is always next year.

Every time a club has a disappointing season, fans begin to look to the future, to the possibilities that a new season will offer the club. The hope that things will improve is necessary for fans; if there is no hope of improved fortunes, there is no reason to continue to watch matches or follow the team. However, some might argue that it is actually the

retirement of Philipp Lahm and the departure of Bastian Schweinsteiger, Neuer was named captain of Bayern’s squad.

⁴⁹⁶ The Südkurve is the south end of the Allianz Arena; it is where the Bayern ultras can be found at every home match. “*Koan Neuer*” means “No Neuer” in Bavarian.

⁴⁹⁷ Tanja, interview with author, February 15, 2014, Denver, CO.

hope that makes it worse. In the season finale of its first season, *Ted Lasso* addressed this sentiment in a powerful way. In the episode, called “The Hope That Kills You,” AFC Richmond, the team at the heart of the show, is facing potential relegation. Their last match of the season, the one that will decide their fate for the following season, is against the best team in the league, who have already secured their championship. In the lead up to the match, Coach Lasso is constantly told that it is the “hope that kills you,” as people argue that relegation is inevitable and there is no point in getting everyone’s hopes up just to have them shattered. Coach Lasso tells the team,

I’ve been hearing this phrase y’all give over here that I ain’t too crazy about. “It’s the hope that kills you.” Y’all know that? I disagree, you know? I think it’s the lack of hope that comes and gets you. See, I believe in hope. I believe in belief. Now, where I’m from, we got a saying too. A question, actually. “Do you believe in miracles?” Now, I don’t need y’all to answer that question for me...but I do want you to answer that question for yourselves. Right now. Do you believe in miracles? And if you do, then I want y’all to circle up with me right now.⁴⁹⁸

Hope is the necessary companion for religious supporters. It can be crushing when one’s team yet again fails to live up to its potential or when the worst happens and one’s club is relegated to a lower division. It is the reason that religious supporters continue to watch, continue to cheer, and continue to believe that their club is capable of winning it all. Fr. Matthew Spotts, SJ, described his relationship with Arsenal’s continual failure to win a trophy thusly:

As a fan, I’ve never seen them win a trophy. It’s a special form of sports torture. The always a bridesmaid and never the bride; it’s the sports edition

⁴⁹⁸ *Ted Lasso*. 2020. Season 1, Episode 10, “The Hope That Kills You.” Directed by M.J. Delaney. Aired on October 20, 2020, on Apple TV+.

of that. Of always being close and being good enough to have high expectations without ever having that delivered.”⁴⁹⁹

When asked if hope is an important part of his continued relationship with Arsenal, Fr. Spotts answered that, “It is everything. I know they will win someday, even if it my entire lifetime. I hope to see it, but I will continue to hold out hope that it’ll be next season.”

Peruvian liberation theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez draws a clear distinction between optimism and hope, a distinction that is incredibly useful here. Hope is the knowledge that things will get better, while optimism is the belief that things will get better soon or quickly.⁵⁰⁰ The “hope that kills you” is optimism; it is not hope. And this distinction matters, because there is a difference between hope as it is casually referred to and the hope of which the following paragraph speaks. Hope should not be understood as optimism, even though fans use the term “hope” instead of optimism; rather, hope is the fundamental belief in one’s club, even during the worst of seasons. This is the hope to which supporters cling, the hope that kills.

Religious supporters know that it is sustaining during the worst of seasons: injured players, terrible managers, the inability to find the back of the net, quarantine/play stoppages because of global pandemics, etcetera. It is thrilling in the best of seasons: win after win, winning the league, winning the cup, winning the Champions League, winning

⁴⁹⁹ Matthew Spotts, interview with author, Denver, Colorado, February 6 2014.

⁵⁰⁰ The Spanish and English editions of this work contain different essays, thus while he addresses this concept in both, their discussion is to be found in different essays. For more, see: Gustavo Gutiérrez, “The Meaning and Scope of Medellín,” *Density of the Present* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999).

Gustavo Gutiérrez, “Lenguaje teológico, plenitud del silencio,” *Densidad Del Presente* (Madrid: Ediciones Siguemos, 2003).

promotion back to the top league. In soccer, it is the belief that one's team can win that matters; one need not think they will win the game. This distinction between hope and optimism is important.

Football is all about an experience of disappointment in the present that is linked to some doubtless illusory moment of greatness and heroic virtue. The odd thing is that it isn't the disappointment that is so difficult to bear; it's the endlessly renewed hope with which each new season begins.⁵⁰¹

The Challenge of Religious Supporters: Religion v. Business

Religious studies and philosophy have provided frameworks through which to understand the perspective of fans and religious soccer. From the foundational work done in chapter 3 and the XI Commandments in this chapter, it is clear that soccer is a religion for some supporters. That religiosity poses a major challenge to the relationships between religious supporters and their clubs. What is a religion for one group is a business for the other and, as such, they are often in conflict. The second half of this chapter examines the role that supporters' groups (SGs) play in the creation of community for religious supporters and then turns to the conflicts between SGs and their clubs. It concludes with a case study that looks at the relationship between the Dallas Beer Guardians (DBG) and the FC Dallas (FCD) front office (FO).

Supporters' Groups

Many religious supporters are members of SGs. Particularly in the United States, where soccer is still seen as a secondary sport, SGs provide a place of belonging for those

⁵⁰¹ Critchley, "Working Class Ballet," 5–6.

fans for whom soccer is their religion. American community activist Peter Block's two definitions of belonging help to explain why SGs are important to religious fans.

To belong is to be related to and a part of something. It is membership, the experience of being at home in the broadest sense of the phrase. It is the opposite of thinking that wherever I am, I would be better off somewhere else. Or that I am still forever wandering, looking for that place where I belong.⁵⁰²

For religious fans, SGs are the place where they find community and belonging, the place where they gather with those of similar inclinations to celebrate rituals. In the same way that it might take a Christian several attempts to find the right church, fans discern which, if any, SG with which they fit.⁵⁰³

This first definition is important precisely because, as Block argues, "The opposite of belonging is to feel isolated and always (all ways) on the margin, an outsider."⁵⁰⁴ Many religious soccer fans do not have a soccer-focused community outside of SGs; the experience of loving something so deeply, something the people around you do not care about, can be an isolating experience. SGs provide a place where religious soccer fans recognize each other and themselves, a place where no one will judge someone based solely on their boisterous support of a soccer club. The experience of being surrounded by like-minded and like-souled folx who care deeply about the same

⁵⁰² Peter Block, *Community: The Structure of Belonging* (San Francisco: Barrett-Koehler, 2009), xii.

⁵⁰³ Not all MLS clubs have more than one officially recognized SG, but most do. In the case of FCD, the two SGs attract different groups of people. Dallas Beer Guardians primarily attracts adults in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, while most Latinx FCD fans are members of El Matador. Each SG has its own particular characteristics. Some, like the Timbers Army, are explicitly political, while many focus on the match day experience. For more on MLS and its various SGs, see: Phil West, *The United States of Soccer: MLS and the Rise of American Soccer Fandom* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2016).

⁵⁰⁴ Block, *Community*, xii.

things is powerful; it creates kinship and introduces communal rituals to the religious fan's life.

Block's second definition of belonging regards ownership, a point that many soccer clubs fail to recognize. "To belong to a community is to act as a creator and co-owner of that community" wherein all must "seek in our communities a wider and deeper sense of emotional ownership; it means fostering among all of a community's citizens a sense of ownership and accountability."⁵⁰⁵ Religious soccer fans and SGs feel this sense of emotional ownership of their club; SGs take a tremendous sense of pride in their roles in the stadium and in the community. This is precisely why there is often conflict between SGs and the front office (FO) of soccer clubs: fans deeply believe that the club is theirs, while the club often fails to recognize this emotional ownership.⁵⁰⁶ Fans are resistant to change, especially when it comes to what they view as their club's identity;⁵⁰⁷ the importance of the club in a fan's life is correlated to their thoughts on club identity.

The relationship between clubs and their fans can be tricky. When the FO makes a decision that directly impacts the fan experience, failing to include those fans in the conversation leads to major disruptions in relationships and in the atmosphere at matches. The bigger the decision, the more pronounced the reaction from fans. Often, attempts to address safety and security in the stadium directly conflict with the ways in which fans

⁵⁰⁵ Block, *Community*, xii.

⁵⁰⁶ Stephanie Charleston, "Determinants of Home Atmosphere in English Football: A Committed Supporter Perspective," *Journal of Sport Behavior* 31, no. 4 (2008): 312–28.

⁵⁰⁷ Véronique Pauwels Delassus and Raluca Mogos Descotes, "La résistance des fans à l'égard d'un changement d'identité d'un club," *Management International* 23, no. 1 (2018): 78–90.

express themselves;⁵⁰⁸ this is certainly true in the 2014 conflict between DBG and the FCD front office.⁵⁰⁹

The Dallas Beer Guardians

In late 2012 a doctoral classmate introduced me to Jay Neal.⁵¹⁰ At the time, Jay was both a soccer blogger and the Director of Community Outreach for DBG. Over the course of multiple conversations about the ethnographic research component of my dissertation in the fall of 2013, Jay suggested that I come down to Dallas and interview folx from DBG. Upon the approval of my project by the IRB board at the University of Denver, in January of 2014, I scheduled my first research trip to Dallas for February 21–24, 2014.⁵¹¹ While in Dallas I attended several DBG events, both formal and informal; I also interviewed eight individuals during that first trip. Over the course of the next two years, I conducted extensive participant observation and additional interviews.

A Brief History of DBG

One of FCD's officially recognized SGs, DBG was founded as FC Drunk in 2011, when former DBG president Andrew Gerbosi found an abandoned flag in Toyota

⁵⁰⁸ Clifford Stott, James Hoggett, and Geoff Pearson, “‘Keeping the Peace’: Social Identity, Procedural Justice, and the Policing of Football Crowds,” *British Journal of Criminology* 52 (2012): 381–99.

⁵⁰⁹ This case study is representative of conflicts between clubs and their SGs, but it is imperative to note that these conflicts happen regularly between clubs and fans; one group, the FO, is regularly making decisions that impact fans, so the potential for ongoing conflict is high.

⁵¹⁰ There will be a limited number of first-person statements throughout this chapter. I am primarily an observer of this event, but I was asked for my professional opinion as to what course of action DBG should take. Insofar as I am a part of the story, I will address my role in the first person.

⁵¹¹ The entire timeline of interactions and research with DBG is in Appendix D.

Stadium⁵¹² and doctored it to read “FC Drunk.” After moving to Texas, he connected with members of the Dallas chapter of American Outlaws, the U.S. national team SG with chapters across the United States and around the world.⁵¹³ Gerbosi tells the story this way

We flew it at a U.S. Open Cup match against Orlando City. We had it hanging in the beer gardens, and we added a few more people and a few more banners. We had as many as twenty people or maybe even more who kind of hung out and latched on. About three quarters of the way through the season, the front office said the banner wasn’t exactly PC enough. We had to take it down. But we were still there every game, we still supported every game.

At the end of the year, [then FC Dallas president] Doug Quinn had called me and thanked us for coming out and said, “We want you to continue with this. Do you maybe want to do something a little more politically correct, like FC Brew Crew?” We thought that sounded like a softball team. He told us that Budweiser was looking to sponsor us, we could do something beer related by not inappropriate, and if we came up with something, they could get us some Adidas gear, shirts, scarves. I said, “Give us a week,” and we sat around and talked about it, and we came up with Dallas Beer Guardians. We were in a beer garden, it just sort of fit us right, the way it rolled off the tongue sounded right.⁵¹⁴

With the backing of FCD’s FO, DBG started the 2012 MLS season as an official FCD SG. As the group grew, it took over the Beer Garden, rapidly growing in size each year. The relationship with the FO was occasionally challenging, but the groups were mostly working well together prior to the Beer Shower Ban.

⁵¹² Toyota Stadium is FC Dallas’ home grounds. Located in Frisco, TX, Toyota Stadium is a soccer-specific stadium and opened on August 6, 2005.

⁵¹³ For more on American Outlaws, see: Tanya Keith, *Passionate Soccer Love: A Memoir of 20 Years Supporting US Soccer* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2014).

Mike Stocz and Evan Frederick, “Is the Disease Spreading? A Case Study of the American Outlaws,” *Soccer & Society* 20, no. 6 (2019): 836–47.

⁵¹⁴ West, *The United States of Soccer*, 192.

DBG brought much needed energy and enthusiasm to FCD games. As the group grew, their rituals developed naturally. One of those traditions was beer showers, something the group embraced as an inevitable celebration to scoring a goal. When one is holding a cup of beer and jumps up and down to celebrate a goal, the beer does not stay in the cup for long:

You start jumping, your arms go up, and your beer starts sloshing around or getting accidentally thrown up in the air a bit. Next thing you know, instead of just sloshing or flinging just a little bit accidentally, entire beers were getting thrown up into the air as high as they could be thrown.”⁵¹⁵

What began as the result of overexcited fans then became an intentional celebration, with supporters throughout the Beer Garden throwing their beers in the air to celebrate. “There weren’t any plans to start something like that[;] it just grew organically out of the excitement of having something to cheer at. We weren’t very good so we had to take advantage of excitement.”⁵¹⁶ It was such an important piece of DBG culture that they had repeatedly asked the FCD FO to put up signs in the Beer Garden, warning those unfamiliar with the tradition that they might get wet in the event of a goal. The organization spent more than two years requesting the signage, as they wanted to be respectful of others in the Beer Garden by giving them a heads up before the match got underway.

⁵¹⁵ Aaron Willis, personal correspondence with author, June 14, 2014.

⁵¹⁶ Stephen Stone, personal correspondence with author, June 30, 2014.

DBG members interviewed for this dissertation answered the question, “How do you, personally, feel about beer showers?”—even within DBG there were differing opinions:

Love them. They were the one thing we did that was different from everyone else.⁵¹⁷

They are great in the summer heat. There is no shade and no air circulation in the garden. I don’t miss being all sticky after the game, but it is just as easy to splash some water on and change shirts before heading home.⁵¹⁸

I definitely see both sides. For me personally, they should’ve been banned after the George John incident.⁵¹⁹

Love the pure excitement and emotion of them. I mean I did them at first because I got so excited I just threw my hands in the air.⁵²⁰

At first, I really wasn’t a huge fan of them. I used to run out of the [Beer Garden] when I thought a goal was about to happen. I didn’t like going home smelling like beer. Frisco’s winds are a beast, and if you’re covered in beer and it’s cold, it can be miserable. I think eventually I just stopped caring, and even welcomed them a bit when it was 100 degrees out! I never participated (I don’t drink), but I didn’t tell people around me not to do it, either. It was part of the celebration.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Aaron Willis, personal correspondence with author, June 14, 2014.

⁵¹⁸ Stone, correspondence.

⁵¹⁹ Kenny Price, personal correspondence with author, June 22, 2014. The “George John incident” to which Price is referring was when George John, then a defender for FCD, was hit in the head by a bottle thrown by a fan. For more, see: MLSsoccerstaff, “FC Dallas Announce Ban for Fan Who Threw the Bottle that Struck George John,” MLS Online, April 19, 2013, <https://www.mlssoccer.com/post/2013/04/19/fc-dallas-announce-ban-fan-who-threw-bottle-struck-george-john> (last accessed February 5, 2021).

⁵²⁰ Brandon Huckabee, personal correspondence with author, June 28, 2014.

⁵²¹ Juliana Price, personal correspondence with author, October 20, 2014.

The Beer Shower Ban

On Tuesday, May 13, 2014, then-DBG president Brandon Huckabee received an email from Robert Casner, the FCD employee who was DBG's liaison and point of contact within the FO.⁵²² The email, written by Gina McFarlin, Director of Safety and Security for Toyota Stadium, informed the membership:

Because of the growing number of complaints from people within your own section, the FC Dallas Operations department is implementing a new policy that will prohibit beer/liquid throwing at any time during any event in Toyota Stadium. What started out as a celebratory tradition has quickly become a problem to many including fans, FC Dallas staff, and even the police officers that are posted in the beer garden. After consistently receiving complaints, we have made the decision to make the new policy effective *immediately*. The policy and our response guidelines will be swift and certain in order to take control of this escalating problem so that we can provide a positive game day experience for everyone in the general admission field seating area as well as the Budweiser Beer Garden. We are not trying to create a difficult situation but rather keep the Beer Garden fun, safe, and welcoming for all fans, which will help all supporters' groups grow! We want our fans to consume their beverages rather than dousing other fans . . .

In summary of the new response guidelines, any person identified throwing, tossing, or spilling beer or any liquid intentionally will be **EJECTED** immediately. Further, violators will be banished for the next home match.⁵²³

The email blindsided group members, including the group's leadership; at no point was anyone in DBG leadership informed that there were complaints about the beer showers. Over the course of nearly three years, DBG members repeatedly asked for signage in the Beer Garden advising those in the area that they might get wet upon the scoring of a goal. Those signs were never made, but within days of the announcement of the ban, there

⁵²² The full text of the emails referenced in this section are in Appendix D.

⁵²³ Gina McFarlin, "New policy effective immediately—NO BEER/LIQUID TOSSING," email correspondence, May 13, 2014. Emphasis in the original.

were signs all over the Beer Garden informing fans of the ban and the penalty for violating it.

Members were irate and worried that they would all be banned for matches, because the most troubling part of FCD's decision was two sentences in McFarlin's email: "This policy will also be retroactive. We will be reviewing video recordings to identify violators and those violators will be subject to the same sanctions during upcoming matches."⁵²⁴ No one knew how "retroactive" the policy was. Was the FO going to go through footage from every match for three years to ban anyone in DBG who threw liquid at some point? Would they only look at the current season? Every DBG member who had ever thrown a cup of liquid was afraid of being banned because of that action. Members were angry and confused; if there were complaints, why had there been no communication from the FO before the ban?

On Wednesday, May 14, 2014, all members of DBG received a second email from the FCD FO. It read, in part:

We are writing to make you aware of a change in stadium policy, which will affect the area of your season ticket in the Budweiser Beer Garden.

Effective for the match this weekend v. Chives USA, the Toyota Stadium policy has been amended to read that "any person identified throwing, tossing, or spilling beer or any liquid intentionally will be removed from the match and suspended for the subsequent match as well (the equivalent to a player red card offense)." Reoccurring offenses by the same individual will result in longer terms of suspension. Beginning this Saturday, security will review video after each match to identify any violations which would result in a retro-active ban should the offense not be handled during the match itself . . .

⁵²⁴ McFarlin, "New policy," May 13, 2014.

We recognize that there may be mixed reviews from within the Beer Garden as some see the “beer shower” as a tradition amongst supporters in this section. The traditions created and built by our supporters are appreciated and welcomed as they foster unity, increase stadium atmosphere, and encourage collective backing for the team. While surely unintended, this particular type of celebration unfortunately has caused division and complaints; even amongst our own fans in the area. We make this change at the request of the League Office in New York City, while also trying to maintain the cohesion of all our valued fans in the Budweiser Beer Garden. The Budweiser Beer Garden has grown to represent the best sports fan experience and value in DFW, and we are anxious to continue the growth of those coming together to support the team on the field each week.⁵²⁵

DBG members immediately began debating how to react; the emails came out midweek, giving the group three to four days to make their decision as there was a home match Saturday, May 17, 2014. Some in the group were frustrated by what they viewed as an attempt to erase the group’s identity. For the first week after the announcement of the ban, members made dozens of suggestions for a collective response: boycotting the next home match, getting everyone in the section to join in the tradition, some form of protest, ecetera. As the group discerned a course of action, Jay Neal asked me what I thought the group should do. Utilizing a trickster ethos, I made two suggestions that would upend the traditional behavior of fans in the Beer Garden. The first was to have DBG watch the match in total silence until after the first goal; doing so would radically change the stadium atmosphere, as DBG’s coordinated chants and cheers set the tone for the entire stadium. The second was to give the FCD FO exactly what they wanted, but to such a degree that it would backfire on the FO. I recommended that members dress like white suburban soccer moms (khakis, button-downs, polo shirts, sweater sets, Lululemon

⁵²⁵ Zac Stables, “Policy Change in Budweiser Beer Garden,” email correspondence, May 14, 2014.

leggings, etcetera) and behave like them (golf clapping for goals, ignoring most of the game in favor of talking to friends). If FCD believed that their primary demographic is white suburbanites, giving them exactly what they think they want would disrupt their expectations.

At the first home match after the ban, security inside the stadium was visibly increased; there were more FCD security officers and additional members of the Frisco Police Department. There were fewer members of DBG present than in a normal week. A handful of DBG members threw their beverages intentionally to prove a point to the FO; they were immediately removed. Then, in the 83rd minute, Fabian Castillo scored, bringing FCD level with Chivas. Without thinking, because they were so used to the tradition, several fans tossed their beverages in the air. They were not intentionally breaking the new policy but rather reacting as they were accustomed when their team scored a goal.

The reaction from the security officers was swift. The participants were quickly removed from the Beer Garden, their information was collected, and bans were handed down for the following home game. Kenny Price, one of the fans who threw his beverage, described his experience at the match thusly:

I then walked into the stadium and showed my ID at the top of the stairs of the Beer Garden. Business as usual. Then came the differences. I was then handed a small flyer, at least every third person got one. It was a warning about ejections for tossing liquid. . . . ***How was this going to affect the atmosphere that we all had worked so hard to build?***

I then go to the bleachers. Something is off. Security seems doubled/tripled. Signs in front of the ad boards stating the policy again. As the game began, I see the head of security standing her post. Talking on the radio as if she is a chess player strategically positioning her pawns going for checkmate.

Security is on the offensive. Undercover security is found out to be in the garden. I compare it to the group of American Outlaws⁵²⁶ who brave the crowd at Azteca⁵²⁷ for a game against Mexico and you clearly see the security in bright yellow and riot gear protecting the group. But I don't feel protected right now. I feel they are the predator, I am the prey. *Is this my home stadium?*

At first I see a few of the group throw liquid. They quickly walk out and accept their ejections. I feel security closing in. The tension is thick and I'm feeling uncomfortable. "Build a bonfire" chants don't put Houston at the top anymore, they put Gina (head of security) at the top.⁵²⁸ People are being ejected for throwing streamers [for] which the team itself bought. "You can't kick us all out" chants rain. Chivas scores. . . . Despite increased security, I see Frisco Police are standing post. *Are we criminals?*

83rd minute . . . CASTILLO!!!! All the tension is gone for a split second. Fabian shows so much heart after being injured and gets the equalizer. . . . The water I was sipping is poured on myself, then on the crowd. It's what I'm trained to do. I love my club and I love my team!!! Split second later, my shirt is grabbed. "Come on," said Gina. Whatever. She has her clipboard of power. A few more are with me. "Let me see your ID." Here. "What's your address?" It's on the [omitted] card. "You don't have to speak to me that way." You don't have to eject me, but you're gonna. "You are not allowed to come to the next game." *Whatever. You feel better about yourself?*

I walk up the steps. Security giving me what they probably think is a walk of shame. I don't see it that way. I know I did the right thing. My phone immediately blows up with tweets of support. I stood up for the #BeerFamily that took me in when I first moved to Texas.

The first match after the ban was in the books, but much of the season was left to play, including many more home matches.

⁵²⁶ American Outlaws (AO) is the largest USMNT/USWNT SG in the country; there are AO chapters in every major city in the country, as well as many smaller cities. There are also chapters in other countries.

⁵²⁷ The Azteca is the Mexican national team's home stadium in Mexico City.

⁵²⁸ The chant to which Price is referring goes, "Build a bonfire, build a bonfire, and put [team/person] at the top. Put [current opponent] in the middle and we'll burn the [effing] lot."

It was after that first home match that DBG decided how they would communally react. They chose a beer boycott, refusing to spend any money inside of Toyota Stadium in an attempt to impact FCD's bottom line.

FC DALLAS HAS OUTLAWED THE BEER SHOWER GOAL CELEBRATION IN THE BEER GARDEN. WE ARE CALLING FOR A BOYCOTT ON ALL CONCESSIONS IN TOYOTA STADIUM UNTIL THEY REMOVE THIS RIDICULOUS POLICY.⁵²⁹

As fans bought into the boycott, Twitter lit up with posts from members of DBG, expressing anger, frustration, and the feeling that the FCD FO had lied to them.

@fcdallas has lost 5 of last 6, lags in attendance. Of COURSE the solution is to alienate their biggest supporters, @DallasGuardians.

We asked repeatedly for signage regarding our tradition & were told it was coming. We don't like being lied to. #BeerBoycott

Good thing I was just put on blood pressure meds. @FCDallas is out to kill me. #BeerBoycott

I am loving #BeerBoycott. Nothing hurts more than a dent in revenue. And we provide a lot of that.

Why would @FCDallas ban #BeerShowers goal celebration from @DallasGuardians?

#BeerBoycott @FCDallas would be sweet, IF we could get entire @FCDallasNEU to participate. Buy NOTHING inside until "policy" changes.

I'd be interested to know how many #BeerShowers complaints are from paying customers vs paid employees #BeerBoycott

⁵²⁹ Dallas Beer Guardians, "Beer Boycott at Toyota Stadium," *Dallas Beer Guardians* (blog), May 2014. Emphasis in the original.

Author's note: DBG has done multiple website revamps since the publication of that blog post. Unfortunately, the post is no longer available online, as their current site only contains posts from 2017 onward. The printed version does not contain the previous web address on it. Photocopy of the printed version can be furnished upon request.

At the beginning of the beer boycott, there was tremendous support from the membership. As the season went on, DBG members slowly returned to their old habits; they no longer threw their beverages, but the beer boycott was short-lived. However, the relationship between the two groups was still very strained.

FCD's loss to Seattle in the first round of the MLS playoffs in 2014 put the cap on a fraught season. The relationship between DBG and FCD was at its most tenuous point. Some members thought a change in DBG leadership would help, but then-president Brandon Huckabee was reelected for the 2015 season. DBG members were suspicious of every decision the club made. Despite the threat of a player strike prior to the 2015 season,⁵³⁰ FCD drastically raised ticket prices, further outraging fans; some longtime season ticket holders saw a nearly 300 percent increase for the same package as longevity bonuses were removed.⁵³¹ Supporters who attended matches religiously found themselves priced out of regular attendance, and even those who could afford the additional cost were upset by the club's actions.

⁵³⁰ Prior to the signing of the 2015 CBA, the possibility of a players' strike was high. The strike was narrowly avoided in the end, but at the time of the ticket price increases, there was legitimate concern that the 2015 season would either be delayed or cancelled entirely.

⁵³¹ At the time (2015), fans were rightfully outraged at the increase in ticket prices. FCD rarely sold out Toyota Stadium, so there was no pressing demand for tickets. Loyal fans who religiously attended every home match were priced out of their season tickets and their seats remained unsold. Prior to 2015 FCD offered a discounted rate for returning season ticket holders; many had purchased season tickets in packages that included a discounted rate for renewal for a season or two. In 2015 FCD raised all ticket prices, and it was enough to cause Stephen Stone, a season ticket holder since the first season in 1996, to drop his season tickets. Since that time, FCD's attendance has significantly improved. In contrast, Minnesota United FC's stadium, Allianz Field, opened for their second MLS season; every match with fans since then has been a sellout.

Managing Relationships: The Need for Ethical Intervention

The conflict between DBG and FCD should not have escalated in the way it did. While both sides made mistakes during the conflict, ultimately it is FCD who failed their supporters. For years, DBG membership had tried to work with the FO to provide signage to let people know about the beer shower tradition, but rather than engaging with the group, FCD decided to introduce a draconian policy that directly impacted their most passionate, dedicated, and enthusiastic fans. A handful of DBG members walked away from the team; one described it as “a crisis of faith,” a position he never thought that he would be in with his club.⁵³²

Ultimately, this conflict leads to several important questions. What could FCD have done differently? What could DBG have done differently? And is there a way that this conflict could have been avoided? What are the lessons that this case study teaches us? And, perhaps most importantly, what can be done in the future to avoid major conflicts between the club and its fan? To answer these questions, an ethical intervention is needed. In the following chapter, I present a constructive social ethic, a toolbox designed to aid groups in their shared work. The tools contained in the ethic address different aspects of the relationship between clubs and their fans, including one that enables fans to intentionally disrupt their relationship with the FO in order to bring about change.

⁵³² Aaron Willis, interview with author, February 21, 2014.

Chapter 5: The Constructive Social Ethic Toolbox

In the previous chapter, the conflicts between SGs and their clubs was demonstrated through the case study with DBG and FCD. As circumstances change in the daily life of the club's business, there is a high possibility that clubs and their SGs will find themselves in conflict at some point, especially if there is not open, frequent, and genuine communication between the club and its fans. Frequently, these conflicts escalate, creating anger, hurt, and frustration on both sides. It leads to resentment between supporters and their clubs and can make or break a season on the brink.⁵³³

Through interviews with and participant observation of DBG members, it became clear to this author how the fundamental conflict between clubs and their religious supporters is grounded in two vastly different approaches. For clubs and their ownership, soccer is a business; while the fan experience is important insofar as it drives business, it is not the primary concern of the club. In trying to fill every seat, clubs often sell tickets for below face value to non-season ticket holders; season ticket holders do not receive the discounts, which means they have paid twice what other people in the stadium have for the same game. For religious supporters, the club holds a much deeper meaning.

⁵³³ "On the brink" comes from the promotion/relegation system employed throughout most of the soccer world. The goal is to finish at the top, to qualify for their confederation's Champions League, but for clubs at the bottom, the risk is being relegated to the second division. Relegation means that clubs lose a tremendous amount of money; the difference in money between the EPL and the Championship (the English second division league) is significant and impacts everything from the team's ability to market itself to the quality of players they are able to sign.

When looking at the DBG/FCD case study, the club's desire to have a certain type of fan was largely responsible for the conflict escalating the way it did. Since its inception, FC Dallas has courted suburban fans, most of whom are white, in an attempt to have, in the words of one DBG member, "a polite, genteel crowd". There is very little advertising for the team in the city of Dallas itself; most of the marketing is targeted to those living closer to the stadium, which is in Plano, a wealthy suburb of Dallas. By building the stadium so far outside the city center, in a place to which there is not easily accessible public transport, inherently demonstrated that the audience FCD wants to cultivate is not the urban center, which is far more diverse than the wealthy northern suburbs. The political affiliations of the city of Dallas and its northern suburbs is vastly different; Dallas is a liberal city, but Collin County, where Plano is located, is deeply conservative. Additionally, television broadcasts have historically been very difficult for fans to access without paying for a streaming service or requiring a particular cable package. The barriers between potential fans living in Dallas and their hometown club are substantial.

The members of DBG, who are all passionate fans of both the game and FCD, reported feeling like they were undervalued, disrespected, and mistreated by the club; at the same time, FCD was using images of DBG members at matches to try and spur interest in tickets. When doing participant observation of televised matches, cameras regularly turned to the Beer Garden because the members of DBG were chanting, singing, celebrating boisterously, and very engaged with the match. DBG makes for good television because they pour themselves into matches. There is a distinct irony in a club

using fans it actively dislikes and attempts to discourage in order to gain new fans; one member explained the feeling as

constant [expletive] whiplash. They keep trying to turn us into what they think the ideal fan should look like, but they also use us to promote the club. It's [expletive] unfair for them to constantly change the rules and dictate what we're allowed and not allowed to do while they're also [expletive] using us to sell tickets. We're not in the stadium to help them grow their business; we're there to cheer for our boys.⁵³⁴

Through the research with DBG, it became clear that simply expecting clubs and fans to talk to each other about things was not nearly enough to actually address the conflicts that arise. There is no guide for navigating tricky situations between clubs and their fans. Both sides have their own agendas and there is nothing that allows them to start from common ground save that both groups care about soccer and the club in some way. Conflicts will continue to happen until there is a concrete way for clubs and their fans to work collaboratively. As an ethicist, my research led me to realize that some sort of system that provides a framework for addressing conflicts (and preventing them in the first place) might be exactly what is needed. Combining my training as a researcher, as an ethicist, and as someone who teaches communication skills, I felt compelled to attempt to create a system through which clubs and fans can be in better relationship to each other.

This chapter presents the ethical intervention needed for clubs and their supporters groups to improve their relationships. It was designed for clubs and supporters groups and is focused on the conflicts between them.⁵³⁵ It is a constructive social ethic,

⁵³⁴ Stephen Stone, interview with author, Dallas, TX, October 2014.

⁵³⁵ Subsequent to its creation for this context, it became apparent that the ethic has broad applicability outside of the world of professional club soccer. It was not my intent to create an ethic that works across a

one that provides a toolbox of options to groups doing shared work together. Toolboxes hold a variety of tools because no single tool can do everything. A hammer cannot be used to screw something into a wall and a screwdriver is not the best option for hammering a nail. The constructive social ethic toolbox reflects that diversity, containing within it three different types of tools: grounding tools (which help groups find and maintain common ground in shared work); methodological tools (which provide methodologies for that work); and practical tools (which serve to ensure that all voices are heard and taken into account).

This chapter begins with a quick overview of the different types of ethics, to give context for what is new about this project and to explain why it is both constructive and social. The dominant types of ethics are assessed, with their limitations demonstrating why this project proposes a new kind of ethic. It then moves into the ethic itself, starting with the grounding tools. There are two grounding tools: the first is the recognition of contingent relationships, utilizing the Heidegger argument in the fourth framing lens. The second tool looks at the competing tensions in our lives, drawing on James Keenan, S.J.'s modern virtue ethic proposal as a way to highlight our different levels of relatedness.

After the grounding tools, the two methodological tools are explained. The first, the hermeneutical spiral, is a formalized process that contains three steps: see, judge, and act. The trickster methodology builds on the groundbreaking work done by Cuban-American ethicist Dr. Miguel De La torre, highlighting the two different ways a trickster

wide variety of situations and for a large number of different types of relationships; the intent was to create something that was specifically designed for avoiding conflicts between clubs and their SGs. The fact that it is useful elsewhere is an added benefit to the ethic.

methodology can be used by groups to disrupt power imbalances and create change. Using the figure of Cerridwen, the Welsh goddess of the cauldron and transfiguration, as an exemplar, this section highlights how creative responses can upend that oppression. This is demonstrated through the second case study in this dissertation, one that examines the actions of FC Bayern Munich between 1933-45; their resistance to, among other things, the Nazification of their club clearly elucidates what a trickster methodology looks like within a soccer context.

The last category is the practical tools and each of the four serving a slightly different purpose. First, the equity lens provides a way to keep issues around equity centered in shared work. Second, utilizing an intersectionality framework enables the addressing of interconnected issues without prioritizing some identities over others. It reminds supporters and their club alike that issues involving race, gender/gender identity, and queerness are all bound together in the same oppressive system and cannot be addressed with a piecemeal approach. Racism cannot be fixed by siloing it away from sexism; they are manifestations of the same white supremacy. The third practical tool, the use of central or centering questions, helps groups pick a focus for their work together; these questions can also serve as a guiding force behind the work. And finally, the fourth and last piece of the toolbox is effective communication, highlighting the importance of intentional and ongoing communication in maintaining relationships.

Types of Ethics: The Need for a Constructive Social Ethic

Many Eurocentric⁵³⁶ ethical systems, regardless of their approach, fail to address the lived realities of humans. This section examines the three traditionally dominant approaches to ethics. It begins with deontological ethics, examining Kant's categorical imperative, before turning its attention to teleological ethics; it concludes with aretaic ethics, better known as virtue ethics. These three approaches represent the vast majority of ethical paradigms; most ethics involve a duty to something, a focus on ends, or the cultivation of desired qualities.

Deontological Ethics: Duty-Based Ethics

Deontological ethics are duty-based, requiring adherents to act according to that duty. Under deontological ethical systems, duty is to the rules; one's behavior is judged against the rule. Ethical behavior falls within the rules; fidelity to the rule matters more than responding in the moment as issues arise. Here, Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative is helpful, as it exemplifies this approach. Kant defines the categorical imperative thusly: "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law."⁵³⁷ Put simply, Kant believes that any action

⁵³⁶ "Eurocentric" is the term utilized by Cuban American scholar-activist Miguel De La Torre for the dominant ethical traditions in what is now Western Europe, the United States, and Canada. While much of the thought traces back hundreds of years to white male thinkers like Kant, this Eurocentrism is perpetuated and continually reproduced in American culture. It continues as the predominant force in American ethical discourse and generally utilizes binary thought structures to strictly regiment society to the benefit of the white population by passively and/or actively oppressing minority populations. For more, see: Miguel A. De La Torre, *Latina/o Social Ethics: Moving Beyond Eurocentric Moral Thinking* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010).

⁵³⁷ Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 34.

taken should be the action taken whenever the situation arises. Thus, if it is wrong to do something in a particular situation, it is always wrong.

If lying is wrong, it is always wrong; one is not permitted to lie, even if it is to save someone's life. Fidelity to the universal law is an expectation; duty is not to another, but rather to the deontological ethics' codes. Corrie Ten Boom, a member of the Dutch resistance during World War II, believed that the biblical commandment against lying was a universal requirement of truth. When German officers entered the home and asked if they were harboring or hiding any persons of Jewish faith and/or ancestry, her response was to tell them that there were no persons matching that description in very specific areas of the house. She did not lie to the officers, but rather creatively told the truth in order to protect others.⁵³⁸

Teleological Ethics: Ends-Focused Ethics

While deontological ethics are focused on duty, teleological ethics are focused on ends. Deriving its name from the Greek *τέλος* (telos, meaning end), teleological ethics prioritize achieving a particular goal or standard over the manner in which it is achieved. At their most extreme, teleological ethical paradigms argue that the end justifies the means, which include any means necessary to arrive at the desired end. This aspect is clearly demonstrated by Adolph Hitler and his sycophants who used any means necessary to arrive at their goal: the extinction of those of Jewish faith and/or ancestry. Most

⁵³⁸ Corrie Ten Boom with Elizabeth and John Sherrill, *The Hiding Place* (Bloomington, MN: Chosen Books, 2006).

teleological ethics do not stretch the available means to include mass murder; they are often more sinister in their subtlety.

Perhaps the most commonly experienced, practiced, and understood teleological ethic is utilitarianism. The goal of utilitarianism is always the greatest good for the greatest number of people, which on its face sounds like it would benefit all of society. However, utilitarianism tramples marginalized communities to pave a way for the dominant culture's continued dominance and the oppression of those outside it. American utilitarianism is very much a tool of white supremacy, as the white majority has a convenient excuse—the greatest good for the greatest number of people—to ignore the cries for justice from those being hurt. Teleological ethics like utilitarianism care less about process than they do the end result, and when they are challenged on their processes, they default to reemphasizing the ends achieved.

Aretaic Ethics: Cultivation of Virtues Ethics

More commonly called virtue ethics, aretaic ethics are the third and final major approach to ethics. In lieu of duty and/or ends, aretaic ethics focus on the cultivation of virtues designed to help one live a moral and ethical life. Virtue ethics rely on morality in a way that the other two types do not; the virtues to be cultivated are strongly tied to moral principles, called virtues, while the others can be ethics without moral principles.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ For the purposes of this dissertation, ethics are a way of being/acting in the world, while morals are the principles by which one lives one's life. While many ethics also contain elements of morality, ethics and morals are inherently two different things. Virtue ethics, because of its reliance on moral virtues, has the closest ties to morality. It is possible to create deontological and teleological ethical systems without the inclusion of morality, though they are often accompanied by moral standards. Duty can be perceived as

There are two important virtue ethics to highlight, as they form the basis for much of the conversation in and around virtue ethics: those of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁴⁰ The Greek cardinal virtues are fortitude, justice, temperance, and wisdom, while the Christian articulation uses fidelity, justice, prudence, and temperance.⁵⁴¹

Why a Social Ethic?

Maintaining relationships and addressing issues that arise within them is the purview of social ethics. Social ethics focus on the interpersonal, the relational, and the communal; they are grounded in the fact that humans are social creatures and tend to live

either a moral or ethical obligation, as can be ends-focused. In many cases, those who participate in or accept the ethical obligations of the Eurocentric majority do not have the same underlying moral code as those who actively practice a religion; this is especially true of Christianity in the United States.

⁵⁴⁰ Aquinas is generally credited for the formulation of the cardinal virtues as used in Christianity, though there is no evidence as to whether he was the first to articulate them; as he was the first to write about them in an extensive way from within his own tradition, he gets credited with the arguments. See: Thomas Aquinas, “Prima Secundae” and “Secunda Secundae,” *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fr. Lawrence Shapcote (Steubenville: Lawrence Shapcote (Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Academic Press, 2012).

⁵⁴¹ In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle adds an additional seven virtues to the cardinal ones, but it is his articulation of the cardinal virtues that is especially helpful. See: Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Robert C. Bartlett and Susan D. Collins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

in communities. Philosophers,⁵⁴² theologians,⁵⁴³ sociologists,⁵⁴⁴ and historians⁵⁴⁵ across millennia have operated under the assumption that humans need community to flourish. Despite the prevalence of lone mystics in early and medieval Christianity, the major world religions all include personal and communal rituals. When it comes to the relationship between clubs and their SGs, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is a clear social element.

⁵⁴² Heidegger's *Dasein* explicitly requires the *Dasein* of the other in order to truly be *Dasein*; in other words, one needs other people to truly be who one is. Heidegger was not the first philosopher to articulate the importance of other people for human flourishing, but his thought is most relevant to this project.

Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper Perennial, 1962).

For other philosophers on humans and community, see: Amanda Fulford, Grace Lockrobin, and Richard Smith, eds., *Philosophy and Community: Theories, Practices, and Possibilities* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).

Thomas More, *Utopia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Julian Young, *Individual and Community in Nietzsche's Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁵⁴³ See: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1997).

Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: The Condition of Labor in Catholic Social Thought: A Documentary Heritage*, eds. David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010), 14–40.

Pope Paul XI, *Populorum Progressio: On the Development of Peoples in Catholic Social Thought: A Documentary Heritage*, eds. David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010), 251–77.

Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World in Catholic Social Thought: A Documentary Heritage*, eds. David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010), 172–250.

⁵⁴⁴ See: Robert Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1887).

⁵⁴⁵ See, among others: P.G. Carozza, "From Conquest to Constitutions: Retrieving a Latin American Tradition of the Idea of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2003), 281–313.

Gary Dorian, *Social Ethics in the Making: Interpreting an American Tradition* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Social ethics are often aimed at improving or maintaining relationships. Some are designed for specific communities, like Lutherans in the United States,⁵⁴⁶ and others have a more global focus through a particular lens⁵⁴⁷ or explain the social ethic of past civilizations.⁵⁴⁸ Social ethics also provide a ground from which to address systemic and social oppression; they serve as a locus of reflection and encourage decision making as a community, rather than as and by individuals.⁵⁴⁹

Why Constructive?

Prescriptive ethics describe and dictate actions and behaviors. If someone wants to know how they should behave in a situation, a prescriptive ethic tells them exactly what is allowable in that ethical system. However, prescriptive ethics limit the means and methods available to people who are being oppressed under an ethical system. Conversely, constructive ethics are designed to be adaptable across situations, recognizing that there is an element of manipulation of hard and fast rules even in prescriptive systems.⁵⁵⁰ A constructive ethic provides a framework through which to make decisions; it neither requires a person or group to all believe the exact same thing

⁵⁴⁶ Roger A. Willer, "Emerging Tapestry: An Evangelical Lutheran Social Ethic," *Dialogue: A Journal of Theology* 56, no. 3 (2017): 3 (2017): 298-309, <https://doi-org.du.idm.oclc.org/10.1111/dial.12341>.

⁵⁴⁷ Hsiao-Lan Hu, *This-Worldly Nibbāna: A Buddhist-Feminist Social Ethic for Peacemaking in the Global Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2011).

⁵⁴⁸ Ramsey MacMullen, "Social Ethic Models: Roman, Greek, 'Oriental,'" *Historia Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 64, no. 4 (2015): 487-510, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45019209>.

⁵⁴⁹ See, among other: Georges E. Sioui, *Pour une Histoire Amérindienne de l'Amérique* (Québec: Presse de l'Université Laval, 1999).

⁵⁵⁰ The figure of the trickster, discussed at length later in this chapter, presents a challenge to all prescriptive systems, as trickster actions are beyond the scope of those systems; it is this very challenge that makes the trickster such an important figure across cultures.

nor dictates the uniform actions to be performed.⁵⁵¹ Constructive ethics work better than prescriptive ones when looking at group work; prescriptive systems prioritize the voices of some others, while constructive ethics make room for multiple voices. Because there is a massive power imbalance between soccer clubs and their supporters, a prescriptive ethic would inherently prioritize the voice of the club over that of the supporters; a constructive ethic provides the flexibility needed to address situations as they arise and to keep all voices as part of the conversation.

The ethic is designed to be contextualized by the individuals and/or groups using it. After the tools in the ethic are discussed, the contextualization process will be addressed. Contextualizing the ethic and tailoring it to a particular situation is the first step to its use and part of what makes this ethic unique; individuals and groups are able to tailor everything to their situation. The use of a centering question works across contexts, but what that question is or should be will change depending on the particulars of that context.

Development of the Ethic

The contents of the toolbox developed over the course of nearly a decade. The first two pieces of the ethic, Keenan's competing tensions and the trickster ethic, fell into place first. In my conversations with members of DBG and other soccer fans, the additional pieces of the ethic began to develop and coalesce. As this dissertation utilizes the hermeneutical spiral as its methodology, its inclusion in the toolbox was a logical step

⁵⁵¹ Examples of constructive ethics:
Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Social Ethic* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

to provide an explicit methodology for groups to use. The contingent relationship analysis derived from my first experience at a match in Toyota Stadium with DBG; it was clear how much of the atmosphere in that stadium was due to DBG and there seemed to be little acknowledgment of that fact on the part of FC Dallas. My work for equity in Minnesota debate led to the development of two of the practical tools: the equity lens and the intersectionality framework.

With the exception of the contingent relationships argument, all of the pieces of this ethic already existed as separate and discrete practices. What makes this ethic unique is that it is the first time that all eight tools appear in the same ethic; it brings together multiple fields of study and the work of others in a way that is totally new.⁵⁵² This ethic is ambitious in its scope and application, but it also meets a wide variety of needs and thus all of the component parts are necessary in order to provide the flexibility needed to address them. This ethic is intended to have a broad appeal and the simplicity of the concepts and the tools make it accessible to a wide variety of people and situations.

Grounding Tools

Modern life is complicated, and finding common ground from which to work can be difficult, especially for diverse groups who want the voices of all to inform their work.

⁵⁵² There are two pre-existing “ethical toolbox” projects. The first, the work of Heather Widdows, is a two-part toolbox that is specific to genetics. The second is a twenty-eight page masters thesis on business ethics, wherein the “ethical toolbox” is a series of very short arguments, totaling three pages. See: Heather Widdows, *The Connected Self: The Ethics and Governance of the Genetic Individual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

James Hicks, “Ethical Decision Making Across Organizations,” MA thesis (College of St. Scholastica, 2010), Order No. 1480886.

Neither project negates the uniqueness of this ethic. This ethic is designed for use across a wide spectrum of organizations and groups, not limited to a single arena of life, and it contains clearly developed tools that are immediately accessible to those using it.

When people from different backgrounds, be it their race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, country of origin, native language, physical and mental abilities, or their socioeconomic status, work together, there are several potential outcomes, only one of which is good. The majority may trample over minority voices to consolidate power in the status quo. The majority may actively oppress minority members of the group. Or the group can choose to do the hard work of forming and maintaining relationships that affirm the worth and value of all voices, where inclusion leads to collaborative engagement. These grounding tools provide a way for individuals and/or groups to find a baseline for engagement. They are reminders to all involved of the realities of relationships. This ethic contains two grounding tools: contingent relationships and Keenan's three levels of relatedness.

Contingent Relationships: Acknowledging Interdependence

Human life is relational. This dissertation has demonstrated that time and time again. Whether one is interacting with another person, there is always some sort of relationship between the two. This is reflected in language: to/from, near/far, this/that, etcetera all use relational concepts in practical ways, as the objects are understood vis à vis another referent. Everything in one's life is relational, even if that relationship is within oneself. This ethic is concerned with one specific type of relationship: contingent ones. Not all relationships are contingent. A writer's work is not contingent on the existence of other readers; one is a writer whether or not anyone ever reads the words that one has written.

Contingent relationships, conversely, require both parties for existence, or neither exists. Teachers need students to teach and students need teachers to learn. Contingent relationships require careful maintenance, as the actions of one directly impact the other. As previously discussed in chapter 1, the existence of soccer clubs is contingent on the existence of fans; the existence of fans is contingent on the existence of soccer clubs. Likewise, for the purposes of this chapter, SGs exist because clubs exist, and soccer clubs exist because supporters exist.⁵⁵³

These relationships are constantly tested by external forces: capitalism, the pressure for success, and the daily lives of supporters. As clubs deal with the business side of soccer, the decisions they make often do not sit well with supporters, as they usually directly impact supporters, whether financially or in terms of a new policy. FC Dallas nearly tripled the price of Beer Garden season tickets in 2015, causing many longtime supporters like Stephen Stone to drop their season tickets.⁵⁵⁴ Players whom supporters hold dear are traded without regard for the feelings of supporters (nor of the players' feelings, in the context of Major League Soccer or MLS). The pressure to improve the bottom line of the clubs often comes at the literal expense of its supporters, and the influence of capitalism on the game cannot be underestimated.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ SGs are officially recognized groups of fans. Some are open to all, while others are rooted in affinity groups; memberships for DBG and El Matador are open to everyone, but Spanish-speaking FCD fans, especially if they have children, gravitate more toward El Matador and its traditions, while the membership of DBG is largely white, with members primarily in their 20s and 30s.

⁵⁵⁴ Stone was a season ticket holder from 1996, the club's first season, until the start of the 2015 season when his tickets were tripled in price.

⁵⁵⁵ For more about the issues surrounding capitalism and soccer, see:

Perhaps the best way to understand the connection in contingent relationships is to picture gears in a mechanism. The mechanism of soccer, for each club, has at least three gears in it. One gear represents the front office, the operations of the club itself; one gear represents the players, trainers, coaches, etcetera; the last gear represents the fans. For clubs that have official SGs, each of the SGs adds another gear in the mechanism. At one point, FC Dallas had four SGs, but now there are only two recognized (DBG and El Matador). That means that the FC Dallas mechanism has five gears. When one group makes a decision that impacts the other groups, the teeth on their gear change, either forcing the other gears to adapt or cease to function.

Most often it is the club operations gear that shifts and changes, forcing the fans to adjust and adapt. When a club drastically raises ticket prices, it requires fans to either adapt to the new costs or they lose fans; while the gears may eventually adapt, they also lose teeth as fans walk away. Depending on the size of the change and its impact on the fans, it can take a long time for equilibrium to be restored and for the mechanism to function again. At times it can take years before that happens.⁵⁵⁶

Alex Hess, "How Capitalism Changed Football for the Worse," *Jacobin Magazine* (August 2, 2020): <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/english-football-capitalism-manchester-premier-league-fc> (last accessed August 9, 2020).

⁵⁵⁶ In May 2005 the Glazer family, owners of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers NFL team, purchased Manchester United FC. Fans were outraged from the start, as it was clear that the Glazers' goal was entirely financial; there was little concern for the traditions and history of the club. In late April 2021 a group of wealthy clubs announced they were creating a European Super League (ESL), a competition between English, Italian, and Spanish clubs that would run as a sort of counterpart to the Champions League; the purpose of the ESL was to increase profits for the clubs involved. Within days of the announcement, the ESL collapsed, as pressure from fans led all six English clubs (Arsenal, Chelsea, Liverpool, Manchester City, Manchester United, and Tottenham Hotspur) to pull out.

It is important to note that five of the six clubs are owned by foreigners whose emphasis on profits are well-known and highly disliked by fans. Arsenal is owned by American billionaire Stan Kroenke (who

Case Study Implications

Returning to the case study from chapter 4, it is clear that this contingent relationship is not front and center in the minds of all those involved. Fans have a much more acute awareness of this relationship, as they understand that the club needs them for atmosphere and the stadium experience. DBG felt blindsided by the announcement of the ban, and part of that was because of how the club communicated their decision. If FCD had thought intentionally about their dependence on DBG for stadium atmosphere, they might have reconsidered their approach. Recognizing the interconnectedness and interdependence of fans and clubs keeps relationships at the forefront, making it less likely that one group is going to do something that will negatively impact the other.

also owns the Los Angeles Rams [NFL] and Colorado Rapids FC [MLS]). Chelsea is owned by Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich, Liverpool is owned by the Fenway Sports Group (owners of the Boston Red Sox [MLB] and Roush Fenway Racing), and Manchester City is owned by Emirati royal Sheikh Mansour. Tottenham Hotspur is the exception, as it is owned by an English group. The teams from Spain and Italy who were part of the original plans for the ESL are also owned by big money interest whose focus is on profits.

The collapse of the ESL, however, did not decrease fan anger, especially at Manchester United. On Sunday, May 2, 2021, Manchester United was scheduled to play at home (Old Trafford) against Liverpool; traditionally, United-Liverpool matches are huge draws, both because of the proximity of their cities and because they are the two most successful clubs in England's history of professional football. United supporters staged a massive protest at the stadium and at the team's hotel; their goal was to cause the match to be cancelled to clearly articulate their message to the Glazers: sell the club and get out of English football. Several hours before the match, fans breached the stadium twice, causing enough damage that the match was eventually called off, but not before fans violently clashed with Manchester police officers.

On Monday, May 3, 2021, the English FA announced that they opened an inquiry into the ESL, and the Premier League said they are seeking to hold clubs "accountable." For more, see: *The Athletic* Staff, "Super League: FA Open Inquiry and Premier League to Hold Clubs 'Accountable,'" in *The Athletic* (May 3, 2021): <https://theathletic.com/news/european-super-league-fa-premier-league/8mCilyjNW1CD> (last accessed May 3, 2021).

Competing Tensions: The Three Levels of Relatedness

Jesuit moral theologian James Keenan proposed a modern virtue ethic, one that is more reflective of the tensions one experiences in life than it is about the cultivation of particular virtues. What makes his proposal unique is that it can be used as a tool rather than an ethic in and of itself. Keenan's proposal focuses on the competing tensions that all people feel, pointing out that "our ident[ies are] relational in three ways: generally, specifically, and uniquely. Each of these relational ways of being demands a cardinal virtue."⁵⁵⁷ To address these three levels of relatedness, Keenan uses three virtues—justice, fidelity, and self-care—and then uses prudence as the virtue that moderates the tensions between the three levels.⁵⁵⁸ Though some of his virtues mirror traditional cardinal virtues (justice and prudence), Keenan's schemata borrow from the theological virtues (fidelity), while introducing self-care as a virtue.⁵⁵⁹ Keenan is also quick to note,

Unlike Thomas [Aquinas]'s structure, none is ethically prior to the other; they have equally urgent claims and they should be pursued as ends in themselves; we are not called to be faithful or self-caring to be just, nor are we called to be self-caring in order to be faithful.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷ James F. Keenan, "Virtue and Identity," in *Creating Identity*, eds. Hermann Häring, Maureen Junker-Kenny, and Dietmar Mieth (London: SCM Press, 2000), 74.

⁵⁵⁸ Keenan, like many virtue ethicists, utilizes prudence as the moderating virtue that helps people manage the three levels of relatedness in which they exist. However, his definition of prudence and the way he uses it are not useful to this project and thus is omitted from this section.

⁵⁵⁹ It is the opinions of this author that the introduction of self-care as a virtue is Keenan's most important contribution to ethical discourse, as it reflects an understanding that taking care of oneself is vital to being able to attend to other relationships.

⁵⁶⁰ Keenan, "Virtue and Identity," 74.

Justice is the first of the virtues in Keenan's paradigm: "As a relational being in general, we are called to justice."⁵⁶¹ Justice concerns one's relationship to the world at large; it is about people that are not personally known by someone but whose existence matters. "Our relationality generally is always directed by an ordered appreciation for the common good in which we treat all people as equal. As members of the human race, we are expected to respond to all members in general equally and impartially."⁵⁶² While Keenan's general conceptions around justice are good, his argument uses "equally" and "impartially" in a manner that are neither possible nor an accurate reflection of social issues. For the purposes of this dissertation, Keenan's argument about justice as general relatedness to the world at large should be separated from his claims about equality and impartiality.⁵⁶³

Fidelity "makes distinctively different claims. Fidelity is the virtue that nurtures and sustains the bonds of those special relationships that humans enjoy whether by blood, marriage, love, citizenship, or sacrament."⁵⁶⁴ Fidelity, which is often portrayed as faith or faithfulness throughout the Christian tradition, is no longer about adherence to a moral/ethical code or to a particular way of worship. Keenan radically shifts fidelity's

⁵⁶¹ Keenan, "Virtue and Identity," 74.

⁵⁶² Keenan, "Virtue and Identity," 74.

⁵⁶³ Later in this chapter, in the discussion of centering or central questions, the difference between equity and equality is explored in more depth. Equality, which Keenan advocates, means providing the same things, regardless of a person's needs, while equity is focused on leveling the playing field by providing what people need to have in order to be on equal footing. This dissertation is concerned more with equity than it is with equality; equity leads to social change, while equality leads to stagnation because the particular circumstances are never taken into account. Equality is general, while equity is specific to the situation.

⁵⁶⁴ Keenan, "Virtue and Identity," 75.

meaning so that it becomes about people, not abstract principles or ideas: “If justice rests on impartiality and universality, then fidelity rests on partiality and particularity.”⁵⁶⁵ All humans have obligations to the people in their lives: their friends, families, neighbors. While justice is one’s care for those unknown to a person, fidelity is one’s care for the people in one’s life.

The final way in which humans are related is their own unique relationship with themselves; neither justice nor fidelity “address[*sic*] the unique relationship that each person has with herself or himself.”⁵⁶⁶ Thus, Keenan adds self-care as a virtue, recognizing in a concrete way the obligations one has to one’s own self. Within Keenan’s Jesuit Catholic tradition, “care for self enjoys a considered role in our tradition, as for instance the command to love God and one’s neighbour as oneself.”⁵⁶⁷ He is not speaking of an indulgent, hedonistic kind of self-care, but rather one that recognizes the fact that every individual human has unique needs and wants. He affirms that it is necessary and normal to consider oneself when making decisions that impact that self. The basic human needs of an individual impact their interactions with others, and thus it is important to name the relationship with oneself and to maintain that relationship in a healthy manner.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ Keenan, “Virtue and Identity,” 75.

⁵⁶⁶ Keenan, “Virtue and Identity,” 75.

⁵⁶⁷ Keenan, “Virtue and Identity,” 75.

⁵⁶⁸ The author of this dissertation coaches high school forensics (speech and debate). There is often pressure to forego sleep, skip meals, and focus on debate or speech to the exclusion of everything else, especially at higher levels of competition. On the teams for which she coaches, Keenan’s arguments sound like this: “You are a human being first, a student second, and a debater/speech competitor third. If you are not taking care of your human self, if you are not taking care of your mental and physical health, then you cannot do anything well.” In practice, this looks like ensuring students get an actual meal break during

One's lived experience makes it clear that Keenan's three levels of relatedness are often in conflict with one another. It is difficult to discern when the pull of justice is more urgent than the pull of fidelity; what may be best for one's community may not be best for one's family. For those in the white Eurocentric majority in the United States, the focus of justice is often not inclusive of groups to which they do not belong. This is especially true when looking at issues of racial inequity, anti-Blackness, and structural racism; white Americans have the privilege to ignore many of these issues because they only directly impact people of color, especially Black folx.⁵⁶⁹

Case Study Implications

Keenan's competing tensions serve as a reminder that there is usually more than one thing competing for someone's time or attention. Clubs have a set of relationships that they are focused on managing: with MLS, with US Soccer, with the media, with players, and with fans. Fans, on the other hand, are focused on a different set of relationships: with each other and with the club. Thus, fidelity looks very different for a club than it

tournaments, sending debaters who have not slept home, and leading by example by practicing good self-care. Coaches have gone from creating situations wherein poor self-care is enabled or necessary (tournaments with rounds scheduled too close together, allowing no time for food, etcetera) to being proactive about creating healthy conditions for their teams and at tournaments. As of the end of the 2020–21 season, six programs are using the same wording and general methodology; they have seen less student burnout and fewer mental health crises despite the pandemic. It also creates a community of openness where students are more likely to share when they are struggling and thus get connected to resources more quickly.

⁵⁶⁹ One of the other drawbacks to Keenan's work is that he does not address who has access to these virtues; as a white man writing for a predominantly white audience, he presumes that everyone has the same access to these levels of relatedness. However, this fails to take into account the structural barriers to access faced by people of color, especially Black folx in the United States. This is especially true when speaking of our general relatedness, Keenan's justice; the weight of what justice requires weighs heavier on some than others and it is usually those who need to do the majority of the work to address structures (white folx) who are seemingly deaf to the cries for justice around them. Some progress on this has been made in the wake of George Floyd's murder, but the demand for justice is heard differently based on who is crying out and who is listening (or not) to those cries.

does for the fans; clubs are ultimately responsible to their league, their country's football association (FA), and their fans, while fidelity for fans looks far more like the first of the XI Commandments.⁵⁷⁰ This often puts the two groups at odds, as the demands of fidelity are different on each.

One of the reasons given by FC Dallas to DBG members for the beer shower ban was that the league (MLS) wanted the tradition to end; here, FC Dallas is making an appeal for justice (the general requirements of the league), while the fans are entirely focused on fidelity and their club's relationship with them. It clearly demonstrates the tension between two different types of relatedness. Fans were skeptical that the league had offered an opinion about the tradition; had it truly been league pressure, FC Dallas could have framed their policy in relation to league policies. Fans understand that clubs are responsible for following league policy, yet no league policy was ever shared with them; the lack of communication of a formal league policy led membership to believe that MLS was not involved in the decision. An appeal to general relatedness is often unheard when people are focused on the interpersonal; fans care more about their experience at a match than they do about issues that may or may not affect their team, causing FC Dallas' framing of the issue to be less persuasive to fans.

Methodological Tools

The methodological tools in this constructive social ethic provide two concrete yet different approaches to collaborative and cooperative work. The first is the See-

⁵⁷⁰ "You will have no other clubs before this one."

Rebecca A. Chabot with Jason Neal, "Soccer Is My Religion, the Stadium Is My Church: Soccer and/as Religion," in *God and Popular Culture: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at the Entertainment Industry's Most Influential Figure Volume Two* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2015).

Judge-Act methodology of the hermeneutical spiral; this tool provides a simple, easy-to-use method for groups to govern their day-to-day interactions. The second tool is the trickster methodology, designed to disrupt oppressive systems and subvert expectations. When those with (perceived or real) power and privilege abuse that power and privilege, the only option available to the abused is subversion that destabilizes oppressive relationships. It also provides a way for those with power and privilege to undermine the very systems that grant them power and privilege.

The Hermeneutical Spiral: See-Judge-Act

Originally articulated by Belgian Joseph Cardinal Cardijn, the See-Just-Act methodology has three steps. It makes explicit a process that many people already use to make decisions: observing the status quo, reflecting on the status quo, and then acting to change the status quo. Because it is so simple, many who do this may not realize that it is a formal methodology, but by making the implicit explicit, it provides a simple process that is usable by any individual or group. The three steps of the methodology are:

See—Individuals and groups observe what is currently happening in the status quo.

The status quo is the material that observation mines. It is the fact-finding portion of the methodology; it uncovers what is. This can include paying attention to historical contexts, but it is largely focused on the status quo. What is happening? Where is it happening? Who is involved? Where are the challenges? Where are opportunities for growth? What are the good things happening? Who has power and how are they wielding it? Is there oppression or exclusion? Which problems are situational and which are

structural? Observation includes all of these questions and many more; it is research into lived experience.

Judge—Individuals and groups reflect on the information gathered through observation.

Reflection is the second step; the discoveries made through observation lead to deeper questions. Once the initial who/what/where questions are answered, reflection engages people in examining the why and how of their current situation. How is power at play? How is oppression operative? Why is there oppression? How are systems impacted? Why are things the way they are? The reflection stage is about teasing these things out, while also paying attention to the future. What steps need to be taken to address the problems? How can systemic oppression be lessened? Where does the community need to change? How can that change be carried out? What would promote equity or improve access? What are all the intersecting forms of oppression, and how is that oppression experienced differently at different intersections? This is also the step where individuals and groups discern what actions need to be undertaken in order to address the issues uncovered during observation and reflection.

Act—Individuals and groups take the discerned action(s).

After discerning the course of action(s), the third step is doing the discerned action(s). Actions may be minor things, like changing the wording on a flyer, or they can be major things, like the 2017 women's marches around the United States. Every action taken changes the status quo in some way; this is why the discernment during the reflection stage is important.

Circle vs. Spiral

After action is taken, the process begins again. The action is observed, reflected upon, and then further action is taken. The cycle is most often presented as a circle, a closed loop, where individuals and groups go around the circle over and over again. The problem with this representation is its lack of growth; it suggests that action leads back to the same place rather than acknowledging that each completion of the cycle moves individuals and groups forward. Some scholars, including Cuban American ethicist Miguel De La Torre, add additional steps to the process that serve to address the problems of growth. However, the cycle is not a static process, where each of the steps look the same every time. It is dynamic, constantly changing elements of the status quo. Thus, the best way to understand this cycle is as a praxis spiral, sometimes called the hermeneutical spiral. Much like Chris Stone's use of the corkscrew analogy in chapter 4, each instance of observation, reflection, and action moves individuals and groups forward; changing the status quo changes the status quo, so there is no return to where one once was; one has no choice but to acknowledge that any action alters what came before it. Instead of completing a closed loop, the spiral moves outward in ever-expanding circles, demonstrating the changes and growth created through the methodology.

Case Study Implications

The single most helpful aspect of the hermeneutical spiral is that it makes explicit a methodology people implicitly use; by making it explicit, it provides a concrete methodology with clear steps that groups can easily follow. By calling attention to each

step in the process, people become more aware of the process and more engaged in its praxis. For example, if FC Dallas had told DBG that they had (1) gathered data on fan feelings, behaviors, and safety regarding the beer shower tradition; (2) discussed that data at length, examining patterns, and discerned next steps; and (3) needed to ban beer showers because it would improve safety and the match-day experience for other fans, DBG members likely would have had a very different reaction to the ban. It would have provided them with context for the club's decision and the process would have made sense.

Trickster Methodology

In mythologies across the world, there is often a trickster figure, someone whose very existence is a challenge to moral and ethical standards. Perhaps the most widely-known trickster figure is Loki, the Norse trickster god, who features prominently in popular culture due to his inclusion in the Marvel universe of comic books and movies. Loki is depicted using a variety of creative means to trick people: the ability to project images of himself to places he is not physically, lying effortlessly, manipulating others, and even carrying a tool that hypnotizes people so he can control them. Loki is just one example from one particular mythology, but there are so many others. Tricksters are unique figures whose purpose is to disrupt the norm; they constantly break the rules and creatively play with moral and legal codes, and instead of being punished like others would be, they are celebrated for their cunning.

Miguel De La Torre's "ethic para joder"

Eurocentric ethics are not designed with everyone in mind; they are really only accessible or helpful to those whom society privileges. They are grounded in theory, not the lived reality of people's lives.

The underlying problem with Eurocentric ethics is that moral reasoning is done from the realm of abstraction. Ethics is less concerned with 'what you do' than with 'how you think.' And although some Euro-American ethicists have begun to lean toward more praxis-oriented ethical paradigms, the commitment to abstract thought more than praxis still dominates."⁵⁷¹

Abstract principles are unhelpful when it comes to ethics, as ethics are first and foremost ways of being in the world; when the emphasis is placed on theory over action, it limits the usefulness and effectiveness of an ethic at being an ethic. In fact, much of what is called ethics throughout the tradition is actually about one's way of thinking about the world and less about one's way of being in the world. There is a disconnect between Eurocentric ethics and the lived experience of Latinx folx in the United States, one that serves to reinforce white narratives and discount any challenges to their corresponding worldviews.

De La Torre points out, "If it is true that ethics, like theology, is contextual, then the 'decent' ethics of Euro-Americans rooted in personal piety and virtues is incongruent with the survival ethics required by the marginalized."⁵⁷² Ethics are universally and inherently contextual, as they are all created in a context; without addressing their own

⁵⁷¹ Miguel A. De La Torre, "Doing Latina/o Ethics from the Margins of Empire: Liberating the Colonized Mind," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 33, no. 2 (2013): 3–20, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23563092>.

⁵⁷² De La Torre, "Doing Latina/o Ethics," 8.

particular context, ethics then make universalizing claims that reflect their context, including the dominant beliefs of their time. Immanuel Kant's entire life was spent in the same town; his experience of the world was extremely limited, so he genuinely knew not of what he spoke when he came up with the categorical imperative. Kant believed that context does not matter, yet it very much does. White scholars writing for white audiences have a lengthy tradition of theories and ethical paradigms from which to choose, many of which are offered as universal solutions for diverse problems; for people pushed to the margins, these ethics are unhelpful at best and actively harmful at worst.

What is needed, then, is a contextual ethic that provides a site of resistance for Latinx folk in the United States:

What is needed is an indecent and vulgar ethics that reflect the indecent and vulgar conditions Latina/os are forced to endure. The disenfranchised requires a 'disruptive' and subversive ethics which decenters the normative Eurocentric ethics designed to legitimize the dominant bourgeois lifestyle.⁵⁷³

Thus, De La Torre proposes a trickster ethic, what he calls an "ethic *para joder*."⁵⁷⁴ *Joder* is a Spanish word that roughly translates as "to screw with,"⁵⁷⁵ and "the

⁵⁷³ De La Torre, "Doing Latina/o Ethics," 8.

⁵⁷⁴ De La Torre, *Latina/o Social Ethics*, 96

⁵⁷⁵ As De La Torre explains, it is a term neither generally used in academic writing nor in polite company. "Although it is not the literal translation of a certain four letter word beginning with the letter 'F,' it is still considered somewhat vulgar because it basically means 'to screw with.'"

De La Torre, "Doing Latina/o Ethics," 11.

It can also be rendered as "to fuck with," which carries a bit more force than the more literal "to screw with." The author of this dissertation, an experienced academic Spanish-to-English translator, prefers the translation "to fuck with" for *joder*, as it conveys much about its contextual usage; you can tell from the word itself that it is not meant for use in certain circumstances, without requiring additional commentary to delineate its cultural and societal implications. "To screw with" does not have the same resonance with

word connotes an individual who purposely is a pain in the rear end, who is purposely causing trouble, who constantly disrupts the established norm, who refuses to stay in his or her place.”⁵⁷⁶ Grounded in the witness of his mother’s life, this “ethic *para joder*” is “an ethics that ‘screws’ with the prevailing power structures”⁵⁷⁷ in order to “create instability. An ethics that upsets the prevailing social order designed to maintain empire is an ethics that arises from the margins of society who are disillusioned and frustrated with normative Eurocentric values and virtues.”⁵⁷⁸

De La Torre illustrates this “ethic *para joder*” through the story of the Young Lords, demonstrating what the ethic looks like in practice. In 1969 New York City regularly ignored trash pickup in East Harlem, leaving it overflowing into streets, which led the New York chapter of the Young Lords, a street gang, to begin “sweeping the streets and neatly stacking the garbage up on the corner for pickup.”⁵⁷⁹ When the city continued to ignore the trash, members of the Young Lords moved the trash onto Third Ave and lit it on fire. “Fighting broke out with the police when the police attempted to stop the burning of garbage and arrest those responsible.”⁵⁸⁰ Yet the action was a catalyst,

English speakers that *joder* has in Spanish; without the profanity, the transgressive nature of the term is lost a bit in translation. However, the translation preferred by the scholar who created the term is provided in the text.

⁵⁷⁶ De La Torre, *Latino Social Ethics*, 92.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*,” 12.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

which “led to more than one thousand people marching to the 126th Street police station and protesting the norm of police brutality.” And it forced the city to respond: “the protests prompted the city to be faithful to its responsibilities of picking up the garbage in Spanish Harlem. Change came about by creatively screwing with the system.”⁵⁸¹

De La Torre names five aspects of his “ethic *para joder*,” describing it thusly:

This *ethics para joder* which I advocate that arises from the underside of society is an ethics which: (1) disrupts the social order and equilibrium; (2) employs the cultural Latinx symbol of the trickster in formation of praxis; (3) looks toward the biblical text for narratives of figures who played the role of trickster; (4) moves beyond the Civil Rights’ concept of civil disobedience toward the Sanctuary Movement’s concept of civil initiative; and (5) roots itself in the pastoral which is linked to a communal, not individualistic ethos of the marginalized.⁵⁸²

The example of the Young Lords clearly demonstrates what this trickster ethic looks like in practice, and their actions were chosen with intention. They disrupted the social order, acting as tricksters, and demonstrated the difference between civil disobedience and civil initiative.

Playing the role of the trickster, they demonstrated that those who claimed to perform the task of ensuring the people’s welfare have violated their social contract. In effect, by implementing the services that should have been taking place the Young Lords shamed these institutions for failing to live up to their supposed missions.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ De La Torre, “Doing Latina/o Ethics,” 13.

⁵⁸² Miguel A. De La Torre, “Embracing the Hopelessness of Those Seeking Pastoral Care,” *Journal of Pastoral Theology* 30, no. 1 (2020): 3–14, DOI: 10.1080/10649867.2020.1724387.

⁵⁸³ De La Torre, “Embracing the Hopelessness,” 14.

Pushback from Other Scholars

Interestingly, scholars have focused on De La Torre's hopelessness far more than on his "ethics *para joder*." As he developed his "ethics *para joder*," he also developed a corresponding theory of hopelessness, one that is mobilizing and leads to action; rather than a passive Eurocentric hope that prioritizes social order over social justice, it is a galvanizing hopelessness that spurs action.⁵⁸⁴ "All too often the advocacy of hope gets in the way of listening to and learning from the oppressed."⁵⁸⁵ In their critiques of his work, white scholars resort to process arguments because they cannot counter his arguments of substance; often, their critiques miss the point of the work, getting hung up on details that are not at the heart of his project.⁵⁸⁶ Some reject his definition of hope, arguing that his

⁵⁸⁴ For more, see: Miguel A. De La Torre, *Decolonizing Christianity: Becoming Badass Believers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021).

Miguel A. De La Torre, *Embracing Hopelessness* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017).

Miguel A. De La Torre, *The Politics of Jesús: A Hispanic Political Theology* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015).

⁵⁸⁵ De La Torre, *Latina/o Social Ethics*, 92.

⁵⁸⁶ "Ethically, he contributes a means to critique and unravel overrealized eschatological of hope that 'burnout' well-meaning change agents and subjugate the disenfranchised. His ethics *para joder* is a bath toward resistance and resilience in the face of overwhelming and unchanging systemic oppression. Theologically, however, he provides little christological or pneumatological substance to establish a fruitful constructive theology for Christians today."

Chelle Stearns, "Review: *Embracing Hopelessness* by Miguel A. De La Torre," *Anglican Theological Review* 100, no. 2 (2018): 351–53.

"While De La Torre presents philosophical, historical, and even biblical material with great skill—the introductions to Benjamin and Unamuno alone are worth the price of the book, and his command of scripture befits his Baptist training—he is not very nuanced when treating theological material. He presents doctrines like original sin, predestination, and providence as caricatured foils. (The discussion of Augustine in a footnote is particularly one-dimensional.)"

Kyle Rader, "Review: *Embracing Hopelessness* by Miguel A. De La Torre," *The Christian Century* (May 23, 2018), 44–45.

In his review of *Embracing Hopelessness*, Mathew Scruggs disregards the translation of *joder* provided by De La Torre, incorrectly distilling an entire project into "f*ck it."

Mathew Scruggs, "Review: *Embracing Hopelessness* by Miguel A. De La Torre," *Religious Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (2018): 213.

hopelessness is actually hope,⁵⁸⁷ while others reject his argument altogether. James McCarty rejects De La Torre's hopelessness because it relies on "a definition of hope that does not stand up to a review of the literature on the topic," and because it is "a proposal for hopelessness that does not address how it can contribute to sustainable social transformation."⁵⁸⁸ McCarty fails to understand, however, that an "ethic *para joder*" is indeed aimed at "sustainable social transformation"; it achieves this through destabilizing the current oppressive systems.⁵⁸⁹

Secondary Trickster Methodology

De La Torre's work was focused on how a trickster ethic can aid marginalized communities, but there is a second piece of his methodology that is most important to this dissertation. In *Embracing Hopelessness*, De La Torre speaks to a wider audience, demonstrating how the use of a trickster ethic both by marginalized communities and those allied with them can lead to social change. The type of trickster action available to

⁵⁸⁷ Leanna K. Fuller, "A Pastoral Theological Response to Miguel De La Torre," *Journal of Pastoral Theology* 30, no. 1 (2020): 15–19, DOI: 10.1080/10649867.2020.1721129.

⁵⁸⁸ James W. McCarty, "The Power of Hope in the Work of Justice: Christian Ethics after Despair," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 40, no. 1 (2020): 39–57, DOI: 10.5840/jsce202051823.

⁵⁸⁹ McCarty also privileges Black writers and their treatment of hope over De La Torre's without fully acknowledging that he is engaging in exactly the kind of erasure that De La Torre speaks about in his article "Doing Latina/o Ethics from the Margins of Empire": it is caught in the same Black/white dualism.

"Even among some communities that have themselves known disenfranchisement due to gender or race, an acceptance of the zero-sum rule exists where these groups, already represented within institutions of higher education, participate in contributing to the absence of Hispanics lest there be one fewer seat available for those of their own marginalized, gendered, or raced community.

Complicating the academic environment, theological education continues to be stuck in a [B]lack/white dichotomy that refuses to problematize the role and contributions of brown Hispanic thought. When both white and [B]lack colleagues reduce the US Hispanic voice to Latin American writers and scholars, ignoring the US Latina/o academic production, they reinforce our marginalization and justify our physical and academic presence."

De La Torre, "Doing Latina/o Ethics," 6.

people often looks very different for those in a system who have power and privilege, and it requires something different of them: it requires those same people to use their power and privilege to destabilize the system that privileges them. The “ethics *para joder*,” then, is an act of solidarity and advocacy, but the manner in which it does this matters greatly.⁵⁹⁰ This further development of De La Torre’s work provides a means by which white folx can actively participate in the destabilization of flawed systems. It requires an active confrontation with oppression on the part of those working for the liberation of others.

Trickster Exemplar: Cerridwen⁵⁹¹, Welsh Goddess of the Cauldron

While many associate Celtic mythology with Ireland, Celtic mythology is actually a combination of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish myths. Many of the earliest stories are Welsh in origin, including the most famous British myths: those of Merlin, King Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table.⁵⁹² Wales lies on the western edge of the island of Great

⁵⁹⁰ The last thing that white scholars need to do is continue to center the role of white folx in affecting change; this solidarity requires genuine relationships with the community and a willingness to listen and learn before speaking. In much of this, it means that white folx take a step back and take their cues from the communities with which they are attempting to stand in solidarity.

⁵⁹¹ Cerridwen has two pronunciations. The most common is Key-rd-wen, with the syllables receiving the same amount of emphasis, which is an anglicized version of the Welsh. The proper Welsh pronunciation of the name is Care-id-oo-wen, with the emphasis on the first syllable.

⁵⁹² The versions of the Arthurian stories that those in the United States and United Kingdom grow up hearing are the Anglicized versions of Welsh tales. The name Merlin is an Anglicization of Myrddin. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *Historia Regnum Britanniae*, consolidates the mythologies of the various peoples of modern day Great Britain into a single history of the island. His work forms the basis for most Arthurian legends, though stories and myths surrounding Arthur exist outside of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s work.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History*, ed. J.A. Giles, trans. A. Thompson (London: James Bohn, 1862), 126–236.

Britain, the smallest of the three states on the island.⁵⁹³ Snowdonia National Park, located in north Wales, comprises approximately ten percent of the country.⁵⁹⁴ The most important part of Snowdonia National Park, as it relates to Welsh mythology, is Llyn Tegid.⁵⁹⁵ The lake Llyn Tegid (Lake Bala in English) is fed by the river Afon Dyfrdwy, and legend holds that the lake waters and the river waters do not mix within the lake; while seemingly occupying the same space, the lake and river remain two separate bodies of water.⁵⁹⁶

The Welsh name of the lake has two potential sources. The Welsh word *Tegid* translates as “silver,” while the root *Teg* translates as “fair.” George Borrow, an English writer of novels and travel books around the turn of the twentieth century, said, “The lake

⁵⁹³ Wales is the smallest both in terms of size (8016 square miles) and population (3.15 million). England is the largest in both size (50,346 square miles) and population (56.29 million).

⁵⁹⁴ The region is called Eryri in Welsh. Because it was formally incorporated as a national park within the UK’s National Park system, the English name for the area is widely used. According to the Snowdonia National Park Authority, “The Welsh name ‘Yr Wyddfa’ means grave and it is believed that the giant Rhita Gawr was buried on the mountain. ‘Snowdon’ comes from Saxon ‘snow dune’ meaning ‘snow hill.’”

Snowdonia National Park Authority, “Snowdon,” Snowdonia National Park: <https://www.snowdonia.gov.wales/addysg-education/primary-education/snowdonia/snowdon> (last accessed July 15, 2020).

⁵⁹⁵ Llyn Tegid (pronounced “shin tay-gid”) is commonly referred to by its English name, Lake Bala. Because the focus of this section is Welsh mythology, the Welsh names for places will be used in lieu of their English or Anglicized names. This is particularly important for Llyn Tegid, as the lake’s name is important to understanding the Cerridwen myth later in this section.

⁵⁹⁶ Afon Dyfrdwy (pronounced “Ah-phon dif-ur-dwooe”) is the Welsh name for the River Dee. It is called the River Dee where it forms part of the boundary between Wales and England, but the portion of the river that leads from the mountains to Llyn Tegid, and then flows away from the English/Welsh border, is called Afon Dyfrdwy.

“Lake Bala,” *Snowdonia Guide*: http://www.snowdoniaguide.com/lake_bala.html (last accessed July 15, 2020).

has certainly not its name, which signifies ‘Lake of Beauty,’ for nothing.”⁵⁹⁷ Because it is the largest natural body of water in Wales, it is entirely possible that the name of the lake derives from a description of the lake. Llyn Tegid is beautiful, with its unusually straight and parallel banks; it resembles a rectangle when viewed from above.

It is the second potential source of the lake’s name that matters for this dissertation, a source that comes from Welsh mythology. Legend has it that the lake was home to Tegid Foel⁵⁹⁸ and his court; Tegid Foel’s wife Cerridwen’s story will be examined in more depth later in this section.⁵⁹⁹ It is on the banks of Llyn Tegid that Cerridwen gave birth to Taliesin, the great Welsh bard.⁶⁰⁰ The family is said to have lived along the banks of the lake, but that the location of Tegid Foel’s court is underneath the water.⁶⁰¹ Owing to its place in Welsh mythology, some believe that the waters of Llyn

⁵⁹⁷ George Borrow, *Wild Wales: The Peoples, Language, and Scenery* (London: JM Dent & Co, 1907), 412.

⁵⁹⁸ Tegid Foel translates into English as “Bald Tegid.”

⁵⁹⁹ The spelling of the Welsh names of the characters in the myth is inconsistent across the various sources of the mythology. In many cases, the spelling varies only by a single letter. Cerridwen can also be spelled Ceridwen; Tegid Foel can also be Tegid Voel, as the F and V are very similar in pronunciation. This dissertation defaults to modern Welsh language standards, and thus uses the F instead of the V in the names of mythical places and locations.

⁶⁰⁰ Most of what we know of early Welsh history and mythology comes through Taliesin. There is no doubt that Taliesin compiled much of Welsh history to that point, but as with most mythologies, it is difficult to separate fact from fiction when it comes to parsing whether or not a particular person actually wrote a text that has been attributed to them. For the purposes of this dissertation, parsing fact and fiction does not matter. It is the story itself that matters.

⁶⁰¹ In 1793 Scottish civil engineer Thomas Telford was placed in charge of the Ellesmere Canal project. As part of that project, the level of Llyn Tegid raised, which changed the shoreline of the lake permanently. The Pontcysyllte Aqueduct and Canal became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2009.

Peter Brown, “Thomas Telford and the Ellesmere Canal, 1793-1813,” *Journal of the Railway & Canal Historical Society* 35, no. 8 (July 2007): 611–17, <https://rchs.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Journal-198.pdf> (last accessed July 15, 2020).

Tegid have healing properties; for those who cannot make the physical pilgrimage to Llyn Tegid, it is possible to order small vials of the lake's water. It is a sacred location to many, especially those who trace their lineage to that part of Wales. Pilgrims travel from around the world to walk in the steps of Tegid Foel, Cerridwen, Taliesin, and the Druids.

*Cerridwen and Her Cauldron*⁶⁰²

According to the tradition, Tegid Foel and his wife Cerridwen lived on the banks of Llyn Tegid during the reign of King Arthur. They had two children. Their daughter, Creifyw ("Clever"), was beautiful and fair. Their son, Morfran Afagddu, was hideous and deformed.⁶⁰³ He was covered in thick black hair and was so distressing to behold that it caused others to fear and mistrust him; he was an outcast. Cerridwen knew that the only way her son would be able to draw others to him was if he had a gift of sufficient strength as to counterbalance his appearance. Being learned in magic, Cerridwen turned to her cauldron. Knowing that he needed a tremendous gift, she chose wisdom as the gift she

Andrew Pattison, "Thomas Telford's Shrewsbury Team: Thomas Telford, William Hazledon, and John Simpson," *Journal of the Railway and Canal Historical Society* 35, no. 9 (November 2007): 664–75, <https://rchs.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Journal-199.pdf> (last accessed July 15, 2020).

UNESCO, "Pontcysyllte Aqueduct and Canal," <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1303> (last accessed July 15, 2020).

⁶⁰² The myth as presented in this dissertation is the author's own words, based on the various accounts of the tale in literature across the ages. The full list of sources appears in the bibliography under the heading "Welsh Mythology." For more on this particular story, see:

Kristoffer Hughes, *From the Cauldron Born: Exploring the Magic of Welsh Legend and Lore* (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn, 2012).

⁶⁰³ There are several possible translations of Morfran Afagddu. In modern Welsh, the name means "black-tailed salmon." However, when the words are separated, the name means "disfigured raven," which is closer to the traditional renderings of his name as "utter darkness" or "the most ill-favored man." Regardless of how one renders it into English, it is certain that he was deformed and likely covered in thick black hair.

would bestow on Morfran. Using all of her skills in potion-making, she created a potion that would give her son all the wisdom in the world. It was a complicated potion, one that required constant stirring over a constant fire for an entire year to complete. She hired Morda, a blind man, to tend the fire. Then, she enlisted the assistance of a local lad, Gwion Bach (“little guy”), to stir the cauldron as she slept.

When the potion was nearly finished, after months and months of effort, Gwion Bach was stirring the cauldron. A bubble on the surface of the cauldron burst, splashing several drops of potion onto his thumb. When he raised his thumb to his mouth to ease the burn, he ingested the potion and immediately all the wisdom in the world flooded into his mind. Knowing that only the first three drops of potion granted wisdom, the rest causing death, Gwion Bach fled, knowing Cerridwen would pursue and destroy him for accidentally stealing the gift she had intended for her son. When Cerridwen realized his betrayal, as her cauldron burst and the poison spread, she struck Morda with firewood, causing him to lose his eye.

Gwion Bach changed himself into a hare, hoping to escape the oncoming Cerridwen. She transfigured herself into a greyhound and gave chase. He leapt into the river, changing himself into a fish; she shifted into an otter and continued her pursuit. Upon reaching the other bank of the river, he became a bird and fled to the skies. Cerridwen became a hawk and it became an aerial pursuit. Finally, in a desperate attempt to escape Cerridwen, Gwion Bach turned himself into a grain of wheat. However, Cerridwen’s magic was too strong for even his wisdom; she became a chicken and ate the grain of wheat, effectively ending Gwion Bach’s life.

Nine months later, Cerridwen gave birth to the most beautiful child ever seen. He was so beautiful that she was unable to bring herself to kill him as she had planned to do throughout her entire pregnancy. She wrapped him up snugly and threw him into the sea, to the mercy of God.⁶⁰⁴ God accepted him as his own, and the infant, named Taliesin for his radiant beauty, grew up to become the first of the great Welsh bards.

Case Study: FC Bayern Munich 1933–45

As both the Cerridwen myth and De La Torre's work demonstrate, creativity is required when operating within systems where there are rigid rules or that require total adherence to a worldview, ethic, or other belief system that unites members of a community. It is in these circumstances where utilizing a trickster ethos is most important, as tricksters confront the moral order and encourage others to question why the status quo is as it is. In the midst of a society that saw deformity and disfigurement as punishment (due to sin in the Christian traditions or due to angering the gods/universe), Cerridwen found a way to confront the societal expectation that her son would be exiled from community due to his physical appearance. While her efforts were thwarted by Gwion Bach's carelessness, her creative responses to his wise actions came from within herself; she did not need the wisdom of the entire world to creatively respond to his escape efforts.

In the soccer world, one sees this trickster ethos in the actions of FC Bayern München throughout the Third Reich. Beginning with the club's refusal to fire their

⁶⁰⁴ This is likely an alteration to the original story, as the conceptions of a "God" did not exist as such throughout the Isles in any concentration until after Augustine's 597 CE mission.

Jewish manager and president in 1933, and continuing throughout the 1930s and 1940s, FC Bayern creatively found ways to resist the Nazi's regime. Whether it was hiding the team's trophies, so that they were not melted down as part of the war effort, or telling the Nazis one thing and doing another, Bayern alone amongst German teams found ways to resist the Nazification of their club.

Prior to the start of World War II, soccer was just gaining its footing as a sport in the way we understand it now. World War I had disrupted its progress. "Outside of the armed forces and the prisoner-of-war camps, the First World War had extinguished football in all combatant nations."⁶⁰⁵ Yet soccer life resumed as the fighting ceased; not even the economic troubles of the Great Depression were able to stop the growth of the sport. "Although soccer boomed in the 1920s, in the 1930s it swept all before it as the most popular game throughout most of Europe and South America."⁶⁰⁶ More and more people were going to stadiums to watch matches.

Not only did football's global standing increase, but

It was during the 1930s that football became politics. So much came together in that low, dishonest decade: the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, the brewing of war, the discovery of propaganda, and football's emergence as a mass passion on the Continent . . . it was the first decade to feature much international sport.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁵ William Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006), 298.

⁶⁰⁶ Bill Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 65.

⁶⁰⁷ Simon Kuper, *Ajax, the Dutch, the War: Football in Europe During the Second World War* (Great Britain: Orion Books, 2011), Kindle, loc. 25.

In the aftermath of the Great War, “as transport improved and people continued moving to the cities, as the hours they worked in factories fell, they began playing football,”⁶⁰⁸ and the entire Continent “saw record levels of attendance at domestic and international games.”⁶⁰⁹ With the promise of World Cup and Olympic glory, Germany and Italy built large stadiums and newspapers began to cover sports, especially soccer.⁶¹⁰

As dictators rose to power in Germany, Italy, and Russia, sport became a vital tool in their arsenals.

During the 1930s the dictators discovered sport, manipulating the masses with the aid of the latest technological developments and writing sports into the programs of national regeneration as a way of distracting the workers from more serious concerns. Sports were also used as a source of national pride and fitness for the average citizen and as a means of impressing other nations with victories in international competition.⁶¹¹

Though Italy was the first to embrace sports as a method of social control, it spread throughout the Continent.⁶¹² In Germany, where the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles prohibited the Germans from maintaining an armed force, sport became a way of preparing young people for eventual war by guaranteeing their physical fitness. Football, as the most popular sport on the Continent at the time, held a special importance, so much

⁶⁰⁸ Kuper, *Ajax*, 26.

⁶⁰⁹ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 299.

⁶¹⁰ Kuper, *Ajax*, 26.

⁶¹¹ Murray, *The World's Game*, 65.

⁶¹² Soccer was used as an effective tool for social cohesion and propaganda in Germany but was less utilized there than in Spain and Italy. For more information about how it was used elsewhere on the continent as a political force, see: Simon Kuper, *Soccer Against The Enemy: How The World's Most Popular Sport Starts and Fuels Revolutions and Keeps Dictators in Power* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2010) and the chapter entitled “Games of Life, Games of Death: European Football in War and Peace, 1934–1954” in *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (William Goldblatt).

so “that the German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop wrote in his early war diaries that he ‘placed the highest value on German teams appearing abroad and foreign teams coming to Germany.’”⁶¹³ Football was “a central national cultural institution and a potent index of national prowess in the world.”⁶¹⁴

Although the First World War had required a level of domestic mobilization, hardship, and exposure to violence that no war had hitherto required, it was a mere prelude to the experience of the Second World War. . . . To endure a war that included the terror and destruction of the Blitz, of Barnarossa, the Soviet scorched-earth retreat, and the firebombing of Dresden, and still to produce munitions and machines in unprecedented quantities, European states were forced to mobilize, brutalize, cajole, and persuade their societies like never before. Football was one element of the strategies that governments pursued to do this.⁶¹⁵

Most authors and historians who have written about this period in football history have focused their attentions on the national sides; indeed, “for the most part, football functioned as a cipher for normality.”⁶¹⁶ Adolph Hitler, in his entire life, only watched one match. When Germany played Norway in the quarterfinals of the 1936 Munich Olympics, Hitler left in the middle of the game, incredibly upset, as Germany was losing 2-0. He never watched another match. Yet the reality is that club soccer has much to tell us about what was really going on in Germany during this time period. After the Nazis took political control of the country, they began to exert their influence into daily life:

The political climate deteriorated for Jews in Munich prior to 1933. Since 1921, no foreign Jews were allowed to study at the University of Munich.

⁶¹³ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 298.

⁶¹⁴ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 299.

⁶¹⁵ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 299.

⁶¹⁶ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 299.

The mostly Jewish or foreign owners of Munich department stores had already long been in the crosshairs of Nazi propaganda.⁶¹⁷

Yet it was not until 1933 that the clashes between Nazi ideology and soccer really began to collide. “On June 2, 1933, Germany’s new education minister Bernhard Rust ordered the expulsion of Jews from welfare organisations, youth groups, and sporting clubs...This was officially the beginning of the *Gleichschaltung* (forcing into line).”⁶¹⁸

Many clubs tried to claim that their actions were only because of Rust’s order.

In reality, most sporting functionaries had already hurried to insinuate themselves with their new masters. . . . By the time the Nazis ‘left no choice,’ most sports bodies had long since chosen the path they wanted to follow . . . the DFB⁶¹⁹ and its affiliated clubs were no exception.⁶²⁰

By the time June rolled around, many clubs had already expelled the Jews from their clubs and organizations.

In April, 1 FC Nürnberg expelled their Jewish members and a few days after that Eintracht Frankfurt—until then often referred to as a ‘Jews club’ because of their many Jewish members and benefactors—relieved treasurer Hugo Reiss of his duties. Reiss was Jewish.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁷ Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters* (Göttingen, Germany: Verlag die Werkstatt, 2007), 83. Original text: “Das politische Klima verschlechterte sich für die Münchner Juden nicht erst ab 1933. Bereits seit 1921 durften an der Münchner Universität keine ausländischen Juden mehr studieren. Die zumiest jüdischen oder ausländischen Besitzer der Münchner Kaufhäuser befanden sich bereits seit längerem im Fadenkreuz der Nazi-Propoganda.”

Unless otherwise stated, all translations within this chapter were done by the author of this dissertation.

⁶¹⁸ Ulriche Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor! The Story of German Football* (London: WSC Books Ltd, 2002), Kindle, loc. 1122. This declaration “was later followed by regulations demanding that every member had to prove themselves to be of so-called ‘Aryan’ descent, that all juvenile members had to join the Hitler Youth and that the club was to be put into the hands of trusted party people. The *Gleichschaltung* was an extension of the party doctrine that said that no sphere of life should remain beyond the grasp and the influence of the NSDAP.”

⁶¹⁹ DFB stands for Deutscher Fußball Bund, which is the ruling body for soccer in Germany.

⁶²⁰ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1138.

⁶²¹ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1149.

Other clubs followed suit. As Hesse-Lichtenberger says,

The DFB and its clubs acted five to ten weeks before Rust's official regulation. And their coldness becomes the more numbing when one realises that in a few isolated cases, people proved you could at least attempt to swim against the tide.⁶²²

Before turning to one of those isolated cases, other factors of club life during this time period needs to be explored. In their attempt to regulate all forms of life, "the Nazis' original plan had been to do away with the old clubs altogether and replace them with new, artificial, and centrally ruled 'local sporting groups.'"⁶²³ "A sports club is a mighty thing: a group of people in one town with a shared passion and communication channels. Football always had the potential to jump up and bite Nazism on the nose" so "the Nazis seemed destined to abolish football clubs."⁶²⁴ The clubs were seen as a threat to social cohesion precisely because of the way in which these clubs create an identity for people that was not part of the larger metanarrative being created by the ruling party. "It was a goal the Nazis never lost sight of, and they did force quite a few clubs to disband or merge with others, as when they created VFL Bochum in 1938 by combining three separate clubs."⁶²⁵ Due to the start of war and the chaos it created, this goal was never full realized, "and so most traditional clubs kept their name and an outward appearance of

⁶²² Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1152.

⁶²³ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1126.

⁶²⁴ Kuper *Ajax*, 169.

⁶²⁵ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1127

normality throughout the fascist years.”⁶²⁶ Each club “was assigned a ‘*Dietwart*,’ a sort of political commissar, and sometimes players were tested on important facts like the date of Hitler’s birthday, but the clubs were allowed to continue choosing their own chairmen, a gross breach of Nazi custom.”⁶²⁷

Almost alone in attempting to moderate or defy the law was Bayern München, the upstart team from the Bavarian capital who had just won their first national championship. Bayern was a secular institution, but counted many of Munich’s Jewish community among its board, players, and supporters, including its president Kurt Landauer. Landauer was forced to step down by the authorities rather than the club in March 1933.⁶²⁸

Bayern Munich was the only major club to try and resist the prohibitions put in place by the Nazi regime, despite the fact that “the Nazi seizure of power meant for Bayern a harder blow than for many a formerly ‘red’ workers club” because Bayern, from its first day in existence, was a “Jewish club”.⁶²⁹ FC Bayern München was founded in 1900 in Schwabing, a northern borough of Munich that historically was the bohemian quarter. “On the club’s founding charter from 1900, two out of 17 signatories were Jewish.”⁶³⁰ Eleven years after its founding, Kurt Landauer, “the son of a wealthy Jewish

⁶²⁶ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1126.

⁶²⁷ Kuper *Ajax*, 170.

⁶²⁸ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 309.

⁶²⁹ Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters*, 83. Original text: “The Nazi seizure of power meant for Bayern a harder blow than for many a formerly ‘red’ workers club.”

⁶³⁰ Rafael Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace Anti-Nazi History after 80 Years of Silence,” the *Guardian* online, <http://www.theguardian.com/football/2012/may/12/bayern-munich-anti-nazi-history> (last accessed November 19, 2013).

businessman,” was elected president.⁶³¹ The club was coached by several different managers in its early years, most of them Jewish. In 1932 Bayern won its first national title, defeating Eintracht Frankfurt, coached by “Austro-Hungarian Richard ‘Little’ Dombi, who went on to manage Barcelona and Feyenoord.”⁶³² It was the combination of the two men, Landauer and Dombi, that helped Bayern earn its first trophy.

When Rust’s order was disseminated, Bayern was faced with a decision: remove Landauer and try to get in the good graces of the new regime, or stand by their president and refuse to attempt to ingratiate themselves with the regime. In contrast to their counterparts across the city and other clubs around Germany, Bayern chose to stand by their man. “Bayern never made a secret of the fact that they stood by Landauer and were accepting orders from above only in protest.”⁶³³ Unlike their counterparts who anticipated the orders, Bayern chose to act only when they were forced to do so and would not have removed Landauer voluntarily.⁶³⁴ “Many reservations prevailed in Bayern players in the face of the forced retreat of their president and other actors about the new rulers.”⁶³⁵

⁶³¹ Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace.”

⁶³² Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace.”

⁶³³ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1158.

⁶³⁴ One day after *Kristallnacht*, Landauer was arrested. He spent thirty-three days in Dachau before his status as a veteran of World War I earned him release. He emigrated to Switzerland in March 1939. Only one of his siblings survived the war. In 1947 he returned to Munich and once again assumed the presidency of Bayern. (<http://www.fcbayern.telekom.de/en/news/news/2009/20203.php>).

⁶³⁵ Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters*, 86. Original text: “Bei vielen Bayern-Akteuren herrschten angesichts des erzwungenen Rückzugs ihres Präsidenten und anderer Aktueere tiefe Vorbehalte gegenüber den neuen Machthabern.”

Bayern not only lost its president because of the order, but its youth system was disrupted, too.

With the rise of National Socialism, Bayern were hit hard by the Nazi policy of ‘re-amateurising’ German football, which had been moving towards professionalism in the preceding period. Bayern were one of the driving forces behind the development, but the Nazis condemned professional football as ‘a Jewish plot.’”⁶³⁶

Landauer, the club’s former president, had been largely responsible for creating the youth system and thus, in his absence, the club was losing much of what had made it successful.⁶³⁷

This pattern continued throughout the next twelve years. “The club proved adept at installing new presidents who only went through the motions of toeing the line.”⁶³⁸

Bayern proved adept at placating the Nazi authorities while still maintaining a strong club identity. Despite the fact that the club was “discredited as a *Judenklub* by the Nazis,” the club “resisted its cooptation” by the National Socialists.⁶³⁹

In 1934, Bayern players were involved in a brawl with Nazi brownshirts. Two years later, the Bayern winger Willy Simetsreiter made a point of having his picture taken with Jesse Owens, who enraged Hitler by winning four gold medals at the Berlin Olympics. The full-back Sigmund Haringer narrowly escaped prison for calling a Nazi flag parade a “kids’ theatre,” and the captain, Conny Heidkampt, and his wife hid Bayern’s silverware when other clubs heeded an appeal from *Reichsmarshal* Herman Göring to

⁶³⁶ “Remembering Kurt Landauer: Club Honours Visionary Former President,” <http://www.fcbayern.telekom.de/en/news/news/2009/20203.php>.

⁶³⁷ Here it is interesting to note that Bayern’s first national championship, in 1932, came from a defeat of Eintracht Frankfurt, a club that would fire its Jewish treasurer the following year.

⁶³⁸ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, 1160.

⁶³⁹ Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace.”

donate metal for the war effort. The most symbolic act of defiance occurred in Zurich in 1943.⁶⁴⁰

Accompanied by two Gestapo officers, Bayern traveled to Zürich for a friendly against the Swiss national team.⁶⁴¹ After the match ended, “the Bayern players lined up to wave at the exiled Landauer in the stands.”⁶⁴² Club identity mattered more than politics; in fact “the bonds of club over *volk* were sufficiently strong for Bayern to risk a visit to see Landauer in exile on their 1940 tour of Switzerland,”⁶⁴³ an act that could have resulted in the deaths of the entire squad, as their defiance was a public act. Predictably, “the Nazis were furious.”⁶⁴⁴

The reasons for Bayern being the only major team to resist are somewhat unclear.

Schulze-Marmeling provides one possible explanation.

The Nazification of FCB required a much longer lead time than many other sports clubs in Munich. At FCB in the early 1930s, there were professed Nazis who were there, however, initially it was only a small minority. The NSDAP was a particularly strong presence in the ski section. The skiers also presented the so-called “Dietwart,” which was, in the club, responsible for Nazi re-education. They also took over soon after seizing power, the club

⁶⁴⁰ Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace.”

⁶⁴¹ Raphael Honigstein, “Ten Pivotal Moments in Bayern Munich’s History,” *Sports Illustrated Online*, http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2011/writers/raphael_honigstein/02/15/bayern.greatmoments/ (last accessed November 19, 2013).

⁶⁴² Honigstein, “Bayern Munich Embrace.”

⁶⁴³ Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 309.

Kuper, in his account, relates the story of Landauer’s brother, Franz, who was arrested in Holland after the German invasion. “[Franz] was sent back to the Reich to stand trial on some charge or other, and his escort on the journey, a Gestapo man, happened to ask whether he was related to the Landauer of Bayern Munich. ‘That’s my brother,’ said Franz Landauer. ‘Oh, that’s fine. I’m a Bayern fan,’ said the Gestapo man. And they had a relatively pleasant journey. Franz Landauer was acquitted at trial, but later died in Westerbork.” Kuper, *Ajax*, 170.

⁶⁴⁴ Kuper, *Ajax*, 170.

magazine.⁶⁴⁵

While the motivations of this resistance are somewhat beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is surely possible that there is a correlation between traditional religious identity and this resistance. As Bavaria was a primarily Catholic area, and Bayern's players have been and continue to be largely homegrown because of a strong youth system, the religious makeup of the club tends to be rather Catholic. The relative youth of Germany as a nation and its nascent national identity often conflicted with the religious identity of Catholics. It is possible that this history plays a part in why Bayern chose to stand in opposition to many of the decisions. It is also possible that, whether for religious or personal reasons, those involved with the club were less likely to buy into the anti-Jewish propaganda that they were being sold.

However, this interpretation runs into complications when we look at Bayern's crosstown rivals, TSV 1860 Munich.⁶⁴⁶ "TSV 1860 Munich was much better placed for

⁶⁴⁵ Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: Die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters*, 94. Original: Die Nazifizierung des FCB benötigte eine deutlich längere Anlaufzeit als die vieler anderer Münchner Sportvereine. Dabei gab es auch beim FCB bereits in den frühen 1930ern bekennende Nazis, die allerdings zunächst nur eine kleine Minderheit bildeten. Die NSDAP war insbesondere in der Skiabteilung stark vertreten. Die Wintersportler stellten auch den so genannten "Dietwart," der für die nationalsozialistische Umerziehung im Klub verantwortlich war. Außerdem übernahmen sie schon bald nach der Machtergreifung die Klubzeitung.

⁶⁴⁶ To adequately address the full scope of the relationship and differences between FC Bayern and TSV 1860, one would need a full book. Relations between the two clubs are still strained. In 2009 Bayern bought out 1860's share of the Allianz Arena, as 1860's financial difficulties meant that they were unable to afford their share of the arena and maintain the rest of their other obligations. While one would expect 1860 to be grateful for the fact that they not only were relieved of a chunk of their debt, without losing their rights to the stadium (they have a lease through 2025), 1860 is currently suing Bayern, arguing that their shares in the arena were worth more than they were paid. In one of the most widely told stories in the history of German football, recounted in just about every account of the development of professional soccer in Germany and in most articles that tell any of his story, in the 1950s, Franz Beckenbauer, the legendary

the new political situation than Bayern.”⁶⁴⁷ The football chairman of 1860 had been an active member of the Nazi party since 1928, “and ‘unlike other clubs’—which was probably meant mainly of local rivals FC Bayern—few Jews had come to 1860.”⁶⁴⁸ This could account for part of the difference in reactions of the clubs, as Bayern actively resisted Nazi influence, but it still does not address the *why* of the resistance.

Nonetheless, “this approach cost Bayern dearly in the long run. The Nazis clearly felt 1860 Munich was the more trustworthy club (besides having the working-class touch so cherished by the fascists) and helped the Blues where they could.”⁶⁴⁹ The fact that Bayern had ever had Jews involved at the highest club level (as president and members of the board) was seen as a “flaw throughout the Third Reich.”⁶⁵⁰

Despite this, Bayern continued to do what was needed to keep the Nazis off their backs, but only doing the absolute bare minimum whenever possible. They continued their pattern of resistance throughout, though there were fewer opportunities for big team

German international, had planned to sign his professional contract with TSV 1860, but after a match against 1860 in which one of the players for 1860 hit Beckenbauer in the face during an argument, Beckenbauer chose to sign with Bayern instead. For further reading on the Beckenbauer incident, see: Rebecca Chabot, “A Tale of Two Kaisers: Ballack and Beckenbauer, and the Battle for Legacy,” *Soccer & Society* 15, no. 5 (2014): 696–708, DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2014.912011.

⁶⁴⁷ Dietrich Schulze-Marmeling, *Der FC Bayern und seine Juden* (Göttingen, Germany: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2011), 123. Original text: “Der TSV 1860 München ist für die neuen politischen Verhältnisse wesentlich besser aufgestellt als der FC Bayern.”

⁶⁴⁸ Schulze-Marmeling, *Der FC Bayern*, 124. Original text: “Und ‘im Gegensatz zu anderen Vereinen’—gemeint war wohl vor allem der Lokalrivale FC Bayern—seien im TSV 1860 Juden ‘nie hoch’ gekommen.”

⁶⁴⁹ Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!*, loc. 1161.

⁶⁵⁰ Schulze-Marmeling, *Die Bayern: Die Geschichte des Rekordmeisters*, 95. Original: “das ganze ‘Dritte Reich’ hindurch als Makel anhängel.”

theatrics after armed conflict began.⁶⁵¹ After the war ended, Bayern continued to dominate football in (West) Germany, winning eleven titles before and eighteen titles after reunification. In the 2010s Bayern began actively sharing the story of the actions of their players, managers, and staffs during the Third Reich.

In 2020 FC Bayern honorary president Uli Hoeneß helped unveiled Kurt Landauer-Platz, a soccer pitch that doubles as a basketball court on the roof of “Bellevue di Monaco,” a gathering place for (primarily) migrants and refugees. Naming the pitch for Landauer was important to Bayern and to the city; Munich mayor Dieter Reiter said, “As a former centre of the movement, Munich has a responsibility to stand up against anti-Semitism, and Kurt Landauer’s name in the centre is more important than ever.”⁶⁵² Hoeneß added,

Kurt Landauer is a man with a great past, an important man in our club history. He stood his ground with a lot of civil courage in the most difficult times in this country and is a role model for all of us. The fact that he is now immortalised in this square here in the heart of the city is a highlight.⁶⁵³

Case Study Applications

In the case study, FC Dallas clearly demonstrated they were willing to handle DBG with a firm hand. The beer boycott, which was half-hearted at best by week two,

⁶⁵¹ Mandatory military service, bombings, and other realities of war meant that professional soccer was facing numerous challenges during this time, while it was also dealing with the increased penalties for those who opposed Nazi programs or laws. Thus, some of the appetite for big displays of resistance was lost, as the stakes were very clearly life and death.

⁶⁵² FC Bayern Munich, “Above Munich’s Rooftops: Kurt Landauer-Platz Inaugurated,” FC Bayern Munich, (October 16, 2020), <https://fcbayern.com/us/news/2020/10/kurt-landauer-platz-inaugurated> (last accessed May 3, 2021).

⁶⁵³ FC Bayern Munich, “Above Munich’s Rooftops.”

was a fairly standard response; people often boycott something when they are upset about it. However, a little creativity and DBG might have been able to get the club to listen a little more carefully. Utilizing a trickster ethic could have demonstrated to FC Dallas the kind of atmosphere that would be created by the kind of fans it seemed the front office wanted in their stadium: “suburban soccer moms”⁶⁵⁴ who are not usually known for creating a raucous atmosphere. Group members could have worn conservative clothing, spent most of the match talking to each other (rather than watching the game), and politely clapped after goals. Given the Beer Garden is the loudest part of the stadium, it would have made an impact if the fans had attended the match, but completely altered their behavior while there. The resulting lack of energy in the atmosphere, which usually comes from the Beer Garden, would have sent a message to FC Dallas. It might have provided an opportunity for FC Dallas to reflect on what they really want their stadium to feel like.⁶⁵⁵

Practical Tools

The last category of tools in this constructive ethic are practical ones. Practical tools provide additional concrete resources that individuals and groups can utilize to further ensure that diverse voices are actually heard; they provide a check on the white majority’s tendency to focus on self-interests, usually at the expense of marginalized voices. There are four practical tools: the equity lens, adopting an intersectionality

⁶⁵⁴ Stephen Stone, interview with author (Plano, TX: October 13, 2014).

⁶⁵⁵ As part of DBG’s discernment, Jay Neal asked the author of this dissertation for her suggestions; she suggested the above course of action.

framework, centering or central questions, and effective communication. Each provides a different way of addressing issues around race, gender, class, etcetera without sacrificing the voices of those impacted by these issues. If used proactively, the practical tools can help prevent small issues from becoming massive problems.

Equity Lens

Too often emphasis is given to equality narratives, where an extraordinary person of color manages to succeed despite the structural barriers they faced; the story is used to demonstrate that anything is possible and everyone is given an equal chance to succeed. However, these stories cover up a reality that needs to be addressed: society is riddled with inequities and inequalities. While inequalities are problematic, it is inequity that needs to be addressed first; only when everyone has what they need to be on level ground can inequalities be addressed. Equality is giving the same thing to everyone, regardless of their circumstances; conversely, equity means giving each person or group what they need to be on the same footing as white Americans.

This ethic's equity lens is designed to remind individuals and groups that there are problems that need to be addressed before everyone can find common ground. One way to utilize the equity lens is to frame it as a question: how will this improve equity?⁶⁵⁶ Alternately, individuals and groups can determine how they want to use the equity lens; it can be used in conjunction with assessments, like the Intercultural Development

⁶⁵⁶ In the MDTA Ombudsperson Program training document in Appendix F, the central question came under the equity lens: how does this improve equity in MN debate? For some contexts, the combination of the equity lens and the centering question will work together well, though it is not universally true of all contexts.

Inventory,⁶⁵⁷ to help uncover issues within groups, and it can be used as a hermeneutical lens through which work is done. The equity lens is assisted by the use of an intersectionality framework for understanding identity.

Case Study Implications

In the conflict between DBG and FCD, at first glance it may seem difficult to determine where the questions of equity are in that situation. In this circumstance, the equity issues are primarily financial. At the same time fans were still reeling from the beer shower ban, the club significantly raised ticket prices. Fans, who felt like their traditions were being ripped away from them, were then asked to pay more money to attend matches; fans experienced it as a cash grab by the team's ownership, which added injury to the insult caused by the ban. When a club makes decisions (especially financial ones) that directly impact fans, it raises questions of who has access to a club and its matches. Rising ticket prices make it more difficult for fans to afford tickets, let alone season tickets. The financial crunch may very well have been real for the club, but because there was no communication with fans about that, fans experienced the rise in ticket prices very differently than FC Dallas (likely) intended.

Intersectionality Framework

The second practical tool is an intersectionality framework. Intersectionality, as a concept, was introduced by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989 to describe the

⁶⁵⁷ The Intercultural Development Inventory is an assessment tool that looks at cross-cultural competence. It can be used by individuals and groups to discover growth areas in their lives and beliefs. For more about the IDI, see: IDI, LLC., "IDI General Information," <https://idiinventory.com/generalinformation/> (last accessed May 4, 2021).

inseparability of Black women’s experience of being Black and being a woman;⁶⁵⁸ it is a both/and theory, where identities are able to coexist without forcing someone to pick one of their identities over another. “The both/and logistics of intersectionality are particularly essential, as we can exist in both oppressive and liberators ecosystems simultaneously.”⁶⁵⁹ Intersectionality is “the assertion that social identity categories such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability are interconnected and operate simultaneously to produce experiences of both privilege and marginalization.”⁶⁶⁰ Another early pioneer in the field of intersectionality, Patricia Hill Collins, introduced the matrix of oppression, demonstrating how overlapping oppressions prevent access and opportunity for people of color and those with complex identities.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Policies,” *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1, no. 8 (1989): 139–67.

See also: Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99.

⁶⁵⁹ Nicole M. Overstreet, Lisa Rosenthal, and Kim Case, “Intersectionality as a Radical Framework for Transforming Our Disciplines, Social Issues, and the World,” *Journal of Social* 76 (2020): 779, DOI: 10.1111/josi.1241.

⁶⁶⁰ Wendy G. Smooth, “Intersectionality from Theoretical Framework to Policy Intervention,” in *Situating Intersectionality: Politics, Policy, and Power*, ed. Angelia R. Wilson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 11.

⁶⁶¹ See: Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Patricia Hill Collins, *Intersectionality as a Critical Social Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).

Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality: Key Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020).

In the nearly thirty-five years since Crenshaw created the term, intersectionality has become a field of study, a framework for education and action, and a buzzword. For the purposes of the ethic, it is the framework that is most relevant here.⁶⁶²

We believe that activating intersectionality as critical inquiry and critical praxis is a powerful approach for dismantling hegemonic power dynamics and shifting into liberation given its precision on how multiple, interlocking systems of power function across space and time. It is also a constant work in progress to identify the necessary tools, logics, assumptions, and practices that can support intersectionality moving forward toward its radical potential for transformation via deep engagement with theories about power and practices of power.⁶⁶³

An intersectionality framework, then, enables this approach to be enfolded, where multiple layers of identity and equity exist simultaneously.

Case Study Application

This is the one piece of the ethic that likely would not have been helpful in the DBG/FCD case study. One could argue, at the most basic level, that an intersectionality framework would have recognized that there is a deeper meaning for religious fans, simply because it would take religious affiliation into account. However, in many other situations the

⁶⁶² The author of this dissertation acknowledges that this approach is not without problems; it moves beyond Crenshaw's original use of the term, drawing on the field as it developed from there. There is a very valid critique that intersectionality, which was created to talk about Black women's experiences, has seen that very work co-opted and used to describe things other than Black women's experiences; once again, the labor of Black women is being used by others, often without proper recognition of that cooptation.

Intersectionality is a complicated term, with multiple operative levels, and thus it is especially important for white folk to grasp intersectionality, something that may be difficult for many at first. It is for this reason that the author of this dissertation highly recommends that organizations work with community groups near them who can provide training on intersectionality. Many YMCA and YWCA locations offer trainings that cover it, and there are numerous other opportunities in many cities.

⁶⁶³ Overstreet et al, "Intersectionality," 780.

intersectionality framework will be absolutely vital. The beauty of the ethic is that not every tool needs to be used by every individual or group.

Centering or Central Questions

For some groups and individuals, centering work around a central question is the first step to collaborative work. In choosing a central question, individuals and groups are able to set an overall focus for their work. The content of that question shifts according to context. When speaking about soccer clubs and their SGs, centering questions might include: How does this improve the fan experience at matches? What can be done to create community at matches? How do we best support our team? Framing work around a central question helps keep the focus on whatever is most important to the individual(s) and group(s) involved. Finding the center of shared work can be difficult, which is why this ethic includes some flexibility around centering. One variation on using a centering question would be to use centering principles or commitments; the ethic is flexible enough to incorporate those as options, too.

Case Study Applicability

There are several potential centering questions that might have yielded a better working relationship, as they could have helped remind both groups why they exist. Both groups want the team to succeed, so questions like, “How do we create the best environment for our team?” or “What makes the best stadium experience?” would help the groups focus on what is most important (supporting the team and the team’s success). Finding the center, naming the shared aims, helps groups see their mutual goals more

clearly, so centering questions around the fan experience would likely lead to a deeper understanding of why things matter to fans.

Practicing Effective Communication

Practicing effective communication is perhaps the most important tool of all. Every relationship requires communication to function. Humans are constantly communicating with others through their body language and other forms of nonverbal communication, in addition to verbal and written forms of communication. Effective communication requires intentionality; it requires people to be intentional about communicating with those one is in relationship with, and it requires somewhat of a decentering of the self in favor of a more communal understanding of relationships. Hallmarks of effective communication include: active listening,⁶⁶⁴ open-ended questions,⁶⁶⁵ person-centered language,⁶⁶⁶ prompt response times,⁶⁶⁷ and self-

⁶⁶⁴ Active listening requires the listener to be fully engaged in the conversation. By making the listening process more didactic, it decreases misunderstandings and helps ensure both sides are heard. For more, see: Michael Hoppe, *Active Listening: Improve Your Ability to Listen and Lead* (Greensboro, NC: Center for Creative Leadership, 2006).

⁶⁶⁵ Open-ended questions are non-leading questions that cannot be answered with a yes or no; these questions encourage expansive responses from those being questioned. By utilizing open-ended questions, the information needed is still gathered but allows for narrative answers that provide additional context beyond what a simple yes/no question could elucidate. For more, see: Barbara A. Wasik and Annemarie H. Hindman, "Realizing the Promise of Open-Ended Questions," *The Reading Teacher* 67, no. 4 (2013): 302–11.

⁶⁶⁶ Person-centered language places humans at the center, moving their varying life descriptors and/or situations second. There is no group called "the poor," but there are people living in poverty. By centering the language on the person, their life conditions become secondary to their humanity; it keeps the focus where it belongs: on the person or people involved. For more, see: Jeffrey H.D. Cornelius-White, Renate Motschnig-Patrick, and Michael Lux, *Interdisciplinary Applications of the Person-Centered Approach* (New York: Springer, 2013).

⁶⁶⁷ Prompt responses keep the lines of communication open, ensuring that the parties are communicating regularly. This does not mean that one needs to drop absolutely everything to respond to a communication but rather that the length of time it takes for a response is reasonable.

awareness.⁶⁶⁸ Practicing and prioritizing ongoing, intentional communication is vital to collaborative work.

Case Study Applicability

Nearly all of the anger and bad blood between the front office and DBG could have been prevented by effective communication. Frankly, if there had been *any* communication at all, much of the resentment could have been prevented; there were so many missed opportunities where any communication would have made a tremendous impact. If FCD had let DBG know there had been complaints about beer showers in the Beer Garden, it would have given leadership a heads up. If FCD had approached DBG to have a conversation about the beer shower tradition, leadership and membership both would have welcomed the conversation. Instead of treating their fans like a respected part of the club, FC Dallas chose to only communicate punitively with the group about it. Every member of DBG interviewed for this dissertation, regardless of how they personally feel about beer showers, was more upset about the lack of communication than about the ban itself.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁸ Self-awareness is critical for interpersonal communication. If one does not have a sense of one's own biases or preferred courses of action, it becomes increasingly difficult for both the individual and those around them. This awareness enables people to disentangle their feelings and reactions from the situations at hand, allowing for a more level-headed engagement.

⁶⁶⁹ In the years following the ban, communication between DBG and FCD improved greatly. Beginning in 2016 monthly meetings between DBG leadership and FCD employees helped keep lines of communication open between the two groups.

Contextualization Process

Put very simply, the contextualization process involves conversations. The substance of the status quo must be understood to be able to determine the starting point for contextualization. If the issues are known and the organization is small enough, a single conversation may suffice to discuss and define terms.⁶⁷⁰ If issues are under the surface or if the organization is large, the process may require several listening sessions to first gather the necessary information to be able to determine how to use the ethic. Groups have the flexibility to create their own contextualization processes, but conversation is the universal element; if everyone in a group has their own operative definition of a term, it is important to uncover that so the group can discuss and arrive at a definition with which they can all agree.⁶⁷¹

Pework can also be useful in the contextualization process. For example, if the central question for a group is, “How does this increase equity and inclusion?,” participants might write down their operative definitions of equity and inclusion; when coming together, the conversation flows more easily because everyone has already spent time thinking about the topic ahead of time. Conversations around race, gender, ability, and class are often uncomfortable; providing time for self-reflection prior to those

⁶⁷⁰ When the ethic was contextualized for by the MDTA Ombudsperson Program, a single conversation was all that was needed to do the contextualization; there were only eight members of the group at the time.

⁶⁷¹ While definitions of religion are unnecessary, definitions absolutely have a place in the contextualization process. Most people have operative definitions for terms like justice and equity, which means that there may be no consensus on a term. By having conversations about the terms, it enables groups to find consensus.

conversations can help limit the damage done to persons of color within the community.⁶⁷²

Using the Ethic: Implications for Professional Club Soccer

It is clear that this ethic would have addressed and prevented some of the conflict between DBG and FCD; because of the nature of its tools, it provides a shared basis for work, one to which both sides have equal access. The relationship between DBG and FCD improved after regular and intentional communication was instituted between the two groups; when those meetings ceased, tensions again flared between the groups, culminating in the 2018 open letter from leadership to the FC Dallas front office.⁶⁷³ This ethic provides the flexibility needed to respond to ongoing challenges while also providing means by which to avoid future conflict.

This ethic works across soccer cultures as well; it is equally applicable to clubs and SGs in the United States as it is to clubs and SGs abroad. Because of its

⁶⁷² Specifically, conversations around race often trigger feelings of guilt and helplessness and tears from white folk, who often feel personally attacked whenever race is discussed. By providing a way for white folk to process some of their feelings ahead of time, they are less likely to dominate the conversation with their emotional responses. Conversations with white people about racism can often be traumatic for people of color, thus finding appropriate venues for the processing of white feelings is vital. For more on white feelings, see: Austin Channing Brown, *I'm Still Here: Black Dignity in a World Made for Whiteness* (New York: Convergent Books, 2018).

Robin D'Angelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

Ijeoma Oluo, *So You Want to Talk About Race* (New York: Hatchette Book Group, 2018).

Annaliese A. Singh, *The Racial Healing Handbook: Practical Activities to Help You Challenge Privilege, Confront Systemic Racism & Engage in Collective Healing* (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications, 2019).

For more on radicalized trauma, see: Resmaa Menaken, *My Grandmother's Hands: Racialized Trauma and the Pathway to Mending Our Hearts and Bodies* (Las Vegas: Central Recovery Press, 2017).

Sheila Wise Rowe, *Healing Racial Trauma: The Road to Resilience* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2020).

⁶⁷³ The letter was discussed in more detail in chapter 4 as part of the presentation of the third commandment, "You shall not take the name of the club in vain."

contextualization process, it is able to accommodate differences in culture more easily than other ethics and the principles are easy to explain in clear, concise language; its non-academic iteration includes all the theory and principles that the academic version does, but the presentation is designed for non-academic audiences. The contextualization process for each club and its SGs would look similar, but the content of those contextualizations would be different according to the culture of the club, its location, and the makeup of its fans.

Ideally, this ethic would be employed by clubs and their SGs around the globe. Participants can be trained on the ethic in a single session, which makes it very easy to deploy the ethic for use across leagues and countries. Training can be done virtually or they can be done in person; the modality of its delivery matters little. Materials are easily translated into other languages and are inexpensive to reproduce.⁶⁷⁴ Additionally, training will be available for those practitioners who wish to become certified trainers in the ethic.

Using the Ethic: Implications Beyond Professional Club Soccer

The constructive social ethic is also useful beyond the world of professional club soccer. The same flexibility that enables this ethic to work across soccer cultures enables it to work across a wide variety of organizations and groups. Any time there is a group that needs to do shared work, the ethic provides tools to assist with that. For example, in

⁶⁷⁴ Upon the completion of this dissertation, translations of the non-academic version of the ethic training document in French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish will be available to those interested in utilizing the ethic. The non-academic version of the training document, in the context of equity work in the Minnesota debate community, is located in Appendix C

2020, the Minnesota Debate Teachers Association unveiled their equity reporting system and ombudspersons program⁶⁷⁵ and, as part of that program, the constructive social ethic was incorporated into the training of the ombudspersons, who utilized the contextualization process to tailor the ethic to their shared work and then utilized the ethic throughout the year. The training document from that program demonstrates what the ethic looks like in a completely different context from that of professional club soccer.

At tournaments, the system allows students, coaches, and judges to file reports whenever equity issues arose. When a report comes in to the ombudspersons, all three on the panel that day must agree on their recommendations to the tournament director. In order to ensure unanimous agreement on those recommendations, the tools of the ethic enabled the ombudspersons to effectively listen to each other, deliberate as a unit, and make recommendations that reflected true consensus. In the three instances when the panel was convened, the ombudspersons present all reported that the tools of the ethic were helpful, as they “helped keep the focus on the right things,” “reminded us to center the people involved” and “provided a check on my gut reaction that I really needed, because I wanted to go in guns blazing.”⁶⁷⁶ These responses demonstrate that the tools in

⁶⁷⁵ At the 2018 MDTA meeting, I was charged with task of creating the ombudsperson program. Over the course of two years, I conducted interviews with those involved in equity issues in debate and researched best practices; the resulting proposal was reflective of that research. The ethic was one piece of that proposal. The results from the 2018 MDTA Equity survey, created and conducted by Dr. Keith Bistodeau were incorporated into the proposal; Dr. Bistodeau also assisted with the formatting and organization of the proposal.

The training document used with the first class of ombudspersons is available in Appendix D.

⁶⁷⁶ The deliberations of the panel are kept private; only the three ombudspersons serving on a given day know that a report has been submitted. As such, these quotes must remain unattributed, as linking them with the name of an ombudsperson could potentially compromise the confidentiality of the process.

the ethic are effective at what they are designed to do and that the work actually serves the people it is intended to serve.

Chapter 6: Project Review and Next Steps

Nearly a decade after this project began it reaches its conclusion. Over the course of its development, it has shifted and changed. It is a testament to the incredible community of soccer fans around the world, who willingly shared their stories, experiences, beliefs, and practices; there are many of us, but our stories are often overlooked by researchers in favor of more sensational ones. It is my fervent hope that, throughout this dissertation, religious supporters see themselves reflected accurately in the work. While I am not the first to argue that soccer is a religion, I am a religious supporter; this dissertation marks the first true exploration of what religious soccer *is*, the first presentation of religious soccer created by a religious supporter.

This dissertation is also a testament to the fundamental and critical reality that “soccer is never just soccer.”⁶⁷⁷ Soccer conceals and reveals political and religious divides, brings people together across cultures, and serves as a proxy for other conflicts. Soccer is so many things to so many people and this is even truer for religious supporters. The framing lenses provided in chapter 2 are all examples of soccer’s ability to be many things at once; they demonstrate the truth of religious soccer in a way that no formal definition of religion ever could. Like the pitch on which it is played, soccer is a rhizome; there are interconnected issues that cannot be untangled from each other, requiring

⁶⁷⁷ Simon Kuper, *Soccer Against the Enemy*, 1.

creative engagement with the sport. Economics, politics, and societal oppression is as present in stadia as it is outside of them. Covid-19 is but one demonstration of how interconnected everything is.

Soccer is socialism; it is the reality of the game and the fans. Clubs often do not see soccer this way, leading to inevitable conflicts between soccer's inherent socialism and the capitalistic context in which it exists, but it must be understood as socialism. Sartre's conception of praxis is key in understanding soccer as socialism, his love of the game evident. This dissertation has also time and again demonstrated that the relationship between fans and their clubs is a contingent one; neither can exist without the other. The relationship between clubs and their religious fans can be especially fraught with difficulty; while clubs are more concerned with their bottom line, religious fans are far more focused on meaning-making, fan experience, and meaningful engagement with the club.

And the final truth: music must resound. Even in the time of Covid, rituals and celebrations continue; accommodation of public health measures simply made them appear different. Those shifting and changing forms still hold deep meaning for fans, even as they miss the old ones. The playlist that accompanies this dissertation demonstrates the wide range of soccer-related music and includes chants, cheers, stadium songs, and tributes to players or managers. Fans are returning to stadia around the world. The celebrations and commiserations will continue, even when they look like posting a photo of one's printed dissertation with a video of their club's anthem.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁸ The author of this dissertation did this. Allegedly.

Chapter Two: Major Points and Important Takeaways

Chapter two focused on soccer itself. It began by explaining the four levels of people's relatedness to soccer, distinguishing fans from supporters and religious supporters. The five framing lenses, mentioned in the above paragraphs, followed, providing a framework through which non-fans can better understand how fans view the game. It then addressed the birth of the modern game through English public schools and provided an orientation to the current state of global soccer.

The second section of the chapter addressed the globalized reality of soccer's governance and competition structure, with FIFA and the World Cup dominating both respectively. It then turned its attention to the differences between soccer in the United States and the rest of the world, giving the context for the case study in chapter four. Because religious supporters are the focus of religious soccer, the issues that impact them are religious in the way that social issues are religious for all people of faith.

Chapter Three: Major Points and Important Takeaways

In order to understand religious fans, chapter three began by addressing the problems with defining what is or is not a religion, supporting my decision not to offer a definition of religion. Defining religion is an unnecessary step, one that keeps the focus on whether or not something is a religion and not on the content of the religion itself. It clearly advocates that soccer, in the context of professional club soccer, is a religion for some supporters. First, it examined the role of soccer in everyday life, drawing on Christopher Stone's ethnographic work.

Taking the claim of religious supporters seriously, the second and third sections of the chapter provided descriptions of fan rituals and meaning making in the world of professional club soccer. The variety of fan rituals, from the simple to the incredibly complex, demonstrates the richness of the ritual dimension of religious soccer and the presence of rituals even in the absence of reported rituals (including stadium chants/cheers, goal announcements, et cetera). It examined the stages of meaning making, from initial exposure, through club soccer experiences, finding community, the agony of defeat, and the thrill of victory. These sections provided context for the XI Commandments in chapter 4.

Chapter Four: Major Points and Important Takeaways

Through the XI Commandments, the contours of soccer-as-religion were elucidated in more depth, enabling those who do not hold this belief to understand why fans claim it as their religion. Each argument represents a theme that was repeated across the interviews conducted for this dissertation; these arguments provide a deeper understanding of religious soccer for those who are not religious supporters and, for those who are religious supporters, these arguments are a confirmation of their experiences. By riffing on the biblical Ten Commandments, they provide the context and contour of religious soccer in a way with which most Americans (and many others around the world) have at least some familiarity. The eleventh commandment, regarding hope in the following season, demonstrates clearly the different between hope and optimism in the faith community comprising the religious supporters of soccer; one can hope that one's

team will do better the following season, even if one is not optimistic that they will indeed do better.

The chapter then examined the importance of supporters groups, the place where religious supporters are most commonly found. Community activist Peter Block's two types of belonging describe and demonstrate why those groups are so important to religious supporters. The conflicts between SGs and clubs were examined through the case study of the Dallas Beer Guardians, FC Dallas, and the beer shower ban of 2014. The case study illustrated how poor communication and draconian policies interrupt the relationship between supporters groups and their clubs. The case study also laid the groundwork for the constructive social ethic in chapter five.

Chapter four has several important aspects. First, it provides the first set of arguments that describe the what and the how of religious soccer. Those arguments were derived from the interviews, which specifically contrasts with the only presentation of religious soccer that preceded this one.⁶⁷⁹ The chapter provides insights into religious soccer both for those who claim soccer as their religion and those who want to understand why people claim it as their religion and what it looks like. Second, the chapter demonstrates a new approach to religion and sport, taking supporter claims seriously and not judging whether or not a sport meets a particular definition of religion. And, finally, it leads us to the phenomenon of supporters' groups where the case study with DBG and FCD illustrates the conflicts between SGs and their clubs.

⁶⁷⁹ François Fulconis and Gille Pache, "Football Passion as a Religion: The Four Dimensions of a Sacred Experience," *Society and Business Review* 9, no. 2 (2014), DOI: 10.1108/SBR-09-2013-0064, 166-85.

Chapter Five: Major Points and Important Takeaways

The constructive social ethic presented in this chapter is the culmination of the previous chapters. The proper orientation towards and understanding of soccer allows one to see that the relationship between religious fans and their clubs often requires assistance to enable both to grow and prosper. The constructive social ethic provides such assistance in the world of soccer and yet it can be tremendously useful outside of its present soccer context. The collection of grounding, methodological, and practical tools provide individuals and groups the flexibility to attend to pressing concerns in a wide variety of social settings.

The grounding tools provide the means by which individuals and groups can root their work in healthy soil. Reminding them of their contingent relationships helps groups keep their relationships in perspective. Clubs cannot exist without their fans and fans do not exist without their club. This is one of the most fundamental truths about soccer and yet it is rarely recognized, celebrated or utilized. Keenan's competing tensions provide a way to remember the different levels of relatedness in which all people and all groups exist. The methodological tools provide two different approaches to addressing issues and challenges. The trickster ethic's subversiveness compliments the stability of the See-Judge-Act cycle, providing creative response opportunities for those facing oppression and their allies to address issues.

The practical tools provide another set of concrete tools that can be used to center the process, keep the focus on equity, and work in an intersectionality framework. The equity lens and the intersectionality framework help prevent voices from being excluded

from the conversation. The centering question is a way to find that central focus.

Practicing effective communication ensures that everyone has a chance to voice their opinion, no one is blind-sided by news, small issues stay small when communication is prioritized and, consequently, there are fewer big problems; .

Contributions to the Discourse

As previously highlighted in the introduction, this dissertation makes multiple contributions to several different academic discourses. The first is the use of Heidegger to explain the contingent relationship between clubs and their fans; the Being of the club and its fans is Being-with and neither exists without the other. Though Heidegger himself was a soccer fan, his writing is not particularly reflective of his fandom; had he spent a decade thinking about nothing but soccer, its nature, and its being, he, too, might have arrived at the argument I make in this dissertation. It is rare that a new argument is added to the discourse around Heidegger, as robust conversations about his work began over a century ago; my use of Heidegger in this way is unique.

The second contribution to the discourse is the presentation of religious soccer and the arguments that explain the tenets, beliefs, and practices of soccer fans. It breaks from other scholars of religion by offering no definition of religion and simply taking the claim of fans at face value; when someone says something is their religion, they should be believed, which is the approach I take in this dissertation. It also represents the first extended description and explanation of religious soccer; previous articulations of soccer as religion have not adequately actually addressed the content of religious soccer and often only appear in the context of justifying why soccer is or is not a religion. There is

no equivocation in this dissertation; soccer is a supporter religion and religious supporters in the world of professional club soccer finally get to share their religion through this dissertation.

The final major contribution to academic discourse is the constructive social ethic. It is a unique project, bringing together tools from a variety of disciplines to provide an ethic that is flexible, adaptable, and designed to be contextualized by those using it. By bringing all of these tools into the same toolbox, the ethic itself is a useful resource for any number of communities. The example of this ethic's use in a non-soccer context demonstrates its flexibility, its contextualization, and its ability to address interconnected issues at the same time. Upon the publication of this dissertation, the ethic will become a permanent part of the work of BC Consultants.⁶⁸⁰

Concluding Thoughts

In 2020, FC Bayern Munich achieved its third treble (league, cup, Champions League), their second in seven years. Their victory over Paris Saint-Germain in the Champions League final was followed by two more big wins, the FIFA Club World Cup and the German Supercup. Bayern won every competition in which they played. As a fan, it was my second treble and it meant a great deal to me and to other fans that in a year unlike any other Bayern demonstrated that victories after adversity are possible. But, for me, no soccer moment will be more powerful than the 2013 Champions League final when Arjen Robben scored and we finally won it in our third attempt in four years.

⁶⁸⁰ Our consulting firm, BC Consultants, begins operation on August 1, 2021; Dr. Keith Bistodeau is my partner in that endeavor. The firm will offer the following services, among others: ethnographic research, workshops for coaches and teams within the world of middle and high school forensics, ethical consultations, and training on the ethic itself. Additional practitioners will be added as needed in the future.

This dissertation is the result of years of work and throughout those years Bayern has been my constant through multiple moves and relationships as well as through the research and the writing process. I have no idea how many matches I have watched while writing this dissertation, but every match confirmed my own dedication to my club. The deeper into this project I moved, the more my experiences and those of others drove this work. I started and finished the project as a religious supporter; I hope the same is true for other religious supporters who read this dissertation. And for those outside of our community, my hope is that you have a better understanding of why soccer is our religion, what it means to us, the challenges we pose to our clubs, and why those relationships need careful management.

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Appendix A: Ethnographic Survey Results⁶⁸¹

Question One: How old are you? By answering this question, I consent to participating in this survey.

Answers:

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
Ages 18-24	17	26	82	26	7	4	9	2	34%
Ages 25-29	37	24	18	13	8	2	8	5	23%
Ages 30-34	19	21	5	8	11	6	2	8	16%
Ages 35-39	17	7	1	5	6	13	0	8	11%
Ages 40-44	7	9	0	0	3	5	0	6	6%
Ages 45-49	5	3	0	1	1	3	1	3	3%
Ages 50+	15	4	1	5	8	1	0	0	7%

Question Two: What is your gender? Note: This is how you identify, not your physical or assigned sex.

⁶⁸¹ This appendix contains the raw data from the over 500 responses to the online survey. The only edits that have been made to this data are formatting (when exported from SurveyMonkey, some of the questions and other materials had the words entirely run together, necessitating the insertion of spaces between those words) and the capitalization of club and player names (to facilitate ease of reading, as without the capitalization, it is difficult to discern whether a word is a name or a random foreign language word). No other alterations have been made to this data.

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
Male	79	51	102	40	30	28	11	25	73%
Female	37	42	5	17	14	6	9	6	27%
Trans*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 1%
Other	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	< 1%

Question Three: In what country do you currently reside? If your country of origin is not the same as the country in which you reside, please specify both countries in the comment box provided, indicating which is country of origin and which is country of current residence.

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
United States	97	54	27	39	38	5	0	1	52%
United Kingdom	5	16	42	12	3	0	0	0	16%
France	1	1	1	0	0	8	0	0	2%
Germany	2	3	2	1	0	2	16	0	5%
Italy	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1%
Spain	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	24	5%
Other	11	19	31	6	2	19	4	7	19%

Those who responded “Other” come from: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ghana, Haiti, Honduras, Hong Kong, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, and Ukraine.

Question Four: Please rank the following leagues in regards to which you follow the most closely (1 is the league to which you pay the most attention). If you only follow one league, please rank that as a 1. If your league is not listed, please select “Other.”

First Choice:

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
MLS	28	18	2	8	11	4	0	0	14%
EPL	53	41	85	36	24	15	2	1	51%
Ligue Un	0	1	2	0	0	7	0	0	4%
Bundesliga	18	13	2	3	2	1	16	0	8%
Serie A	0	3	5	0	0	1	0	0	4%
La Liga	8	10	2	4	3	3	1	26	11%
Other	7	7	9	7	4	2	1	4	8%

Second Choice (83% ranked a second league)

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
MLS	34	15	14	13	14	4	2	3	20%
EPL	38	34	13	7	16	10	12	19	31%
Ligue Un	3	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	6%
Bundesliga	9	9	11	7	4	1	2	2	7%
Serie A	8	7	7	4	2	1	1	1	4%
La Liga	12	18	50	14	7	14	3	5	8%
Other	10	10	12	2	1	0	0	1	7%

Third Choice (79% ranked a third league)

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
MLS	14	16	11	14	6	4	0	3	14%
EPL	15	11	6	5	4	6	5	10	10%
Ligue Un	12	8	10	5	13	10	0	1	9%
Bundesliga	25	17	35	14	6	3	1	8	18%
Serie A	17	10	16	6	6	4	3	8	10%
La Liga	25	23	25	14	8	6	10	0	14%
Other	6	8	4	0	1	0	1	1	4%

Question Five: Do you hold allegiance to one professional soccer club?

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
Yes	92	86	99	47	20	12	17	31	81%
No	24	7	7	11	20	22	3	1	17%

Question Six: What clubs do you support? Please rank the teams for which you cheer in descending order, with your primary club as number 1. If you only cheer for one club, rank them and leave the rest blank. If your team is not listed, please select other.

First choice:

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
FC Dallas	18	7	0	3	1	1	0	0	7%
LA Galaxy	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	5%

NY Red Bulls	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1%
Seattle Sounders	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	2%
Arsenal	11	4	17	7	7	1	1	0	10%
Chelsea	9	4	8	2	3	11	0	0	7%
Liverpool	9	11	9	3	3	0	1	0	5%
Man. United	7	6	15	12	4	0	0	0	9%
Lyon	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	< 1%
Marseilles	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	< 1%
Paris Saint-Germain	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	< 1%
Bayer Leverkusen	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	< 1%
Bayern Munich	17	12	3	2	2	1	4	0	8%
Borussia Dortmund	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	< 1%
Schalke 04		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	< 1%
AC Milan	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	0	< 1%
Inter Milan	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	< 1%
Juventus	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	< 1%
Napoli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Atletico Madrid	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	< 1%
Barcelona	6	3	2	4	2	4	1	5	5%
Real Madrid	4	7	3	1	2	4	0	14	7%

Valencia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	25	27	44	18	14	2	11	8	30%

Second Choice:

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
FC Dallas	32	25	52	19	14	7	9	12	34%
LA Galaxy	9	4	4	4	0	1	0	1	5%
NY Red Bulls	2	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	2%
Seattle Sounders	3	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	2%
Arsenal	9	8	3	3	0	1	0	0	7%
Chelsea	3	6	3	0	6	4	1	1	4%
Liverpool	6	6	2	0	4	1	1	0	3%
Man. United	2	4	3	2	4	1	0	0	3%
Lyon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 1%
Marseilles	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	< 1%
Paris Saint-Germain	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	< 1%
Bayer Leverkusen	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	< 1%
Bayern Munich	4	7	2	5	3	1	4	0	4%
Borussia Dortmund	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	0	3%
Schalke 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%

AC Milan	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	2%
Inter Milan	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	< 1%
Juventus	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	2	2%
Napoli	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 1%
Atletico Madrid	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	1%
Barcelona	5	5	7	4	6	4	0	4	7%
Real Madrid	3	6	4	4	0	5	0	2	5%
Valencia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	25	15	14	5	2	0	2	4	16

Third Choice:

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
FC Dallas	32	25	52	19	1	7	9	12	
LA Galaxy	9	4	4	4	0	1	0	1	
NY Red Bulls	2	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	
Seattle Sounders	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	
Arsenal	9	8	3	3	7	1	0	0	
Chelsea	3	6	3	0	3	4	1	1	
Liverpool	6	6	2	0	3	1	1	0	
Man. United	2	4	3	2	4	1	0	0	
Lyon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Marseilles	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	

Paris Saint-Germain	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	
Bayer Leverkusen	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Bayern Munich	4	7	2	5	2	1	4	0	
Borussia Dortmund	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	0	
Schalke 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
AC Milan	2	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	
Inter Milan	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Juventus	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	2	
Napoli	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Atletico Madrid	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	
Barcelona	5	5	7	4	2	4	0	4	
Real Madrid	3	6	4	4	2	5	0	2	
Valencia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other	25	15	14	5	14	0	2	4	

Question Seven: Where and how do you watch matches?

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Survey 5	French Survey	German Survey	Spanish Survey	Total %
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In a pub/sports bar/with others	Never-10 Rarely-40 Sometimes-55 Always-7	Never—14 Rarely—31 Sometimes—43 Always—4	Never—13 Rarely—25 Sometimes—62 Always—3	Never—11 Rarely—23 Sometimes—21 Always—1	Never—8 Rarely—16 Sometimes—16 Always—2	Never—7 Rarely—10 Sometimes—12 Always—1	Never—2 Rarely—6 Sometimes—11 Always—0	Never—1 Rarely—9 Sometimes—21 Always—0	Never—13% Rarely—32% Sometimes—51% Always—4%
At home/alone	Never—4 Rarely—6 Sometimes—61 Always—44	Never—1 Rarely—7 Sometimes—51 Always—34	Never—0 Rarely—5 Sometimes—63 Always—36	Never—2 Rarely—5 Sometimes—23 Always—26	Never—1 Rarely—7 Sometimes—20 Always—15	Never—4 Rarely—2 Sometimes—11 Always—16	Never—1 Rarely—2 Sometimes—9 Always—3	Never—1 Rarely—2 Sometimes—14 Always—14	Never—2.5% Rarely—6.5% Sometimes—52% Always—38%
Via online stream	Never—15 Rarely—22 Sometimes—60 Always—15	Never—8 Rarely—12 Sometimes—52 Always—20	Never—5 Rarely—11 Sometimes—59 Always—31	Never—9 Rarely—8 Sometimes—22 Always—52	Never—9 Rarely—11 Sometimes—13 Always—7	Never—8 Rarely—11 Sometimes—6 Always—2	Never—0 Rarely—7 Sometimes—9 Always—3	Never—7 Rarely—5 Sometimes—18 Always—9	Never—12% Rarely—17% Sometimes—49% Always—22%
Via TV as it's broadcast	Never—3 Rarely—15 Sometimes—62 Always—32	Never—3 Rarely—9 Sometimes—55 Always—24	Never—3 Rarely—18 Sometimes—63 Always—20	Never—4 Rarely—9 Sometimes—29 Always—13	Never—3 Rarely—8 Sometimes—17 Always—15	Never—6 Rarely—3 Sometimes—aa Always—14	Never—0 Rarely—6 Sometimes—12 Always—2	Never—1 Rarely—3 Sometimes—18 Always—9	Never—4% Rarely—14% Sometimes—56% Always—26%
Via TV on replay or DVR	Never—40 Rarely—25	Never—32 Rarely—24	Never—47 Rarely—26	Never—19 Rarely—15	Never—11 Rarely—10	Never—13 Rarely—5	Never—8 Rarely—3	Never—13 Rarely—10	Never—40% Rarely—26%

	Someti mes— 40 Always —5	Someti mes— 33 Always —2	Someti mes— 21 Always —2	Someti mes— 12 Always —7	Someti mes— 16 Always —4	Someti mes—9 Always —2	Someti mes—7 Always —0	Someti mes—2 Always —1	Someti mes— 29% Always —5%
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Question Eight: What items do you own related to your club? Please select all that apply. Feel free to elaborate in the comments. If you own no items, please select none.

	Surve y 1	Surve y 2	Surve y 3	Surve y 4	Surve y 5	Frenc h Surve y	Germa n Survey	Spanis h Survey	Tota l %
None	23	12	13	15	15	16	3	7	19%
Official replica jersey	75	65	84	35	22	8	14	19	65%
Knockoff jersey	27	27	15	5	10	4	4	7	19%
Scarf	71	60	60	28	15	3	16	14	55%
Flag	34	31	26	7	9	4	9	11	27%
Jacket	25	15	21	11	7	1	4	2	17%
Sweatshir t	25	11	17	5	10	0	5	4	15%
T-shirt	64	44	39	14	11	4	10	4	39%
Garden gnome	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1.5%
Other	26	23	23	15	9	7	8	4	23%

Other items included: Action figures, Advent calendars, armbands, backpacks, badges/pins, bags, bathrobes, beanies, bed linens, blankets, bobbleheads, books, boot/cleat bags, bracelets, bumper stickers, calendars, caps/hats, car accessories, Christmas ornaments, coffee mugs, cufflinks, cupcake wrappers, cups, dog tags, DVDs, Fathead wall decals, figurines, glassware, gloves, golf ball markers, golf tees, internet browser extensions (with team branding), keychains, kilts, lanyards, lighters, lip balms,

match day programs, magnets, mousepads, notebooks, pacifiers (for babies), paintings, pajamas, pennants, phone covers, photographs, piggy banks, pillows, planners, player trading cards, playing cards, polo shirts, posters, practice jerseys, rubber ducks, rugs, shorts, shot glasses, slippers, snow globes, soccer balls, socks, stadium cushions, stadium magazines, stadium signs, stickers, team warmups, towels, tracksuits, trousers, umbrellas, wallpapers, watches, water bottles, and writing utensils (pens, pencils, erasers, etc).

Question Nine: Do you have any rituals around your team? Are there things you do on match day? Things you do on draw days? Tell me about how you interact with your team. Do you blog? Tweet? Please be as descriptive as possible.

Survey 1 Responses:

1 None 1/31/2014 10:05 PM

2 I try to get everything as focused as possible. I'll listen to songs to pump me up, watch old victory YouTube videos. 1/31/2014 9:05 PM

3 use my team-specific coffee mug for those early AM Arsenal matches, occasional tweeting 1/31/2014 4:54 PM

4 prematch activity normally includes a bottle of Tullamore dew, a good mix of tunes like Arctic Monkeys or Foals, and passin' the ball around. 1/31/2014 2:44 PM

5 None 1/31/2014 2:21 PM

6 I follow official Twitter feeds, and visit MLSSoccer.com and BigDSoccer.com regularly. 1/31/2014 1:52 PM

7 N/a 1/31/2014 9:04 AM

8 Beer Garden before game! BigD for debates 1/31/2014 7:44 AM

9 I'm a member of a supporter group for LA Galaxy known as Angel City Brigade. Before matches the group gather together for drinks and songs/chants. It's a group of about 2000 members and growing. I also have strong ties to a team in Scotland known as Rangers FC, I watch these games with a group of Scottish friends and family at a local British club here in Southern California. 1/31/2014 12:42 AM

10 Member of a supporters group for FC Dallas. I mostly just get involved when it comes to tailgating and cheering on the team in our reserved section. 1/31/2014 12:33 AM

11 none 1/30/2014 11:59 PM

- 12 nope 1/30/2014 10:10 PM
- 13 Follow Arsenal and Real Madrid Facebook pages 1/30/2014 9:34 PM
- 14 No rituals. My team is FC Dallas, and I currently live in Georgia, so match day typically entails watching a stream online or following comments on the game day thread on Big D Soccer (SB Nation Blog). 1/30/2014 9:00 PM
- 15 Follow the official team twitter 1/30/2014 7:36 PM
- 16 I blog occasionally, I tweet incessantly, I follow the team home and away, sometimes in European games too. 1/30/2014 6:45 PM
- 17 I tweet about FC Dallas and Liverpool a lot. I also blog from time to time about FC Dallas on Big D Soccer. 1/30/2014 6:21 PM
- 18 Tweet. Facebook status updates. 1/30/2014 4:22 PM
- 19 Usually eat a Chipotle burrito 1/30/2014 3:03 PM
- 20 Drape my entertainment center/TV with scarves and jerseys on match day. 1/30/2014 2:19 PM
- 21 tweet 1/30/2014 1:37 PM
- 22 As I live in the states, games are usually on in the morning. On weekend match days I will wake up at most 30 mins before the game to give me time to find a stream or go to the pub. I don't eat before games, even if the game is after noon, I will always eat afterwards. I don't typically do anything else on match days after the game. On weekday matchdays, I'll just watch the game around my regular schedule. It's not ideal because I like having days where all I do is watch soccer, but there are times you just can't help it. I used to blog on tumblr during games and post pictures of players and gifs of the goals, but since I lost interest now I stick to being on twitter. I tend to watch the same game with many of my twitter friends so we're all usually live tweeting at the same time. It makes it a little more fun because I know so few other fans of Liverpool in my day to day life. 1/30/2014 1:31 PM
- 23 Usually I wear my jersey on match-days! As for interacting, I talk with people on forums and twitter mainly 1/30/2014 1:21 PM
- 24 I usually sit w/ a beer and while watching the match tweet a bit about it. 1/30/2014 1:20 PM

25 Twitter user, several fan blogs for Bayern Munich 1/30/2014 1:16 PM

26 I go to every home game, I obsessively follow local blogs that report on the Union⁶⁸², the reason I signed up for twitter was to more closely follow all of the rumors and news around the team. I don't follow any other teams or leagues aside from the Union and the national team.
1/30/2014 1:07 PM

27 Tailgate with DBG. 1/30/2014 12:48 PM

28 No 1/30/2014 12:47 PM

29 No 1/30/2014 12:47 PM

30 I blog before and after...tweet during. 1/30/2014 11:57 AM

31 I tweet. 1/30/2014 11:43 AM

32 I am an active FC Dallas blogger for Big D Soccer. The only ritual I have is that I wear the same pair of Air Force ABU pants to every game....even when it's 105 degrees outside. 1/30/2014 11:22 AM

33 I miss the first half of every Liverpool game and don't tweet til after halftime
1/30/2014 11:11 AM

34 I always wear a jersey on match day, I buy at least two new jerseys per season (one field and one goalie). If I can't watch the game, I'll follow it online. I tend to watch UCL⁶⁸³ draws live, and read Copa del Rey⁶⁸⁴ draws online. I tweet and facebook about Real Madrid (the only European team I cheer for), and I read the players' tweets on game day. I bore my girlfriend with Real Madrid facts and news, and I usually try to play the real life games on FIFA. 1/30/2014 10:46 AM

35 I interact with the team through social media (Twitter, Facebook) and their websites. I'm not too superstitious, though I do have to watch the Manchester United/Liverpool matches by myself. Otherwise, I don't mind watching with others, as long as they don't talk during the match. 1/30/2014 10:34 AM

36 For Arsenal, the only ritual I have with my team is my annual disappointment with lack of silverware. For Maryland Men's Soccer, I have too many rituals to list. On game day - we tailgate, sing/cheer all game, etc. I know all the players and am close with the

⁶⁸² Philadelphia Union of Major League Soccer

⁶⁸³ UEFA Champions League

⁶⁸⁴ Copa del Rey is the Spanish FA's cup competition.

coaches, so we interact on consistent basis via cell phone and e-mail. I wouldn't say I'm friends with the players and hang out with them or whatever, but, if we see each other, we're cool. 1/30/2014 10:14 AM

37 I wear team clothing and use team glass and/or mug. I am in a fantasy league with fellow club fans, I receive club newsletter, I visit club website. 1/30/2014 10:06 AM

38 I follow a number of sources on Twitter, particularly on game days and during games. 1/30/2014 9:41 AM

39 on match days, I try to wear the colors of my team. be it my jersey, sweatshirt, or a red shirt. I tweet often about Liverpool FC as they are my favorite team and the team I have the best access to. I also support AS Roma, but I cannot get them on tv so I follow via text alerts and via Internet streams. 1/30/2014 9:29 AM

40 On match days I wear my Liverpool shorts underneath my pants. I will also have my scarf on as well. 1/30/2014 9:24 AM

41 most of my tweets are soccer related much to the chagrin of my friends
1/30/2014 9:06 AM

42 No rituals 1/30/2014 8:51 AM

43 I usually dress in the team colors and drink out of my German shoe boot glass. I use social media outlets to keep up with the team including their website, Facebook page, and I tweet about it. 1/30/2014 8:50 AM

44 I do not follow any rituals and I do not blog. I sometimes update my Facebook to reflect what's going on in the game. 1/30/2014 8:22 AM

45 drive to the game with family 1/30/2014 7:44 AM

46 Tweet. Listen to team radio stations. 1/30/2014 7:11 AM

47 Read the news before the game 1/30/2014 6:20 AM

48 Tweet 1/30/2014 5:25 AM

49 go to the team website and look over the starting lineup and injuries 1/30/2014 5:15 AM

- 50 Wear my BVB⁶⁸⁵ gear 1/30/2014 3:33 AM
- 51 no 1/30/2014 2:33 AM
- 52 I follow two Arsenal blogs on a day to day basis: arseblog and le-grove 1/30/2014 2:12 AM
- 53 For my team back home, I volunteered my services as a programme editor, website editor, PA announcer, steward, match secretary and several other capacities. I write about FC Dallas for a UK-based MLS site and try to be involved with the supporters as I can.
1/29/2014 11:18 PM
- 54 tailgate at a pub or a game 1/29/2014 10:39 PM
- 55 I tweet. 1/29/2014 10:36 PM
- 56 No. 1/29/2014 10:22 PM
- 57 I won't wear my jersey on match day; the first three times I did, the team lost every match. 1/29/2014 8:53 PM
- 58 I read Cartilage Free Captain (SB Nation) everyday. I watch the EPL matches on the NBC networks or online. I also follow the team and many of the players on fb, instagram, twitter, etc. I like to tweet about the team at times too, especially during big matches [(North) London Derbies]. 1/29/2014 8:48 PM
- 59 None 1/29/2014 8:15 PM
- 60 No, though I enjoy tweeting during games. 1/29/2014 8:00 PM
- 61 Facebook posts, tweets, look at pics on Tumblr & Instagram, text friends, scour news sites 1/29/2014 7:16 PM
- 62 I Facebook and tweet. I also refuse to leave a match before it's over.
1/29/2014 7:13 PM
- 63 Season Tickets holder for FCD. Tailgates, leadership council and head capo.
1/29/2014 6:55 PM
- 64 Follow twitter for game comments. 1/29/2014 6:49 PM
- 65 Blog and tweet about the teams i support 1/29/2014 6:04 PM

⁶⁸⁵ BVB is shorthand for Borussia Dortmund.

66 I wear my replica jersey when I watch a game live. 1/29/2014 5:35 PM

67 My only real ritual is wearing my jersey on important match days. Size of club is important as to who and what I do on certain days. For example, when Man U plays, I rarely add my 2 cents anymore because they are so well covered, whatever I'm saying is being said by thousands of other people. Before the availability of soccer exploded in the United States, I use to run a blog talking about Man U's prior games from the perspective of an American fan, because it was difficult to find anyone else doing something similar. Now that more attention is given to European leagues, information is passed along more easily, and the communication by the clubs is much better through their social media. I think of clubs I follow like AS Roma. The way they communicate now is fantastic. It's not just one big commercial, it's actual information about what's going on in games, in the club, and how it impacts them going forward. Tweeting is very interesting because I tweet at my MLS club (Seattle Sounders) all the time. I tweet them because they are good and responsive, I avoid many of their other tweets because they're total homers.

1/29/2014 4:38 PM

68 none 1/29/2014 4:15 PM

69 I don't necessarily have any rituals as it has been ages since I have watched an actual match but if I am watching, I will generally liveTweet during the match.

1/29/2014 4:14 PM

70 The bigger the game, the more German food I make in preparation. 1/29/2014 4:13 PM

71 Often tweet when I watch soccer. I will also regularly chat with others watching the game via text or facebook. 1/29/2014 4:06 PM

72 I always make sure I'm either with or texting my best fellow Arsenal fan. I read as many as ten articles online on a big match day. I love watching videos of the players off the field, a practice I feel makes them more human. 1/29/2014 4:03 PM

73 Whenever I watch a game at home, I live-tweet - that is, tweet any reactions I have, respond to the club's twitter's tweets if they ask an interesting question, and interact with other fans also watching the game also doing all of the above. 1/29/2014 3:29 PM

74 I very occasionally post things on my Facebook wall 1/29/2014 3:21 PM

75 I used to have rituals but I've sort of fallen out of them. On match day, I usually tweet and interact with fellow Bundesliga fans. 1/29/2014 2:58 PM

Survey 2 Responses:

1 Mostly tweet. 2/17/2014 6:26 PM

2 I won't wear anything of opposition's colours, inc undies/makeup. I tweet sometimes; it's a way to channel my anxiety or express some love, depending on how we are doing. 2/17/2014 10:56 AM

3 Tweet sometimes 2/17/2014 9:06 AM

4 Sometimes tweet during the match 2/17/2014 4:35 AM

5 Not really, except on penalty shootouts; then I do things like knock on wood a certain number of times, try to replicate the circumstances / repeat the stuff I was doing when my team scored a given penalty... things like that. 2/17/2014 3:57 AM

6 I always wear a matching kit⁶⁸⁶ based on the venue where the game is being played, e.g. away kits for away games. I write for a large club fansite, I tweet regularly, and I even knit club-related things. :) 2/16/2014 11:36 PM

7 Blog, tweet, always wear jersey or scarf on game day 2/16/2014 10:32 PM

8 no 2/16/2014 3:00 PM

9 tweet and fb with fellow fans and the team 2/16/2014 2:53 PM

10 I run a Tumblr blog (FYeahReal) where I post .GIFs (of goals scored, certain moments on the field,...) on match days and interact with the fan community. 2/16/2014 9:37 AM

11 Yes--have to shower the night before a match (meaning not in the morning), can't cross legs or arms during match, all dishes have to be done--can't really tell you which aspects of that are solely to do with Chelsea and which are due to some undiagnosed OCD...haha...I don't tweet/blog myself but follow all things to do with Chelsea (and most Real Madrid and DC United) on twitter, facebook, tumblr. Check the Chelsea official message board daily. 2/16/2014 9:17 AM

12 None 2/16/2014 8:48 AM

13 I tweet about them. Any news or during games I am not at i tweet my feelings 2/16/2014 7:37 AM

⁶⁸⁶ A soccer kit is comprised of three pieces: the jersey, shorts, and socks.

14 always wear a football top of my team on match days and usually tweet about the game while watching it 2/16/2014 7:09 AM

15 On match day I wear jersey. I joined Twitter, Instagram, Tumblr even Facebook because of Liverpool. 2/16/2014 5:59 AM

16 No 2/16/2014 2:41 AM

17 I listen to the 'Lux Aeterna' from Mozart's 'Requiem in D minor' before important matches 2/16/2014 2:37 AM

18 because La Liga/Copa del Ray matches aren't shown in Canada, i usually just check the scores on twitter and refresh about 20 times a minute. for champions league matches, i try to wear my team jersey and watch the match if i can, depending on my schedule. i don't blog, but i will tweet if they win. if they lose, i just stay quiet. i follow all the players on social media and they have inspired me to start learning Spanish (badly!) so i can try to get the gist of what they are saying. i even went on a trip to Spain for my birthday so i could see a match at their home stadium and tour their museum and the national football museum. 2/15/2014 10:53 PM

19 My brother and I go to the pub as much as possible even though it is 30mins away. It is more fun meeting with the support group to sing and chant the whole game. We listen to UK radio on the way and afterwards. I read up on Bluemoon (the fan forum) and post pics on my Tumblr. I follow some of the players on Twitter and watch City TV all the time on You Tube. I pretty much read as much as I can on Match day, watch the soccer shows that are on here in US. 2/15/2014 9:51 PM

20 Blog & tweet, listen to podcasts & read blogs, wear certain bracelets on gameday, wear scarfs the day before gameday. 2/15/2014 8:04 PM

21 wear the jersey to sleep the night before they play, live tweet the match 2/15/2014 7:31 PM

22 Tweet, discuss in real life, always email/text/chat with my best LFC⁶⁸⁷ friend during games, i always get up (if it's an early game) at least twenty minutes before KO⁶⁸⁸ so I can see the lineup and get into it, 2/15/2014 6:31 PM

23 I attempt to watch live games with people online via LiveJournal. 2/15/2014 6:29 PM

⁶⁸⁷ Liverpool FC

⁶⁸⁸ Kick off

24 I follow the players and some news sites on Twitter and like certain pages on Facebook to keep up-to-date with all the goings on. As for rituals, if the game is on a Saturday night then I might have a drink, but that's only because it's hard to watch Atletico⁶⁸⁹ sober! On draw days, nothing much, I don't really believe in the luck of the draw, and if we want to win, we have to play and beat the best. I read blogs about Atletico but I don't really blog about them, apart from the occasional comment on LiveJournal. 2/15/2014 5:44 PM

25 Depends whether I'm watching live (i.e., in stadium) where I do have quite a lot of habits - I like to be in the same stand for home matches, to wear the same shirt, never use the bathroom at halftime (not sure why), etc. I don't have many for watching at home/online. I blog occasionally, tweet often both about matches and specific things at players sometimes, but I would have said my biggest "interaction" with the team is being in the crowd at matchdays - chanting, cheering, supporting, etc. ...I'm not sure online support can really compare to that. 2/15/2014 5:28 PM

26 I talk about both of my favorite teams (Seattle Sounders FC and the National Team of Uruguay) on Facebook and forums. 2/15/2014 5:06 PM

27 No 2/15/2014 4:51 PM

28 I tweet on match days. 2/15/2014 4:45 PM

29 I blog, tweet, and hang a sign at games about supporting soccer talk on a local sports radio stations. 2/13/2014 10:51 PM

30 I text my two friends that play for FCD the same message. 2/13/2014 11:16 AM

31 None. 2/7/2014 3:49 AM

32 put Liverpool duvet on 2/7/2014 1:52 AM

33 mostly tweet 2/7/2014 12:44 AM

34 Lots of tweeting and some blogging. 2/6/2014 6:59 PM

35 Na 2/5/2014 7:58 PM

36 None 2/5/2014 7:46 PM

⁶⁸⁹ Atlético Madrid

37 My prematch rituals usually start by listening to the Arsenal Arseblog Arsecast (podcast) on the way to work on Fridays before weekend matches, reading relevant threads on /r/gunners (Reddit's Arsenal supporters subreddit) before all matches, and checking the Facebook page for my local supporters group, Orlando Gooners⁶⁹⁰, to find out where we will be meeting up to watch the match. If it's the pub located at the indoor soccer facility right down the road from me, I try to make it out to the match, if my schedule as a dad allows. I can usually make the tail end of weekday matches if I get out of work on time and enjoy a few pints before heading home. Meetups for big matches (North London Derby!) are usually downtown at a pub called The Celt, the best place to watch soccer in town. I plan ahead well in advance to try and make it downtown for those matches, and enjoy the company, and a few pints there. And, if the budget allows, a good breakfast. If I'm watching from home, I wake up early, make a big breakfast for my wife, daughter and I, and sit down in front of the computer (I don't have cable) to watch the match. I usually chat with other Redditors on the /r/soccer chat room during the match. And enjoy a few pints. Can't have soccer without beer. After matches I usually read all the relevant threads on /r/gunners, or watch the postgame analysis on NBC Sports. I also tend to tweet about the match, but I don't think any of my followers care, nor do my Facebook friends. Doesn't matter, I'll shove my love of Arsenal down their throats all day. I also tend to wear my jersey on weekend matchdays, because what's the point of spending \$90 on the kit if you won't wear it? 2/5/2014 7:46 PM

38 I just like to tweet or post about the actions during the game or the outcome of the game. 2/5/2014 7:15 PM

39 when my team wins I go out and celebrate when my team draws I just sit at home thinking 2/5/2014 6:40 PM

40 I don't have any rituals. 2/5/2014 6:24 PM

41 I follow all the pre-game commentary on sites such as goal.com and espnfc.com, and other country-specific ones such as golcaracol.com and futbolred.com...all these sites have Facebook pages too, and interact with other fans as to starting lineups and post-game discussion. 2/5/2014 6:15 PM

42 Follow in sports app. Watch bigger matches at a pub 2/5/2014 6:14 PM

43 try to eat and drink something good, but varies 2/5/2014 5:45 PM

44 I tweet at the players on occasion, follow them on social media. On game days I'll often wear a jersey unless I'm just watching the matches from my couch in the morning. 2/5/2014 5:15 PM

⁶⁹⁰ Arsenal fans have several nicknames, including Gooners and Gunners.

- 45 Follow blogs on twitter and facebook 2/5/2014 4:35 PM
- 46 Tweet, Facebook, Instagram, follow videos on MLS live, follow players on social media 2/5/2014 4:29 PM
- 47 I like to participate in "match threads" (i.e. discussion forums) on reddit.com/r/chelseafc 2/5/2014 4:24 PM
- 48 Yes, on a match day Im always wearing my Bayern jersey. I tweet. 2/5/2014 4:23 PM
- 49 Tweet 2/5/2014 4:03 PM
- 50 Ritual (when younger): Dress with everything I had while watching the game, now nothing; Tweeting, commenting on blogs or websites 2/5/2014 3:59 PM
- 51 Tumblr and twitter for interacting with other fans, tho that is very little, mostly just a happy spectator. i do wear the dog tag or my jersey on match days. 2/5/2014 3:49 PM
- 52 Tweet, wear my jersey 2/5/2014 3:47 PM
- 53 I don't have any rituals. On occasion I'll retweet something or post something to Facebook. 2/5/2014 3:47 PM
- 54 live tweet every match if i'm around a computer. 2/5/2014 3:43 PM
- 55 wear team gear, tweet, facebook 2/5/2014 3:38 PM
- 56 I make and eat breakfast to catch the morning Bundesliga matches, and I tend to livetweet the matches as well. 2/5/2014 3:27 PM
- 57 Tweet / Scarf 2/4/2014 6:57 AM
- 58 I have season tickets to FC Dallas. We do the scarfing of the Lamar Hunt statue, which I usually show up for. I wish my team had more traditions, which I am suggesting to my Fan Relations contact. I comment on the Big D Soccer blog. I love to wear soccer jerseys everywhere. 2/3/2014 10:37 AM
- 59 Tweet 2/2/2014 2:14 PM
- 60 none 2/2/2014 2:09 PM

61 Member of Texas Chapter of supporters, Facebook and Twitter, Sing YNWA⁶⁹¹ at each game 2/2/2014 1:27 AM

62 I wear my jersey for big matches (e.g. Clasico, CL Final, etc.) 2/1/2014 7:11 PM

63 I Facebook post around particularly good matches/goals. No real rituals, except try to get people up to the Londoner (a local bar) to watch matches together and scream at the TV. 2/1/2014 10:28 AM

64 No. I'll take this space to note that question 6 I meant to leave all teams blank after number 2, but the system did not let me do so once I made "Other" my top choice. 2/1/2014 5:38 AM

Survey 3 Responses:

1 My main team is in Uruguay, I live in Australia so I rarely get to watch them live. I stream matches when I can and I listen to them on an online radio stream when I'm at work (the time difference means many matches are on Monday morning for me). I read forums and online blogs but my Spanish isn't good enough to participate in discussions. 2/18/2014 2:38 PM

2 Never wear red on a day Leeds United (my team) are playing! 2/18/2014 11:40 AM

3 I like to tweet about my team, I always make sure I check the pre-match report on the website before kickoff. I do my best to wear my Chelsea jersey on match days but other than that not much 2/18/2014 11:28 AM

4 Tailgate at Sounders pregame 2/18/2014 10:53 AM

5 I watch matches and talk about them endlessly 2/18/2014 10:27 AM

6 My only ritual, if you can call it a ritual, is that on game days I usually drink one or two beers no matter what day it is. If I'm watching the game at my home, alone or with few people, I smoke weed. The only irrational thing I do is that when watching a game is that no one in the room should call a live ball a goal until the ball cross the line. The belief is that whoever calls a goal before it happens, brings misfortune to the ball and the ball won't go in. I follow my home team through Facebook, and Twitter and am subscribed to their Youtube channel. I also follow the club's directives through Twitter. It is also a good moment to mention that I'm friends/acquaintance with two of the club president's daughters. One just got hired as Director of Marketing and from time to time sends me

⁶⁹¹ YNWA stands for "You'll Never Walk Alone". The song, from Rogers and Hammerstein's *Carousel* is a soccer anthem used by many clubs around the world; most famous amongst all is the use of the song by Liverpool FC fans.

emails with back room information, so I'm more up to date than the average fan.
2/18/2014 10:25 AM

7 no 2/18/2014 10:12 AM

8 Update forum match threads. 2/18/2014 10:04 AM

9 wank to amazing goals Celtic⁶⁹² score. 2/18/2014 9:43 AM

10 Superstition on matchday: drink exactly one beer of a specific brand for each half.
2/18/2014 9:31 AM

11 For home games: walking together with all the other fans from the train station to the stadium, singing the hymn, going to a pub after the game. 2/18/2014 9:17 AM

12 Interact with fans on reddit.com/r/acmilan 2/18/2014 8:54 AM

13 I post a hopeful message for AS Roma on my Facebook status. After the match, I do another post as a short summary either filled with joy or sorrow depending on the game. Either way I always end it with "Forza Roma!" 2/18/2014 8:40 AM

14 No 2/18/2014 8:38 AM

15 No 2/18/2014 8:13 AM

16 Follow on Twitter, read blogs re: Man Utd 2/18/2014 7:27 AM

17 No 2/18/2014 7:18 AM

18 tweet 2/18/2014 7:10 AM

19 none 2/18/2014 7:08 AM

20 Nothing in particular. I generally retweet updates from the team's official Twitter feeds. 2/18/2014 7:01 AM

21 Tweet, interact on reddit 2/18/2014 6:59 AM

22 Am part of an active and close knit Arsenal facebook group, where we discuss matches and issues affecting the club. Also used to go on Twitter and tweet inane football jokes. If I'm watching at home I usually try to align my meals with football matches.
2/18/2014 6:48 AM

⁶⁹² Celtic FC is one of two Glasgow-based teams in the Scottish Premiership.

- 23 None 2/18/2014 6:36 AM
- 24 I go to the games 2/18/2014 6:25 AM
- 25 nop 2/18/2014 6:06 AM
- 26 I wear my shirt and sit in my chair with a beer 2/18/2014 6:03 AM
- 27 Wear my teams shirt whilst watching them on TV. I beleive it is lucky. I also tend to tweet about a game whilst watching it. 2/18/2014 5:55 AM
- 28 Tweet, blog, go for an angry run if they lose 2/18/2014 5:48 AM
- 29 Usually just open the match thread on reddit, and check it and comment regularly during the match. 2/18/2014 5:46 AM
- 30 No rituals. Nothing particular I do on matchdays. Watch the draw for the FA Cup on TV. Interact with the team by attending matches, going on internet forums, reading newspaper articles online. Don't tweet. Your survey automatically selected rankings for other teams I don't follow. I only follow one team (which isn't on the list), and I only follow one top-flight league. 2/18/2014 5:39 AM
- 31 Always donate to the salvation army collector outside White Hart Lane⁶⁹³
2/18/2014 5:23 AM
- 32 Because I live away from the stadium, I catch a 3 hour bus to the stadium, go to the pub, watch the game then catch the bus back. 2/18/2014 5:17 AM
- 33 I jerk off to a picture of the Class of 92 on match days precisely 92 minutes before kickoff. 2/18/2014 5:16 AM
- 34 No 2/18/2014 4:51 AM
- 35 i message my friends in a group chat 2/18/2014 4:39 AM
- 36 / 2/18/2014 4:34 AM
- 37 no 2/18/2014 4:32 AM

⁶⁹³ White Hart Lane is the home stadium for Tottenham Hotspur, located in North London.

- 38 Counting remaining hours until kick-off. Trying to get tickets for Weserstadion⁶⁹⁴, if possible 2/18/2014 4:32 AM
- 39 I follow the social media surrounding the games 2/18/2014 4:28 AM
- 40 wear my shirt (sometimes under my other shirt) never bet on them 2/18/2014 4:28 AM
- 41 Lucky socks before a big game. I follow the club on Twitter but rarely tweet myself. I am a moderator of my club's subreddit. 2/18/2014 4:17 AM
- 42 A joint before a match and at half time 2/18/2014 4:12 AM
- 43 N/A 2/18/2014 4:04 AM
- 44 Not really. 2/18/2014 4:04 AM
- 45 Wear the shirt on match day and hope for the best 2/18/2014 4:02 AM
- 46 I tweet as I watch the game. 2/18/2014 3:56 AM
- 47 tweet all the time during games. follow facebook/Chelsea tv/all sorts. follow players on twitter etc. wear lucky shirts when going to/watching important matches. sit in lucky seat. drink beer. 2/18/2014 3:50 AM
- 48 Read as much about them. Follow them on twitter, FB, Instagram, etc. 2/18/2014 3:18 AM
- 49 I tweet, and I frequent an independent internet forum. 2/18/2014 3:17 AM
- 50 Visit forums for matchday threads and interact while the match is still in progress. Stand up right in front of the TV during squeaky bum time. 2/18/2014 2:50 AM
- 51 Have some pre-match banter on Twitter before kickoff. 2/18/2014 2:36 AM
- 52 Follow news on them 2/18/2014 2:30 AM
- 53 Drive 5 hours to the stadium. 2/18/2014 2:30 AM
- 54 I usually make .gifs of different events from whatever livestream I'm watching and post them on the Match Threads in /r/soccer and /r/fcbayern for people to see. I like to let

⁶⁹⁴ The Weserstadion is home stadium Bundesliga team Werder Bremen.

people who can't see the game themselves be able to see more than just goals and shots on goal. 2/18/2014 2:23 AM

55 Go to the pub before the match 2/18/2014 1:55 AM

56 I have to wear the jersey. Otherwise we are fucked. 2/18/2014 1:41 AM

57 I always have to do housework on weekends when I watch a game or else my wife gets annoyed with me. I typically mow the lawn if we lose, just a habit I guess. 2/18/2014 1:28 AM

58 I used to blog about AC Milan 2/18/2014 12:27 AM

59 I wake up to watch matches on weekends. Usually I wake up just before kickoff, so I watch from my living room in pajamas with my laptop open. If it's a United match, my husband will often watch with me - I will talk to him about it, but also gchat and fbchat and tweet friends who are watching from other countries (the UK and Singapore). I am part of two Facebook groups of Man United fans and we will often post thoughts on how the match is going, unless we are meeting up in real life. Often when I hear the stadium songs from home, I will sing along - I'm pretty good at making them out after 25 years. When watching Barcelona, I usually have to stream because the channel that carries la Liga is not available on my cable provider. (I miss when it was on ESPN.) I will usually gchat with a friend or two in Spain, and tweet other Barca supporters - I use Twitter much more to follow Barcelona compared to Man United, where I use Facebook more. 2/18/2014 12:16 AM

Survey 4 Responses:

1 tweet about the game 2/24/2014 9:39 PM

2 Crystal Quartz for good luck 2/24/2014 9:38 PM

3 I try to always wear my team's jersey on match days, and I usually tweet during games, interacting with fans around the world. Outside of match days, I mostly tweet news about my team, occasionally taking part in podcasts. 2/24/2014 9:38 PM

4 I tweet with my friend about lineups. I primarily follow USA National Men's team soccer while staying abreast of where the national team players play and the top European teams. 2/24/2014 9:35 PM

5 No 2/24/2014 9:34 PM

- 6 None 2/24/2014 9:16 PM
- 7 I have an Irish coffee for Man U⁶⁹⁵ matches 2/24/2014 9:13 PM
- 8 None 2/24/2014 9:11 PM
- 9 nothing really - other than cheering and hating the opponent 2/24/2014 9:10 PM
- 10 None- I just watch matches. 2/24/2014 9:08 PM
- 11 I used to be a part of their online club; eventually realized it was an effective way of "supporting." 2/24/2014 9:05 PM
- 12 none 2/24/2014 9:03 PM
- 13 Tweet with fellow fans 2/24/2014 8:56 PM
- 14 None. 2/24/2014 8:37 PM
- 15 No rituals at all, but I always write intensively emotional updates on facebook before, during and after a game (mainly because there is always a VERY long gap between international matches, unlike club teams who play at least once a week) 2/24/2014 8:28 PM
- 16 Nothing special 2/23/2014 1:41 PM
- 17 car bombs at the local pub 2/22/2014 11:26 PM
- 18 I tweet, cry with other fans on tumblr 2/22/2014 4:33 PM
- 19 I blog about them on tumblr, and I have many Schalke fans as FB friends, so I write there as well. On tumblr it's mostly fangirling - posting pictures, "crying" over them, I used to live blog or live tweet during matches but it distracted me and most of the people I used to it with are either gone or I don't really like them anymore. On fb it's a bit more "decent" what I write, a lot of love declarations and jokes. Now during games I usually WhatsApp with my best friend even though she's not a Schalke fan (she kinda dislike us, but it's really fun). I get the official magazine, I follow some players on FB and replay reply to their post. I don't have any ritual, but I rarely wear the jersey at home cause I believe it is bad luck. 2/22/2014 11:12 AM

⁶⁹⁵ Manchester United

- 20 I don't wear the jersey on matchdays. I don't tweet to the team, but I tweet about the game quite a fair bit (especially when I'm angry). Since I live so far away I can't go to games, so my interaction with them involves me trawling their videos and post match interviews etc. on Youtube, following their social media etc. 2/21/2014 9:49 AM
- 21 Attend a few games live, but mostly cheer/scream with the rest of the family at home. 2/20/2014 8:18 PM
- 22 I am on LiveJournal, Twitter, Google+, Tumblr - do not run any blog or site, but try to participate as best I can, at least by commenting. 2/19/2014 12:54 PM
- 23 I attend the matches with family, season ticket for 12 years, that's the ritual, draw days is the stupidest thing I've heard. You take it as it comes. No, No 2/19/2014 3:12 AM
- 24 Wear jerseys to school on or before United match days. I wear top all day if we win, take it off immediately if we lose. 2/18/2014 11:14 PM
- 25 Wear my jersey while watching games (or if I have other obligations, subtly wearing team colors). I almost always have a meal during the match. Sometimes follow Twitter, especially during halftime. 2/18/2014 8:26 PM
- 26 None 2/18/2014 8:20 PM
- 27 Comment on Reddit match thread 2/18/2014 7:31 PM
- 28 1) Wear my scarf on matchdays 2) Drink a shot of tequila every time a certain player (Chicharito) scores. 2/18/2014 7:06 PM
- 29 I usually browse the club's megastore before heading into the stadium 2/18/2014 7:02 PM
- 30 On match days I watch the press conference, build up on tv, and engage with fellow supporters on Twitter and of course, with friends in real life. 2/18/2014 5:14 PM
- 31 Twitter 2/18/2014 4:43 PM
- 32 None. 2/18/2014 4:17 PM
- 33 None of it. I actually just watch games and love to hear tv shows about soccer (we have a lot of them here in Brazil). 2/18/2014 4:07 PM
- 34 I like Oliver Giroud's latest Instagram post 2/18/2014 3:10 PM

35 Tweet, follow the club but not individual players, live tweet the game and discuss tactics. 2/18/2014 1:38 PM

36 I play football before and after games! 2/18/2014 1:36 PM

37 I wear my jersey on match days. Watch all draws. I tweet before and after the game. I am active in the match threads on reddit on both r/soccer and r/realmadrid. 2/18/2014 12:51 PM

38 I created a soccer blog 3 years ago which has expanded into a full website now called TheSoccerDaily.com 2/18/2014 12:35 PM

39 I always wear my soccer jersey and I sit on the left side of couch. 2/18/2014 12:30 PM

40 Tweet and always wear official jersey 2/18/2014 12:17 PM

41 Lucky Sweet Shop on the way to the Emirates⁶⁹⁶ 2/18/2014 12:14 PM

Survey 5 Responses:

1 I tweet during DC United games and talk with my sister on FaceTime while we both watch. 3/1/2014 2:01 AM

2 Most match days I have to, unfortunately, work, so I tend to avoid all media and watch matches after work on dvr or via internet. When I can watch matches live I tend to either watch with a good friend of mine who is from Liverpool if I can. If not, I tend to sequester myself alone. I get super tense and can't focus on anything else. I tend to yell and scream at the tv, players, refs, etc. I'm not a fun person to watch a match with unless you're on my level as a fan. When I lived in Boston I would go to the Phoenix Landing in Central Square Cambridge to watch the matches with the LFC Boston supporters club (an official LFC supporters club recognized by Liverpool FC). I interact with the team via the internet, several facebook groups, twitter, etc. 2/27/2014 7:57 PM

3 Not very active 2/25/2014 9:41 PM

4 No 2/25/2014 8:53 PM

5 I will post Facebook statuses about certain games 2/25/2014 8:21 PM

6 No 2/25/2014 1:33 PM

⁶⁹⁶ The Emirates is the home stadium for the EPL's Arsenal.

- 7 none 2/25/2014 10:40 AM
- 8 I tweet my thoughts while I watch the matches 2/25/2014 10:12 AM
- 9 Facebook posts, Instagram photos 2/25/2014 9:48 AM
- 10 Tweet and Write. 2/25/2014 9:17 AM
- 11 I write for Beinsports.tv, covering the European leagues, mostly La Liga. I often put my Barca jersey on when I watch their games - I'm a nerd! I also tweet about soccer.
2/25/2014 9:14 AM
- 12 no rituals :) 2/25/2014 9:10 AM
- 13 No 2/25/2014 8:29 AM
- 14 None 2/25/2014 6:13 AM
- 15 N/A 2/25/2014 6:10 AM
- 16 no 2/25/2014 4:02 AM
- 17 Ex-player... Only rituals for my own game 2/25/2014 12:30 AM
- 18 No 2/25/2014 12:18 AM
- 19 None 2/24/2014 11:43 PM
- 20 drink, sing, drink 2/24/2014 11:42 PM
- 21 No 2/24/2014 11:17 PM
- 22 n/a 2/24/2014 11:02 PM
- 23 I Facebook the event as if I am the announcer. I put my Liverpool sweats on and watch the game with my scarf half way around my neck. 2/24/2014 11:01 PM
- 24 I don't wash my jersey until the end of the season 2/24/2014 10:31 PM
- 25 I support them via Social Media such as Twitter and Facebook. I do not have any match day ceremonies for the team. 2/24/2014 10:27 PM
- 26 No 2/24/2014 10:12 PM

French Survey Responses:

1 NA 2/19/2014 8:41 AM

2 Nop 2/18/2014 3:53 AM

3 J'en parle, j'en discute au telephone et pourquoi pas en face avant ou apres un match avec des amis: critiques sur le passe et l'avenir de ses joueurs au sein de l'equipe. Qu'elles sont les chances de pouvoir vaincre l'adversaire; etc... 2/16/2014 12:37 PM

4 rien 2/9/2014 1:00 PM

5 non 2/7/2014 2:42 PM

6 1 aucun- 2 aucun - 3 aucun -4 oui j'echange sur ma page facebook - 8 non
2/7/2014 11:23 AM

7 Rien d'autre que la confiance en la forme de l'equipe 2/7/2014 9:23 AM

8 Non 2/7/2014 6:59 AM

9 Aucun 2/7/2014 3:08 AM

10 Facebook 2/7/2014 2:23 AM

11 no 2/6/2014 7:01 PM

12 Neant 2/6/2014 12:39 PM

13 Assis et les pieds et mains detendus pas croisees 2/6/2014 12:34 PM

14 des publications sur facebook 2/6/2014 12:30 PM

15 tweeter 2/6/2014 11:53 AM

16 NEANT 2/6/2014 11:48 AM

17 pronostisque 2/6/2014 11:46 AM

18 RAS 2/6/2014 11:43 AM

19 non 2/6/2014 11:34 AM

- 20 je fais juste un pronostic rien d autre 2/6/2014 11:04 AM
- 21 Rien 2/6/2014 10:42 AM
- 22 JE PRIE À CHAQUE FOIS 2/6/2014 10:07 AM
- 23 Je prie pendant que je regarde le match 2/6/2014 9:37 AM
- 24 Une courte prière pour mon équipe, une bouteille de whisky Grant's Odyssey, seul dans mon salon 2/6/2014 9:37 AM
- 25 invocations des ancêtres avant le match du Bayern de Munich 2/6/2014 9:28 AM
- 26 aucun 2/6/2014 8:39 AM
- 27 NO 2/6/2014 8:35 AM
- 28 juste lire les info 2/6/2014 6:45 AM
- 29 je tweete ou je poste des statuts sur facebook 2/6/2014 5:32 AM
- 30 Je commente le match sur Facebook 2/6/2014 3:12 AM

German Survey Responses:

- 1 Saufen 2/20/2014 11:11 AM
- 2 Nein 2/18/2014 6:52 AM
- 3 Nothing 2/18/2014 2:47 AM
- 4 ich verfolge und kommentiere das Geschehen über Facebook, also über die offizielle Facebook-Page von Werder Bremen. 2/16/2014 11:19 AM
- 5 Ich trage eigentlich immer die gleichen Fansachen an Spieltagen. Meistens gehe ich vorher in der Stadt etwas essen und laufe dann zum Stadion. Ich verfolge meine Mannschaften sowohl über deren Websites, also auch über Twitter. 2/16/2014 7:02 AM
- 6 Take part in various different social media sites, liveblogging matches and reblogging pictures and news on Tumblr, part of fan communities on Livejournal. I go to every live match of my local (professional) football team, that I can. Always wear my jersey on match day even before the match begins. 2/15/2014 5:34 PM

7 Auf meinen Verein bezogen habe ich keine besonderen Rituale. Rituale entwickle ich höchstens während Turnieren, wie Europa-oder Weltmeisterschaft. Dann trage ich immer das gleiche Trikot, wenn Deutschland spielt. Nach einer Niederlage in der Vorrunde wird das Trikot gewechselt. 2/15/2014 4:39 PM

8 Ungeduscht verliert!; Foren-Diskussion mit anderen Usern über Livemeldungen des Vereins über Facebook/Twitter/Pressekonferenz, Twittern nur bei Livespielen und Kommentierung von Spielsituationen. 2/7/2014 7:25 AM

9 Rituale: muss alles fertig machen, was ich bis zum nächsten Tag erledigt habe muss; twittere regelmässig über meine Mannschaft und lese jeden Artikel über meine Mannschaft der mir in die Hände fällt. 2/5/2014 3:58 PM

10 Am Spieltag gibt es immer Kaffee/Tee/irgendetwas aus einer Bayerntasse (und ohne wirklich abergläubisch zu sein, wenn ich es vergesse, bringt das meistens Pech). 1/30/2014 12:10 PM

Spanish Survey Responses:

1 nungun ritual en especifico, alentar al equipo, hacer comentarios a cerca del equipo, y si gana lo publico en facebook para los hinchas rivales. 2/24/2014 9:08 PM

2 facebook post 2/5/2014 7:04 PM

3 Facebook and tweeter 2/5/2014 3:21 PM

4 no 1/31/2014 2:13 PM

5 no 1/31/2014 8:53 AM

6 sigo el perfil en facebook de mi equipo 1/30/2014 2:55 PM

7 Siempre que juega en casa voy al estadio. Si la hora me lo permite, intento quedar una hora antes por los alrededores del estadio para tomar algo con amigos. Si el partido es importante (y fuera de casa) lo veo SOLO en mi casa. 1/30/2014 2:25 PM

8 a veces escribo en twitter comentarios durante el partido 1/30/2014 1:15 PM

9 No 1/30/2014 12:54 PM

10 Nada 1/30/2014 9:40 AM

- 11 Cerveza antes del partido 1/30/2014 6:58 AM
- 12 No 1/30/2014 2:01 AM
- 13 whatsapp en grupo de amigos 1/30/2014 1:41 AM
- 14 Twitter 1/29/2014 7:27 PM
- 15 no 1/29/2014 7:02 PM
- 16 Quedar siempre con los mismos amigos en el mismo lugar y beber la misma cerveza.
1/29/2014 6:35 PM
- 17 No 1/29/2014 5:56 PM
- 18 No hago nada 1/29/2014 4:58 PM

Question Ten: What is one soccer moment or memory that stands out for you? Where were you? What was the match? Tell me about that moment or memory.

Survey 1 Responses:

- 1 When Landon Donovan scored the winning goal vs. Algeria in the 2010 World Cup.
1/31/2014 10:05 PM
- 2 The 2007 Real Madrid Liga Championship, reading a live feed from the web, and then watching the replay over and over and over again. 1/31/2014 9:05 PM
- 3 champs league with my dad at emirates vs porto, amazing Nasri (!) goal 1/31/2014 4:54 PM
- 4 Chelsea winning the Champions League in 2011. I was at a party in Paris. It was Chelsea vs. Bayern Munich. Complete underdogs, depleted squad, showed great resilience, and managed to win on penalties. 1/31/2014 4:29 PM
- 5 The US vs Ghana match in the 2010 World Cup, when Ghana won. I was watching in a pub in London with my husband, who was routing for the US. I was supporting Ghana and texting with an American friend, also supporting Ghana. I think there was a bit of a spat. But Ghana prevailed! The crowd was on fire. Lovely memory. 1/31/2014 4:20 PM

6 As an American fan, I was in Lyon for a UEFA Champion's League knockout round match in 2009. It was incredible to see the fan support and absolute invasion of the town center by Barca supporters. The game was everywhere. I had never experienced any sporting event like it before on such a large scale. 1/31/2014 3:29 PM

7 standing room only at Trinity Hall when Donovan scored against Algeria. All the away trips are rememberable (sorta). 1/31/2014 2:44 PM

8 I watched the French win the 1998 World Cup over Brazil from my bed, alone, with a newborn, in the Paris suburbs. Was surprised to hear lots of noise outside afterwards, since I was not in the middle of a city. But strange celebrating in my adopted country with only a baby by my side. 1/31/2014 2:21 PM

9 One of the first matches that got me excited about watching soccer was Manchester United vs. Manchester City in the Community Shield in 2011. I was at home watching on television. Nani scores a game winner in extra time and I got really excited and that sparked me to want to pay more attention to soccer. 1/31/2014 1:52 PM

10 Ronaldinho single-handedly dismantling Real Madrid at the Santiago Bernabeu during an El Classico⁶⁹⁷ game between Barcelona and Real Madrid 1/31/2014 9:04 AM

11 Watching Usa vs Mexico at the cotton bowl Claudio Reyna hit a corner off his shoulder that would have won it and it hit the cross bar the crowd was silent as it was mostly mexico supporters. every one on there feet gasping it was fantastic. 1/31/2014 7:44 AM

12 Team USA qualifying for the quarter finals in the 2002 world cup after defeating one of the favprites Portugal in their opening group game. Then going on to defeat Mexico 2-0 in the round of 16 to reach the quarter finals. It was a big deal because nobody even gave team USA a chance of getting out of their first round group. I was in high school at the time and watched

⁶⁹⁷ *El Classico* is the name given to any matches between the two dominant clubs in Spain: Barcelona and Real Madrid.

the entire match from home at around 3AM in the morning as the game was taking place in

Korea. 1/31/2014 12:42 AM

13 One? That is difficult. Probably the moment in the 2010 playoff run for FC Dallas where Eric

Avila scored an 88th minute winner. Great game, and an amazing goal to cap it off. I knew we

had a special team that year when I saw that. 1/31/2014 12:33 AM

14 Mex vs USA in olympics. I was visiting Mexico looking for a home to move to from USA. My husband is Mexican and we were with his whole family. I was cheering both teams on 1/30/2014 11:59 PM

15 Going to Women's World Cup in Portland in 1999 for 3 games, with family who traveled from across the country to be there. My brother and sister had both played with Kristine Lilly, who was a starter on that national team, in high school. World Cup (men's or women's) is still my favorite to watch and it often falls during our family summer camping vacation so we sneak out to uncrowded bars and make them put it on for us. I also follow the Portland Timbers where my brother and sister live. 1/30/2014 10:10 PM

16 Watching a uefa semi in Madrid in mid 80s at the Bernabeu! 1/30/2014 9:34 PM

17 When I was a kid, my family visited Italy for a week during the 1994 World Cup. For the two wins Italy recorded while we were there, we would hear people yelling and running through the streets in celebration. Because of this, my most memorable soccer moment was Roberto Baggio's missed penalty kick in the World Cup final. Baggio was like Superman to me at the time, and I could not conceive of his failure. It was a great shock, my first truly devastated moment as a sports fan. It was painful to watch the highlights the next day, to see Baggio's miss played over and over. 1/30/2014 9:00 PM

18 Beating Bayern in the CL Final 1/30/2014 7:36 PM

19 Zidane's headbutt; Donovan's goal against Algeria 1/30/2014 7:17 PM

20 European cup triumph in Munich, 2012. I travelled over with my best mate and we spent 4 days in the beautiful Bavaria. The best couple of day of my life.

1/30/2014 6:45 PM

21 In 2013 when Kenny Cooper⁶⁹⁸ scored the game winner against Houston.
1/30/2014 6:21 PM

22 When Brazil lost to Italy in the '82 World Cup. I was ten years old and it was the first time I cried over sports. First tangible evidence of my passion for the beautiful game.
1/30/2014 4:22 PM

23 2010 MLS Cup final, George John's own goal. We'd played so well up to that point and one moment of dumb luck ruins the hard work of a whole season. I was at home watching on TV. 1/30/2014 3:03 PM

24 Liverpool in 2005 CL final against Milan in Istanbul 1/30/2014 2:19 PM

25 My best soccer memory was seeing Germany play here in the States against Ecuador. I'm German and the team has been basically part of our family since day one. It was amazing to see my favorite national team play and see many of my favorite players. It's a once in a lifetime event and while I'd love to see them again, I'm sure it'll be in Germany and not my own state! 1/30/2014 1:31 PM

26 United States World Cup. Landon Donovan's extra time goal to win and put us through group play. I was at a family cookout and we were all huddled around the TV. It was the most memorable soccer moment of my life! 1/30/2014 1:29 PM

27 First time I left America I went to Germany. Everyone loved some guy named Michael Ballack. When I got home I fired up my play station and found him on Bayern Munich. That is how Bayern Munich became to be my team. 1/30/2014 1:22 PM

28 Arjen Robben's goal against Dortmund that won us the Champions League! I was at home watching with my parents. 1/30/2014 1:21 PM

29 In 2009 I was in a pub in York and was watching Liverpool vs. Manchester Untd. and watch Fernando Torres, Xavi Alonso, Gerrard,⁶⁹⁹ and Kuyt⁷⁰⁰ beat United, 2-1 if I recall correctly. It was then I feel in love w/ Liverpool. 1/30/2014 1:20 PM

⁶⁹⁸ Cooper

⁶⁹⁹ Steven Gerrard played for Liverpool for seventeen years and served as captain for most of that time; Gerrard is a Liverpool native, which made him especially beloved. He now is the head coach for Rangers FC, the other Glasgow-based team.

⁷⁰⁰ Former Dutch international Dirk Kuyt.

30 Watching Bayern win win the CL final in 2013. Loudest scream of joy of my life when Robben dinked the ball in. 1/30/2014 1:16 PM

31 It might be watching the US v Algeria game last world cup in a bar with a bunch of excited screaming people 1/30/2014 1:07 PM

32 We were in Barcelona when they won their championship. That was pretty cool to be in the streets with the entire city celebrating! 1/30/2014 12:51 PM

33 When I was asked to be a youth soccer coach in our town, and I only played soccer once in my life, in college in a pick up game, (badly). I enjoyed being a youth soccer coach for about 4 seasons, on our town leagues, both boy and girl soccer. I read my whole packet of information about how to play soccer, and how to coach soccer. It is an interesting game, because people have to have ball skills and they have to work and think together. I liked listening to the other coaches (men) who really seemed to know how to set up the plays. I liked listening to the Chinese Engineers talk about soccer, because they broke the game down into something like a little machine, in they way they looked at the strategy. I was often the one to lead the kids in stretching. The kids argued with me about the advisability of stretching and warming up before the game. One moment that stood out was watching two particularly talented brothers play on our team. They were about 10 and 12 years old. One brother went on to win the State Cross Country Running Championship. One of the girls I coached went on to win the girls state running championship (a whole girls running team won.) It was nice to see the kids when they were young and how participation in soccer helped them grow into nice young men and women. This survey didn't seem to be limited to talking about professional soccer teams, because mostly I have only watched youth soccer on our city soccer field. We do have a friend from Ireland who played soccer professionally for Ireland. Then he moved to Denver, Colorado and now he is a College Professor . When ever we go to visit him, he always has a soccer game on his big screen T.V. The man who lives across the street for us grew up playing professional soccer in England, and then he moved to the U.S. to play for our short lived MN Kicks soccer team. I saw them play once before the franchise went under. Now, I mostly talk to this man about birds when I see him at the mailbox. His soccer coach from England used to take the 16 or 17 year old kids on birdwatching trips when they weren't playing soccer. That is how he learned so much about birdwatching. 1/30/2014 12:47 PM

34 When I was asked to be a youth soccer coach in our town, and I only played soccer once in my life, in college in a pick up game, (badly). I enjoyed being a youth soccer coach for about 4 seasons, on our town leagues, both boy and girl soccer. I read my whole packet of information about how to play soccer, and how to coach soccer. It is an interesting game, because people

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35 Want to say the US-Algeria match in 2010, but as the rest of the survey focused on club teams, I have to say FCDallas-Vancouver Whitecaps on September 15, 2012. My girlfriend and I were sitting in the Beer Garden at FCDallas Stadium and FCD desperately needed a win to stay alive in the playoff race. Many near opportunities were denied, including a disallowed goal in the 90th for offsides, and as the stoppage clock reached into the sixth minute(!) with the final whistle mere moments away, it happened. FCD had one last chance with a late corner which was initially cleared away, but came down to the chest of Julian de Guzman who volleyed a rocket

into the top left corner to win the match. Pandemonium erupted in the stadium as beer showers were shared by all! 1/30/2014 12:33 PM

36 The game that won the USL Championship for MN Thunder which was interrupted by weather and we had to crowd into the NSC bldg during the delay 1/30/2014 12:10 PM

37 The game that won the USL Championship for MN Thunder which was interrupted by weather and we had to crowd into the NSC bldg during the delay 1/30/2014 12:10 PM

38 Watching Landon Donovan score in the 2010 World Cup. I was in my living room, with my brother. The moment was just simply electric. 1/30/2014 11:57 AM

39 Bayern winning the Champions League last year against BVB. I was at home jumping up and down like mad with my brother. 1/30/2014 11:43 AM

40 My first FC Dallas match sitting down in the Beer Garden with the Dallas Beer Guardians. The opponent was LA Galaxy and the goal keeper for the Galaxy was Josh Saunders. This match happened to be Saunder's first match back from rehab and I remember the Guardians started chanting "Don't snort the line!" at him. At that moment I knew I was home. 1/30/2014 11:22 AM

41 Robben goal in the 89th minute 1/30/2014 11:11 AM

42 Barcelona vs Real Madrid, although I had about 20 moments that came to my head. I was home, a La Liga match, Barcelona won 5-0! It was the first El Classico that I watched with two friends, the others i watched by myself because no one else that I knew off followed the way I did. 1/30/2014 11:11 AM

43 My first time at a live match, when my team in Honduras lost the final in PKs to our rival. I was in the Tegucigalpa stadium, with my grandmother. I felt terrible for about a week afterwards, 1/30/2014 10:46 AM

44 I was at the Strutton Arms in Westminster during the 2006 World Cup when Portugal edged

England after the Rooney red card. I had been watching football for a while with some friends, though the level of passion during that game was at a different level. This old man was crying, two Portuguese fans had to run out of the pub, and everyone was gutted. I'm not sure why that moment came to mind, but it's what I think of any time I think about watching the sport.

1/30/2014 10:34 AM

45 The top team that I support, actually, is the Maryland Men's Soccer Team. I have so many stories, moments, and memories about this team I couldn't possibly choose one without leaving out others that are wicked good. Probably my best memory is winning the NCAA National Championship in 2008. The venue was Pizza Hut Park (FC Dallas) in Frisco, Texas. We beat UNC in the final to cap the greatest season in the history of college soccer, rushed the field, hugged the coach and players, got chased off, flew back to Maryland, couldn't find my car in the BWI parking lot, got a ride randomly from one of the player's parents, partied that night with the players in College Park until 5 AM, went to school the next day 3 hours late having missed the first four periods and in the middle of Baccalaureate Mass (most important mass of the year), reeking of alcohol, and somehow not getting fired. And that only scratches the surface of that night. Can tell the whole thing in person if desired. Once, it took me an hour to tell it haha.

1/30/2014 10:14 AM

46 An international friendly in Guatemala City, Guatemala (Guatemala v. Honduras). I was there studying for the summer and went to the match with some fellow Americans but we were immediately befriended by Guatemalans who were so excited that we were at the match.

1/30/2014 10:06 AM

47 I had been watching in a general way for a few years with friends who were supporters of another club, without picking a side. I remember becoming more and more a fan of my team, until I noticed the break while watching with those friends while they watched their team.

1/30/2014 9:41 AM

48 It was the final match of the group stage for The United States at the 2010 World Cup. I watched the entire game at home until I had to leave for work. I was able to watch the final 10 minutes on my phone and when Landon Donovan scored in the 93rd minute, I got out of my car in my workplace's parking lot and ran around screaming. I was wearing my USA jersey and I remember taking it off and twirling it around my head as I ran.

1/30/2014 9:29 AM

49 Champions league final in Istanbul. I remember racing home from school to flip the game on. Liverpool went down 3-0 before halftime and I almost turned the game off. I'm glad I didn't because they pulled off the most epic of comebacks to win the champions league final in penalty kicks after scoring 3 goals in the second half. Gerard lifting the

cup over his head w/ red confetti exploding everywhere will be etched in my memory for a long time to come. 1/30/2014 9:24 AM

50 my first National team cap was USA v Mex in World Cup qualifying in Columbus. 1/30/2014 9:06 AM

51 When Chelsea won the champions league, I was sitting at home by myself. When Drogba hit that final pk I went running around the house in joy. 1/30/2014 8:51 AM

52 It was the 1990 World Cup and we lived in Vicenza, Italy as my father was in the Army. I hadn't been into soccer previously, but saw all of the excitement from the Italians and thought that if they could be that into a sport then it has to be great. I followed the entire World Cup on Italian TV, loved the passion in the announcers and helped me learn Italian too. West Germany won that year and I was so happy as they were the team I had been rooting for. I have been hooked on soccer ever since. Two things I most remember about that World Cup is the fun sound machines and noisiness of the fans all summer long and that the local Italians burned their flag in the streets when they lost, being a military kid I was shocked by this action but also intrigued by the passion that they held in regards to a sport event. It was a very impressionable moment for me. 1/30/2014 8:50 AM

53 Champions League 2nd leg Arsenal v AC Milan. Arsenal lost the first leg 4-0 and went up 3-0 in the first half before running out of steam. The most exciting 45 minutes I can remember. 1/30/2014 8:30 AM

54 When Portugal beat North Korea in the World Cup 2010 7-0. I am an international affairs student and loved the symbolism behind the match. 1/30/2014 8:22 AM

55 World Cup games are what I follow consistently, what stands out to me was the national pride displayed when I visited Ireland during the 2002 games. 1/30/2014 7:51 AM

56 when Sporting KC won the MLS cup 2013 season ticket holder in the stands 1/30/2014 7:44 AM

57 I was in Peru when Manchester United played Barcelona in the Champions League final. I remember vividly the remarkable header scored by Messi when he lost his boot. 1/30/2014 7:11 AM

58 New Zealand drawing all three matches in the World Cup. Proud moment 1/30/2014 6:20 AM

59 Chelsea beating Barcelona in Camp Nou to advance to the Champions League. I was on a plane coming back from Houston 1/30/2014 5:25 AM

60 Ireland vs Germany in 2002 world cup, Robbie Keane scored in the 92nd minute to get the draw 1/30/2014 5:15 AM

61 Champions League Final 2005 - "The Miracle of Istanbul" 1/30/2014 4:12 AM

62 Defeating Malaga in extra time in Champions League. Jumping up and down shouting in the living room. 1/30/2014 3:33 AM

63 France 3-0 Brazil in WC final 1998. I was living in France at that point. Crazy times even for a Brit 1/30/2014 2:12 AM

64 Watching Barcelona beat Manchester United last year. Although I support United more so over Barcelona, it was a no-brainer when the Spanish club buried United 3-0. 1/30/2014 12:16 AM

65 Watching Chelsea win Champions League while in Istanbul. 1/29/2014 11:42 PM

66 An away game, Notts County v Luton Town, a little over a decade ago. Both clubs were in big financial trouble, County faced the possibility of it being their last game. The fans of the two clubs came together to donate money to both clubs, there was a joint display on the pitch, fans from all over England came in their own teams' colors to support these two clubs in their bids for survival. Even the star player of Notts County's biggest rivals presented a personal donation to their club. It wasn't a glorious moment and I can't even remember the result, but it was one of the few times it became apparent that the 'football family' is actually a real thing. 1/29/2014 11:18 PM

67 FC Dallas is fighting for a playoff spot and we need the win desperately. Julian De Guzman catches a one-hop volley and scores the goal deep into stoppage time. 1/29/2014 10:39 PM

68 Manchester Derby, United vs City, 2011, Wayne Rooney's scissor kick. One of the most impressive moments in football...next to that time Beckham netted it from midfield 1/29/2014 10:36 PM

69 Being in Paris for opening of 1998 World Cup 1/29/2014 10:34 PM

70 Going to football with my dad and grandad, seeing my team win the league. Standing up at Hampden Park⁷⁰¹, Scotland, with 90,000 other people. 1/29/2014 10:22 PM

71 My club is Tottenham Hotspur. The day I decided to support them was a game in 2009 when striker Jermain Defoe scored 5 goals in 33 minutes. I've never seen such a spectacular display again. 1/29/2014 8:53 PM

72 Gareth Bale's Champions League second-half hat trick against Inter Milan. I was at Brit's Pub in MPLS. It was most likely the single most awe-inspiring performance by one player I've seen. The rest of the team were shit, but Bale destroyed Maicon. Oh man, what a display from the Welshman. 1/29/2014 8:48 PM

73 My best friend and I travel 24hrs via bus to Guadalajara to watch the Super Clasico Chivas vs America at Estadio Jalisco, after the win we went to celebrate the win at la Minerva with the supporter groups and other fans. One of the best experiences of my life! 1/29/2014 8:15 PM

74 2010 MLS Cup final where FC Dallas lost in overtime to the Colorado Rapids. I was watching it at a packed pub with other friends. The loss was heartbreaking. 1/29/2014 8:00 PM

75 Bayern winning the Champions League last year! I was at my parent's house where we had a small party for the match, watching with our soccer fans. 1/29/2014 7:16 PM

76 Rangers making the UEFA cup final. I was on my own and I was overjoyed. Helicopter Sunday in the SPL was spent with friends in a bar in Dallas, and I have never seen a match unfold like that. The raw emotion so far from home was amazing. 1/29/2014 7:13 PM

77 American Outlaws March to the match for semifinals of the gold cup. 1/29/2014 6:55 PM

78 US beating Spain during the 2009 Confederations Cup. I was watching the game with my son at home. An incredible moment for US Men's Soccer. 1/29/2014 6:49 PM

79 I am from the US, but got to see an Arsenal match in London vs. West Brom. Great to see them play in person at the Emirates 1/29/2014 6:04 PM

80 Rooney bicycle v. city 1/29/2014 5:35 PM

⁷⁰¹ Hamden Park is the official home of Scottish Football; it is used for all of Scotland's international home matches. In 2021, it was one of the host venues for the European Championships.

81 Obviously, as a good Manchester United fan, the Treble stands out. It's difficult to pick out what exactly about it REALLY stands out since there's so much. Winning the UEFA Championships League stands out because of the miracle goals in the 90th minute of two different games. Also because it was the first time they had one the European title since 1968. It was also represented the famed youth academy class of '92 (Scholes, Giggs, Beckham, Neville, and Butt) coming good SO soon. It was a bridge moment of the past 10 years of the club becoming a top club in England again, to suddenly being a top club in Europe and with a very bright future ahead. 1/29/2014 4:38 PM

82 World Cup, Mexico, 1970 Brazil won the World Cup for the third time. I was very young, but never forgot the major celebration after (and all the free ice cream!!)
1/29/2014 4:15 PM

83 I will always remember Holger Badstuber's first goal against Borussia Monchengladbach in the 2009-2010 season. I was watching the match on a stream on my computer. I just remember how excited the rest of the team was for him and as he was one of the new rising stars picked from the youth teams, I was happy to see him make his first Bundesliga goal debut. 1/29/2014 4:14 PM

84 2013 Champions League final 1/29/2014 4:13 PM

85 My favorite soccer moment was the one time we played a home game my senior year of high school. It was the only time we played at the HS football field. It was a night game, under the lights, and the stands were full. It was magical. 1/29/2014 4:06 PM

86 My memory is personal. After failing to make the varsity team my sophomore, I won a spot on the roster the next Fall. After the coach told me I was on the bubble going into a game with a team in a division above us, I responded by scoring the go-ahead goal in what was thus far a 0- 0 deadlock. Although I didn't hear it, my teammates say that coach turned to the bench and said "that's what you call a signing." It was a beautiful memory. I could barely contain my joy. The goal wasn't spectacular--the keeper had saved one shot and the ball took a favorable bounce to me. All it required was a soft chip from about 15-18 yards. The keeper lept up but failed to get a touch on the ball. Seeing the ball hit the net was one of the most relieving and invigorating moments of my life.
1/29/2014 4:03 PM

87 Watching the 2012 CL final in Munich at the Olympic Park (on big screens). That was the largest group I'd ever watched a match with and even though Bayern lost, the entire city seemed to experience the moment together. 1/29/2014 4:01 PM

88 When Brandi Chastain shot the winning goal in the 1999 FIFA Women's World Cup I thought it was the most amazing athletic moment ever. (Granted, I was probably in the

5th grade.) I'll always remember her ripping her shirt off. I had a poster of that team in my bedroom, and Mia Hamm was my favorite player. 1/29/2014 3:44 PM

89 After Bayern won the Champion's League in 2013, I celebrated by joining hundreds of other Bayern fans on Leopoldstraße in Munich; we sang, danced, celebrated with random people and I lead a few rounds of fan chants. 1/29/2014 3:29 PM

90 2011 Champions League Final—watched the game at the Nomad World Pub surrounded by mostly Man U supporters. Had a good time giving each other a bit of stick over the course of the match. I bought the two nearest me a round after the game and we talked about football for some time afterwards. 1/29/2014 3:21 PM

91 Bayern winning the 2013 CL. I was in Munich at a friend's apartment and afterwards, we went down to Leopoldstraße to celebrate. An indescribable moment, honestly. 1/29/2014 2:58 PM

Survey 2 Responses:

1 It is probably an old one; in 1994 I was very new to the game & was watching Spain & South Korea play in WC USA. Spain were ahead 2-0 so I was instinctively rooting for the underdogs...until S Korea equalized and I saw the faces of the Spanish players, & Nadal getting sent off...I found myself crying and then rooting for Spain. I guess it kind of showed me that loyalties/fandom are something you discover within you VS choosing them. 2/17/2014 10:56 AM

2 2006 world cup final, France - Italy, went through every emotion football can offer, I guess. 2/17/2014 9:06 AM

3 winning europa league against Celtic in Sevilla 2/17/2014 7:07 AM

4 Portugal v England - Euro 2004 2/17/2014 4:35 AM

5 There's a few, but I have to pick only one I must go with the way my team (F.C.Porto) won the Portuguese league last season. It was truly epic, no exaggeration whatsoever: everyone was completely convinced Benfica (our fiercest rivals) were going to win the league that year, Porto fans included... until 3 matches before the end of the season. Benfica drew on a home match

everyone had expected them to win easily, and our hopes were revived: the next match was Porto - Benfica. ONLY a victory mattered to us, otherwise Benfica would win the league in the penultimate match of the season in OUR home ground - and that was completely and utterly unacceptable to any Porto fan. Benfica scored early on, Porto drew a few minutes later and then the game went on, goalless.. in the 92nd minute Benfica fans were celebrating (a draw sufficed) and Porto fans were despairing, convinced that that was it. And then Kelvin, our last sub, scored a goal in the 92nd minute; we're a team that's used to winning but you CANNOT imagine the sheer madness that went on in that stadium when that goal happened. Our manager ran around the sideline like a madman, Benfica's coach kneeled down on the pitch completely crushed, fans invaded the pitch, flares were lit, stoppage time was considerably extended because of all that. The match eventually ended with Porto winning 2-1. To win the league we still had to win a last away match - which we did. But the true season decider was that Porto - Benfica match. I was in London at the time, watching the match in a Spanish restaurant with a bunch of other Portuguese fans (of both teams). I never screamed so hard in my life. I'll never forget that match, my hands are shaking again just thinking about it. :)

2/17/2014 3:57 AM

6 1994 World Cup final, Roberto Baggio kicking his penalty over the net. I was at home with my family, and we were ecstatic that Brazil won.

2/16/2014 11:36 PM

7 The first time I saw Mesut Özil play in person and score for Real Madrid in 2011. He was so elegant and lightfooted on the pitch.

2/16/2014 10:32 PM

8 Istanbul 2005- Champions league final. Seeing Liverpool come back from 3-0 down and go on to win was incredible!

2/16/2014 6:39 PM

9 Mexico beating the fuck out of the lame USA 4-2 at the rose bowl when I was there!

2/16/2014 3:00 PM

10 world cup 2010 US was playing, that was the moment that got me hook to the game.
2/16/2014 2:53 PM

11 Stanford Bridge vs. Wigan. Lampard, Robben goals 2/16/2014 11:14 AM

12 2 memories: when I was 10 Chelsea won the FA Cup in 1997 and at the time I was playing with my local team. We were blue so when we saw the magazine cover with Chelsea wearing blue we all automatically became fans. Obviously this grew a lot and developed a lot more meaning over the years but thats always the real reason I support the team today. Jose left Chelsea on my 21st birthday--was far too emotional about it and remember that aspect far better than any other elements of my birthday (being w my friends, the bar, etc) 2/16/2014 9:17 AM

13 Watching the CL defeat to Chelsea in the Olympiastadion in Munich—the happiness when Thomas scored, our being so happy when the penalties started well for us (a stranger and I hugged after Manu's went into the net), and then watching Basti step up and knowing that we would lose...and we did, and how so many of us sunk to the ground in despair. :(2/16/2014 8:48 AM

14 Aston Villa 6-1 Sunderland. 29th April 2013. Best game at Villa Park 2/16/2014 7:37 AM

15 2005 champions league final in Istanbul. 2/16/2014 7:09 AM

16 I remember when LFC played FBK Kaunas⁷⁰² and it was 0:0 I said: don't worry Gerrard will come on and score. And sure he did. It's my first memory.
2/16/2014 5:59 AM

17 Watching Man Utd live 2 years ago and they won 5-0 2/16/2014 2:41 AM

18 NB - with question 6, I have chosen the teams ranked 1 and 2 only. The rest are in the 'default' ranking. I hope that the rest are interpreted as 'blank' in the background, or this will skew your survey results :) 2/16/2014 2:37 AM

19 Watching the Brazil-Belgium match in the 2002 World Cup in school. 2/16/2014 1:04 AM

⁷⁰² FBK Kaunas is a team in the Lithuanian top flight league.

20 Iker Casillas hoisting the world cup for Spain. i was at home watching and felt sick to my stomach that they wouldn't win. holding my breath. sweating. heart racing. begging god for the final whistle to finally blow. and when it did and he sank to his knees and started crying, i started BAWLING. 2/15/2014 10:53 PM

21 As a Manchester City fan, there have been many recently. The FA Cup has given us high and lows, but ofc The Memory is the League title game vs QPR 5/13/2012. I started out watching the game with my brother and father at my parent's home. I left when it was 2-1 to go home and pace, yell and cry in private. I felt sick, I felt like crying, was making plans to watch other shows since I had been soccer/football all day, every day (even now-I'm just soccer crazy). Even when Edin Dzeko scored, I just didn't think we could do it, I mean who'd believe 2 goals in stoppage time? To say I went nuts when Sergio Aguero scored is an understatement! I ran around my house, screaming and jumping around! I don't think I'll ever forget it, where I was or what I was doing. It's one of those *kind* of moments. :D . 2/15/2014 9:51 PM

22 Stamford Bridge, FA cup match, I was 13 and gone to see the match with my dad 2/15/2014 8:04 PM

23 Aaron Ramsey's leg break courtesy of Ryan Shawcross--was streaming it on the computer, it was heartbreaking 2/15/2014 7:31 PM

24 Going to Anfield for a tour while in England, anytime Liverpool beats Man Utd and Everton 2/15/2014 6:31 PM

25 Luis Suarez's handball against Ghana at the 2010 WC. That was my first match, and it was insane. 2/15/2014 6:29 PM

26 One memory that stands out to me was following Atletico Madrid's victory over Real Madrid at the Bernabéu, our first win over them in 14 years, one of our midfielders, Koke, was still on the pitch carrying a flag with him. He walked to the centre of the pitch, placed the Atleti flag on the centre-circle and kissed it. It seemed..fitting, like when a King conquers another country and

sticks his flag into it, or something. For the first time in a very long time we weren't 'the other Madrid' we had won the Copa and Koke, an Atletico Madrid fan and youth player, displayed that sense of hope through his simple celebration. It is the most iconic images of my recent memory of Atletico. 2/15/2014 5:44 PM

27 Winning the Double in 2004. So many matches from that whole season stand out really, but assuming you don't want minute-by-minute description of the entire Bundesliga season, but what was especially great was the match when the title was secured, the cup final, but more than that the Fan-day in Bremen after, with the whole team out celebrating, every fan out celebrating, everyone drunk...I was only 13, so I wasn't drunk, but the whole atmosphere, the team spirit, the togetherness...it was amazing. A slightly more recent one was the Cup semifinal win against Hamburg in 2009. It went to penalties, I couldn't be there live, I was watching on a tiny, blurry, 240px or something stream. We won it, 2-4, but some of the penalties were quite lucky and it's hard to know whether it's in or not on a tiny blurry webstream - when our captain scored I could have kissed him, and our goalie did anyway. We didn't do well in the final, but it was just a relief to get through the semi because we were doing rubbish in the league that year and I wasn't exactly hopeful before the match. Desperate, but not optimistic. It's nice when my boys prove me wrong. ...I've probably rambled enough now. 2/15/2014 5:28 PM

28 Seeing Uruguay vs. France in the last World Cup got me interested, and Uruguay Vs. Ghana cemented my support for them. For the Sounders, it was my first live match, Sounders vs. Barcelona. Became hooked, and now I have Sounders Season Tickets. 2/15/2014 5:06 PM

29 Few. Barcelona - Dynamo Kyiv 0-4 1997 TV, at my home. Ukraine - Russia - 3-2 1998 @stadium. Italy - Brazil World Cup 1994 TV @home. It was famous 2/15/2014 4:51 PM

- 30 United winning the 1999 CL and the 2008 CL. 2/15/2014 4:45 PM
- 31 USWNT in World Cup 1999. I watched it on TV and it still gives me chills when I watch documentaries about it. My parents were there in person, and I'm so jealous.
2/13/2014 10:51 PM
- 32 DC United vs. LA- First Beckham Game. Went with one of my best friends and the crowd was so excited. It was the ultimate feeling, while a DC fan, we were all so excited. It didn't matter who won or lost, but that we were watching history. 2/13/2014
4:28 PM
- 33 Going nuts as FCD scored the second goal on the Galaxy 2/13/2014
11:16 AM
- 34 Arsenal winning the double 1998 2/9/2014 8:56 AM
- 35 promotion at Wembley 2/9/2014 6:54 AM
- 36 Wigan winning the FA Cup last year 2/7/2014 3:49 AM
- 37 Liverpool winning Champions League 2005 at home warching with dad
2/7/2014 1:52 AM
- 38 Wembley x 2 in same season – Bradford City 2/7/2014 12:44 AM
- 39 Last season in the second to last game of the BPL season. Spurs vs. Chelsea, if Spurs won we would finally go top 4. I was in a lecture of over 200 students watching on a live online stream.
When Adebayor scored a ridiculous shot from outside the box I could not contain my excitement and yelled out loud and freaked out in class. My professor stopped lecture and asked me if I was okay and I just nodded. Although we drew it was an incredible match and that experience has always been my favorite as a Spurs fan. 2/6/2014 6:59 PM
- 40 tearing my 1990 England world cup poster off my bedroom wall in a sulk after we lost the semi final on penalties to West Germany 2/6/2014 6:58 PM
- 41 World Cup playoff while in Barcelona...Barcelona dominated and the streets erupted: cheers, gunshots, fireworks 2/5/2014 7:58 PM

42 Last 2 LA Galaxy MLS Cup wins. 2/5/2014 7:46 PM

43 2010 World Cup, USA vs. Algeria, June 18th. To this day I can't even think about this match without tears welling up in my eyes. I am a proud, proud American and I can't think of a day when I have felt prouder as an American. My wife and I started watching the match at our apartment, and sometime during the first half decided we would go to a restaurant and watch the second half while we ate. Too engrossed in the game to cook. So we went to our favorite Vietnamese restaurant, which was close by, where we knew the giant TV in the dining room would be on the game, since they hadn't changed the channel since the World Cup started. We got there, ordered two big bowls of Pho, Vietnamese coffee, and a few beers. Ate quickly, scoreline still 0-0. Then it happened. At the 92nd minute, Dempsey's blocked shot was given a second chance by Donovan's right foot. USA up 1-0 with no time left. The restaurant erupted. We're talking hugs, high-fives, cheers, chants of USA! USA! USA! It was absolute bliss. And this happened in a Vietnamese restaurant, where I, an American with Puerto Rican roots, sat with my Californian wife, surrounded by people of all colors and creeds, all of us united, cheering on our team. That moment changed my life. Whenever I doubt the possibility of a perfect union, one where "E Pluribus Unum" isn't just a nice saying, where anyone, no matter where they're from or what they believe, can be an American through and through, I think of

June 18th 2010. 2/5/2014 7:46 PM

44 I was just getting into soccer at the moment, playing and watching matches. One day I was watching a United vs Chelsea FA Cup match and it was huge they went into penalties. Van Der Sar ended up shutting down Pizzaro, Lampard, and an African player I can't remember. But that was huge! Three blocked penalties in a row and united won at Wembley. It was an inspiration to me to want to play as a keeper.

2/5/2014 7:15 PM

45 I was home when my team Club America played the final against Cruz Azul and we won 2/5/2014 6:40 PM

46 I'm more of a World Cup guy. I support the US Men's National Team and about 4 years ago they played England. The hotel I worked at had a lot of British guests and we all say together to watch the USA/England game at the hotel bar. It got wild. The two teams tied up and after all the trash talking we all celebrated as fans of the sport. Pretty cool. 2/5/2014 6:24 PM

47 Being in the stadium when the Colombian national team won the Copa America in 2011. I had previously been following the team around the country with my dad for the previous month. And they won 1-0 with a goal from Ivan Ramiro Cordoba (my favorite player of all time...he eventually won the Champions League with Inter Milan in 2010). ps: My number one team is listed as "other", but it is Atletico Junior de Barranquilla. 2/5/2014 6:15 PM

48 Went to watch the Salvadoran cup final in San Salvador 2/5/2014 6:14 PM

49 lots ... e.g., first time saw Pele live ...old NASL ... NY Cosmos v. who cares ... just to see a man actually play who I'd been watching on tv in films, etc. ... also Neth/W Ger final Cruyff v Beckenbauer ... just fantatstic soccer ... finally Charity Shield game Liverpool v, Man U at Wembley, the whole atmosphere, the singing, the banter, the scarfs, it was brilliant. 2/5/2014 5:45 PM

50 When I was watching Manchester United vs Manchester City with my buddy one afternoon. It was an important and close match. The moment was the utter shock and awe when Wayne Rooney scored a bicycle-kick on a cross from Nani. It was a perfect form of the acrobatic move. Didn't look like an accident and didn't look sloppy. It was so unexpected and won the game. That moment is what I look forward to in each match, that surprise moment of drama that changes the game. 2/5/2014 5:15 PM

51 Kahn's penalty save vs Valencia. Was watching at home. 2/5/2014 4:35 PM

52 Going to the 2013 MLS Cup semifinals in Kansas City. I went with my mom (we are both diehard soccer fans), and even though she is older in age, we still had an amazing time rooting

for Sporting KC with thousands of others in the freezing temperatures. Being with people I love rooting for the team I love watching the game I love made the memory absolutely perfect! Plus it helped that we won :) 2/5/2014 4:29 PM

53 Winning the Champions League was huge. I was on a business trip and with a British friend of mine who is a West Ham United fan and they were promoted to the EPL on the same day, so we were both very happy. 2/5/2014 4:24 PM

54 Champions league final 2013. At home supporting Bayern as they won the title they truly deserved. 2/5/2014 4:23 PM

55 Saw a match being played in Italy. 2/5/2014 4:03 PM

56 FCB⁷⁰³-Man U 1999, with family at home, it was crap; FCB-Wolfsburg (5-0, 1999) first live match at Olympia Stadion, with family, nice match, still remembering a lot of details; FCB-HSV 2001 indirect free kick by Andersson, amazing feeling; FCB-Valencia 2001, again with family, saved penalties by Kahn, awesome feeling, FCB-Chelsea 2012, with family, crap again; FCB treble season, watched most of it alone, awesome moments 2/5/2014 3:59 PM

57 Women's USA team winning the World Cup in 1999. Not so much Brandi Chastain's act of jubilation, but I remember watching Mia Hamm play and feeling so inspired. She made me want to be a better player. I have a feeling you were going for professional men's soccer, but still, that was my favorite memory. 2/5/2014 3:57 PM

58 Bayern winning the triple last season, all those matches and the elation still gives me goosebumps. Arjen robben. just... Arjen. also Manu. and Jupp. wow, choking up in text, sorry.. 2/5/2014 3:49 PM

59 Champions League Final 2013 2/5/2014 3:47 PM

60 Bayern winning the Champions League last year. I was at a bar with a few Germans and a bunch of random people. Pretty good atmosphere and an amazing ending to the game. 2/5/2014 3:47 PM

⁷⁰³ FC Bayern

61 2012 Bayern loss amongst the fan's in Munich's English Gardens. That really hurt. Also the 2013 win celebrating with one friend back home. Winning regardless of where you are feels better than a loss among hundreds of fans. 2/5/2014 3:43 PM

62 Being able to watch and attend many games during the unforgettable season of Bayern Munich, crowned by the triple title. Champions League, Cup & Bundesliga title. 2/5/2014 3:42 PM

63 Landon Donovan's 91st minute goal in the 2010 world cup. I had just had my first surgery on my ankle and it was the first game I had watched that I really paid attention to and now soccer is all I do. 2/5/2014 3:38 PM

64 The 2001 and 2013 Champions League victories for Bayern Munich. I was in Germany in 2001 and in the US for 2013. 2/5/2014 3:27 PM

65 watching the San Jose Earthquakes live as a child 2/5/2014 3:15 PM

66 USA vs Algeria WC 2010 2/4/2014 6:57 AM

67 Going to see Stuttgart play at home vs Energie Cottbus. My first ever match outside of the United States. The intros to the players were so exciting and even the regular fans were pumped. The whole stadium cheering each and every name as they are introduced onto the big screen and running onto the field. To see real tradition and real passion in a stadium like that was just unreal. The support groups on both ends were enormously loud with their chants. Overall fan interaction was something that was out of this world. 2/3/2014 3:58 PM

68 USA vs. Algeria. I was at a soccer bar in Cedar Rapids, Iowa crammed full with USA fans and we went crazy. I still get shivers... This year, I have tickets to the first 5 games in Rio... can't wait! 2/3/2014 10:37 AM

69 Manchester United vs. Juventus @ the Meadowlands stadium. It was a record crowd for Meadowlands, and Man U. one 4-1 I think. It was Tim Howard's debut in goal for Man U. atmosphere was awesome. 2/2/2014 2:14 PM

70 Watching Man City winning the BPL, Sporting KC winning the MLS cup
2/2/2014 2:09 PM

71 During a trip to Spain the wife and I were able to go see FC Barcelona at Camp Nou. It wasn't a great match since Barca thrashed Osasuna but the atmosphere was amazing.
2/2/2014 7:49 AM

72 European Champions League Final Istanbul in 2005, We were at Fado Irish Pub in Atlanta with several hundred fans. Down 3-0 at halftime, coming back to win. Best. Final. Ever.
<http://youtu.be/JQuK3KHh60Q> 2/2/2014 1:27 AM

73 May 6, 2009--Barcelona vs. Chelsea in the second leg of the Champions League semi-finals. At the time, I was working at a high school as a teacher, so I was in my classroom for the match.

Unable to stream the match due to restrictions on school computers, I was reduced to following the match via ESPN's gamecast. The score was 0-0 going into the second leg, but Chelsea opened the scoring early in the match, giving them a one goal advantage. From then on, I nervously checked back in regularly in between periods of pretending to care what my students

were doing. The situation turned bleak around the 70th minute when a Barcelona player was

sent off with a red card. Even though Barcelona only needed one goal to advance on away

goals, I knew that being a man down, and going up against a Chelsea team masterful at "parking the bus," this would be a difficult task. From that moment on, I just sat at my desk

staring at the computer, waiting for the next update. As the 85th minute approached, a few of

my students figured out what I was doing at my desk, and began to gather curiously behind me.

Knowing me to be a Barcelona fan, they laughed when they realized that Barcelona was a few

minutes from being ousted from the tournament. Soon, I had 8-10 students crammed behind

me awaiting the final whistle. Although I was not paying much attention to what was going on

behind me, I could hear them snickering in the background. "Haha, Barcelona sucks!," and

"Hala Madrid!," they said, to spite me. The 90th minute came and went, and when the gamecast marked the 93rd minute, I knew that the next update would likely mark the

unceremonious end to a fantastic season. But much to my delightful surprise, as the screen refreshed, it read "GOAL Barcelona!" Incredulous, I waited to make sure this was not an error before reacting. Once I knew the goal was official, I had only to wait the final whistle. The whistle came and I jumped up, yelled, and pointed mockingly at the students gathered around me. It took about an hour or so before I was calm enough to sit down again. Good memory. 2/1/2014 7:11 PM

74 World Cup 2006, staying up all night at a friend's house for the final before my first day of work. 2/1/2014 10:56 AM

75 Geez - probably Spain winning the World Cup in 2010. Iniesta's⁷⁰⁴ goal in extra time was a spine chilling moment. I was watching it at home in Dallas and I just lost every piece of my mind on that goal. Spain is a squad I have loved and followed since high school, so it was great to see the squad finally reach the pinnacle. Still makes me teary thinking about it!!
2/1/2014 10:28 AM

76 I was at Boston College, in a common space, watching Argentina-Germany in the 2006 World Cup Quarters. Riquelme was subbed out. Germany scored. Tied. Won the game in PKs. I was so terribly sad. 2/1/2014 5:38 AM

Survey 3 Responses:

1 Seeing Uruguay play live for the first time. World Cup Qualifier against Australia in 2001.

Uruguay won and it was a magical moment for me. I grew up in Australia but never connected

with the football here (I do follow the Australian national team and League closely). Seeing

Uruguay play was like having the pieces fit for the first time. Another one was the Australia vs

Uruguay World Cup Qualifier in 2005 in Australia. Australia won on penalties which was heart

breaking as a Uruguayan but it launched the sport onto the national stage in Australia and without it the sport would not be anywhere near where it is now. The new National League was

⁷⁰⁴ Andrés Iniesta is a former Spanish international who was instrumental in Spain's win at the 2010 World Cup.

launched that year and would have never been so successful if Australia hadn't qualified.
2/18/2014 2:38 PM

2 2005 FA Cup Final 2/18/2014 11:50 AM

3 Manchester United 0 - 1 Leeds United, 3rd January 2010 in the third round of the FA cup. I was watching on TV with my mum and dad, it was amazing! 2/18/2014 11:40 AM

4 CL finals, 2012. Juan Mata takes the corner and Drogba powerfully heads the ball in just past Neuer. I was in my living room by myself when this happened and completely lost it. I never really lose hope in a game (unless we're like 3 goals down with a few minutes left), but I was so close to losing hope before that corner. When Drogba got that ball in the net I celebrated by running around my house for a couple times 2/18/2014 11:28 AM

5 England playing the U.S in South Africa, Gerrard scored and Rob Green let it that terrible goal. 2/18/2014 11:09 AM

6 Arsenal beating Barcelona 2010/11 Champions league. At home watching game on television. 2/18/2014 10:53 AM

7 The wc qualifiers turkey v Portugal when the power was cut. Excellent game or rangers v Zenit St Petersburg in the 08 Europa cup final. 2/18/2014 10:37 AM

8 Colombia beating Uruguay 4-0 2/18/2014 10:37 AM

9 Uefa Cup QF / Hearts 1 – 0 Bayern Munich / Tynecastle Stadium / 28 February 1989.
2/18/2014 10:34 AM

10 Meeting a guy I went to primary school at the match. We all thought he was just pretending to support Man City just to hang out with us but there he was 15 years later when we were playing like shit. 2/18/2014 10:27 AM

11 Oh man oh man, you're lucky this is for professional clubs and not national teams. If not, I've never experienced anything like Honduras 2010's WC qualification. Nothing is comparable to 8 million maniacs out in the streets letting all frustrations out. Honduras' win at Azteca this past

October was pretty crazy too because it signified 2014's qualification (practically), sadly I wasn't in Honduras for this but I did celebrate like crazy with the group of Hondurans that were with me in Texas. Two moments that stand out for me and my professional club team are the 2006-07 Apertura title and 2007 Central American title. The first mention was a national championship that was won over arch-rivals Olimpia. Both teams are from the capital, Tegucigalpa and therefore both finals would be played in the capital. Olimpia is the biggest club in the country and for this game they were about to surpass Real España's record of three consecutive titles. Olimpia has the biggest following around the country and they decided to move their final to San Pedro Sula to secure the record breaking title and to do it in España's back turf. The first final, in Tegucigalpa, ended in a tie with a split stadium. Everything was to be decided in SPS with a big majority of Olimpia fans in the stands. The game recorded one of the highest attendance recorded in the league with at least 4/5 of the stadium being from Olimpia. The 1/5 that supported Motagua consisted of the few Motaguas in SPS, Real Españas that didn't want their record broken, and Marathones that wanted to stomp Olimpia's success. Motagua went to win the game 3-1 in a thrilling game with a late goal just to shatter Olimpia's dreams & hopes. I was at the stadium and being a young teen I felt it was something magical. This title win qualified to the regional tournament, the Copa Interclubes de UNCAF, the Central American tournament that served as qualification for the CONCACAF Champions Cup. In this tournament we were scheduled to play Olimpia after the first round. They failed to get through and Motagua faced the side they defeated them. With two 1-0 wins, Motagua qualified to semifinals against Guatemalan and Central American powerhouse Municipal. Motagua went to beat them easily at home and with fantastic goals they beat them in Guatemala too. The final was against another regional giant, Saprissa whom they defeated 2-1 on aggregate. The grand finale was held in

Honduras where Motagua won 1-0 with a packed blue stadium, something that hasn't been

seen since (well after Pachuca's ConcaChampions game) due to the global economic crisis and

the spike in insecurity that that event brought because of the drug trade.

2/18/2014 10:25 AM

12 1999 champions league final

2/18/2014 10:12 AM

13 Attending Westfalstadion⁷⁰⁵, yellow wall. Lewandowski⁷⁰⁶ scored, craziness ensued.

2/18/2014 10:04 AM

14 1967 - wasn't born yet

2/18/2014 9:43 AM

15 Last game of Arsenal's unbeaten season. Coming back from behind to cement the legend. 2/18/2014 9:31 AM

16 England losing to Portugal on penalties in the 2006 world cup. 2/18/2014 9:18 AM

17 March 2012: Union Berlin - Eintracht Frankfurt 0:4 // Eintracht fans weren't allowed to visit the game (past violence), they still visited and stormed the empty away stand under the

encouraging songs of the Union fans. Great atmosphere in the stadium against the common

enemy (German FA).

2/18/2014 9:17 AM

18 Seeing my team live for the first time, the sounds of the people and the chants are so much

better than watching through a tv

2/18/2014 9:01 AM

19 AC Milan loss to Liverpool in CL final after being up 3-0. Maldini⁷⁰⁷ scored the first goal, it would have been such a joy to win.

2/18/2014 8:54 AM

20 Back in 2010 when Vucinic⁷⁰⁸ played for Roma, I was sitting in my room watching an online

stream and it was late in the game against arch-rivals Lazio. Roma got a free kick just outside

the box and he stepped up to the ball. I remember yelling something along the lines of "Why the

⁷⁰⁵ Westfalstadion is Borussia Dortmund's home stadium.

⁷⁰⁶ Polish international Robert Lewandowski, who plays his club football for Bayern Munich.

⁷⁰⁷ Paolo Maldini, a former Italian international.

⁷⁰⁸ Mirko Vučinić, a former Montenegrin international.

heck isn't Totti⁷⁰⁹ taking this kick?" About 2 seconds later I got my answer: Vucinic bent the ball over the wall into the top corner of the net for the game-winning goal. It was awesome.
2/18/2014 8:40 AM

21 Reading 2 - 2 Chelsea. Adam le Fondre coming on and scoring 2 goals to steal a point from the Blues. Any sort of comeback moment really, perhaps Reading 3 - 2 West Brom where Reading scored 3 goals in the last 10 minutes. Or even Arsenal 7 - 5 Reading, which was just painful.
2/18/2014 8:38 AM

22 Watching the US Women play at a packed pub in MN. It's just so rare to be able to watch football with a large group of people in the US but this was a big city and a big game and it was beautiful. Everyone was shouting and drinking and having a great time.
2/18/2014 8:13 AM

23 Going to my first match at White Hart Lane. Tottenham vs Wolves 5-3
2/18/2014 8:10 AM

24 Tottenham scoring against AC Milan in the Champions League 2011
2/18/2014 8:04 AM

25 Paris 2006, Barca winning the Champions League. At home watching with my family. I remember the crushing feeling as the final whistle blew.
2/18/2014 7:57 AM

26 One that stands out, more so than winning leagues and cups is Rooneys bicycle kick against Man City. I just remember shouting 'Oh My God' out of pure joy and disbelief at what he had just done. He's never one for acrobatics and it took me by surprise at the attempt never mind the sheer class of the finish. I was in my University halls watching the game with some Liverpool fans. I will always remember that goal.
2/18/2014 7:37 AM

27 Italy winning the World Cup
2/18/2014 7:36 AM

28 First time at the stadium, fell in love with the club, i was 5
2/18/2014 7:31 AM

29 SAF last home game in charge
2/18/2014 7:27 AM

⁷⁰⁹ Francesco Totti, a former Italian international.

30 When my team(IFK Göteborg) won the Swedish league in 2007 for the first time in 11 years. I was in the stand. The game was IFK Göteborg - Trelleborg 2/18/2014 7:18 AM

31 2005 FA cup final. Vierra's⁷¹⁰ winning penalty. His last ever kick for the club to win a trophy against Man Utd of all teams. 2/18/2014 7:10 AM

32 Manchester United winning the 08' Champions League final. 2/18/2014 7:08 AM

33 The United States beating Algeria in the 2010 World Cup. I was working at a summer camp, and during the class I was teaching I switched on the game for the kids to watch. When Landon Donovan scored the goal all the kids started cheering. 2/18/2014 7:01 AM

34 Final day at Highbury⁷¹¹, I was there and took part in the celebrations on the pitch afterwards with the legends. 2/18/2014 6:59 AM

35 The 4-4 draw between Newcastle and Arsenal, specifically the 4th Newcastle goal by chieck tiote, a brilliant moment of pure elation 2/18/2014 6:58 AM

36 Nani being wrongly sent off vs Real Madrid at Old Trafford 2/18/2014 6:53 AM

37 Watching Arsenal's invincible run ended by Manchester United 2/18/2014 6:48 AM

38 Winning the league in 2012. 2/18/2014 6:25 AM

39 Iniesta's goal against chelsea in chempions league semi final 2/18/2014 6:06 AM

40 2012 Champions League semi final Barcelona v Chelsea. I was at home watching and Fernando Torres scored the goal that put Chelsea over the line to beat one of the greatest teams that have even walked onto a pitch. The commentator, Gary Neville for Sky Sports screamed. It was electric! 2/18/2014 6:03 AM

41 Man City stealing the title away from Man Utd in 2012. I was travelling Australia at the time and watching it at a friends house in Brisbane. Me and my firend stayed up till 3am to watch it. He was a neutral but ended up going for city. I remember thinking that

⁷¹⁰ Former French international Patrick Vieira..

⁷¹¹ Highbury Stadium was Arsenal's home stadium prior to the construction of the Emirates.

United had it in the bag and being happy. Then in a space of a minute i was in a crumpled heap on the floor as Aguero scored that goal. My friend was jumping and shouting all around me. 2/18/2014 5:55 AM

42 Beckham's sending off for England against Argentina, '98. I was a child. I cried. 2/18/2014 5:49 AM

43 Going to Anfield⁷¹² for a match for the first time, hearing YNWA and everyone singing, then everyone singing again a few minutes later the first time Suarez⁷¹³ scored. 2/18/2014 5:48 AM

44 WC 2010 Final, more specifically Robben⁷¹⁴ missing those chances and then finally Iniesta scoring. I was at home watching on the TV with friends. 2/18/2014 5:46 AM

45 Going to Wembley for the first time to see Crystal Palace win the play-off final vs Watford (2013) 2/18/2014 5:39 AM

46 Watching Spurs⁷¹⁵ beat Arsenal 5-1. I was at a pub with my parents. The atmosphere was Incredible. 2/18/2014 5:23 AM

47 Swansea beating Reading in the Play off final. 2/18/2014 5:17 AM

48 1999 Confed. Cup Final: Mexico vs Brazil. Don't remember much other than watching it with my uncles. We had fun that day. 2/18/2014 5:16 AM

49 Arsenal losing the 2006 CL final, first and only time I've cried because of football. 2/18/2014 4:51 AM

50 The Arsenal Invincibles 2/18/2014 4:39 AM

51 Ireland in the 2002 World Cup; losing the penalty shootout to Spain 2/18/2014 4:38 AM

52 Genk winning the Belgian cup in 2013 2/18/2014 4:34 AM

⁷¹² A friend is Liverpool's home stadium.

⁷¹³ Uruguayan international Luis Suárez

⁷¹⁴ Former Dutch international Arjen Robben, who was playing for Bayern Munich at the time.

⁷¹⁵ Tottenham Hotspur.

53 It was 2009. UEFA-Cup game Bremen against AC Milan. I was 17 at the time and just following the game via liveticker and when Claudio Pizarro scored twice and made 2-0 a 2-2 I was totally freaked out. Definitely the most impressive game I ever followed even if it just was a liveticker. 2/18/2014 4:32 AM

54 Belgian Cup final win (KVC Westerlo, 2001). I was 11 years old at that time, but it is the only silverware my team has ever won and I won't forget that moment any time soon. 2/18/2014 4:28 AM

55 Gareth Bale hat trick against Inter Milan in the champions league, At the pub 2/18/2014 4:28 AM

56 First match at our new stadium in 2011 after fourteen years without a permanent stadium. It was a beautiful day with a packed stadium and we came from behind to win 2-1 with a goal in injury time. This was also our first game in the second division after being promoted from the third the previous season. 2/18/2014 4:17 AM

57 Arsenal beating Barca , Bayern Munich, 2/18/2014 4:12 AM

58 2006 FA cup final - Paul Konchesky scored an amazingly lucky goal right in front of me 2/18/2014 4:12 AM

59 Chelsea vs Roma, I was able to see it in my hometown, Washington DC. Romelu Lukaku scored a 90th minute goal and the stadium erupted, it was awesome and great. 2/18/2014 4:04 AM

60 Scotland U21 Half way line goal. 2/18/2014 4:04 AM

61 Only been supporting since the start of this season, so I don't have one yet 2/18/2014 4:02 AM

62 04/05 Champions League Final v Milan. I was in a coffee shop watching the match, and it was the one performance that really pulled me in to Liverpool. 2/18/2014 3:56 AM

63 Champions League final 2012 (i'm a massive Chelsea fan) i was round my friends house watching with about 10 mates. no other chelsea fans but all rooting for chelsea as we're english. we go 1 down and depressed. then 5 minutes later drogba scores the best header i

69 My club is Southampton. In 2007 we were in the playoffs to get into the Premier League. In the first leg, I was standing in the most raucous stand, when just in front of me Andrew Surman, a local lad, curls the ball into the top corner. I've never felt a stadium absolutely erupt like that.

The place just went crazy. Gives me shivers thinking about it. 2/18/2014
3:01 AM

70 Van der Sar⁷¹⁷ saving Anelka's⁷¹⁸ penalty in Moscow 2008. Was at the Luzhniki Stadium⁷¹⁹. 2/18/2014 2:50 AM

71 Chelsea winning the Champions League. I was home alone watching the match live on TV. 2/18/2014 2:36 AM

72 France world champions 98 in Paris champs elysees 2/18/2014 2:30 AM

73 I coach at various levels. My BU14 team went from a -57 goal differential the season before I started coaching to winning the title exactly 1 year later. 2/18/2014 2:30 AM

74 When Thierry Henry scored the game winner against Leeds United in the FA Cup during his loan spell at Arsenal. I was watching the game at home, and Henry scoring made the match perfect. He was sent on loan to Arsenal to make his return, and he came on towards the end of the game and scored the only goal of the match around the 80th minute to win the game. 2/18/2014 2:25 AM

75 Champions League Final 2005 2/18/2014 2:24 AM

76 Couldn't watch the United States-Ghana match in the last World Cup because I had to drive two hours to catch a flight somewhere. I listened to it on the radio. When the Black Stars scored in Extra Time... I cried. 2/18/2014 2:23 AM

77 Seeing Barça win the first league title since I started to really follow them in 2005. 2/18/2014 1:55 AM

78 Kaka⁷²⁰ tearing all of Europe to shreds in 2007. I woke up 4am just to see his brilliance. 2/18/2014 1:41 AM

⁷¹⁷ Former Dutch international and president of AFC Ajax Edwin Van Der Sar.

⁷¹⁸ Former French international Nicolas Anelka.

⁷¹⁹ Luzhniki Stadium is home to the Russian national team and is located in Moscow.

⁷²⁰ Former Brazilian international Richard "Kaká" dos Santos Leite.

79 I remember Grønkjær's goal at the end of 2002-2003. It knocked us out of 4th (the CL) but there was something nice about seeing such happy fans in Chelsea. I should have been angry but I was happy for the fans over there. 2/18/2014 1:28 AM

80 Aguero scoring the 3-2 tiebreaker to win the title in the 2011-2012 season, that was the inspiration to keep watching soccer for me. 2/18/2014 1:21 AM

81 Greece won the Euro 2004. Greece. 1-0 to the Greeks. 2/18/2014 1:02 AM

82 AC Milan winning the CL⁷²¹ in 2007. I was watching it in my high school auditorium on a huge screen with a big group of friends. It was my special night because I was nicknamed 'Inzaghi' in school and Inzaghi scored 2 goals in that final. 2/18/2014 12:27 AM

83 Manchester United winning the FA Cup semifinal replay in April 1999. I was in high school in Singapore at the time and it was a school night (Wednesday) - which meant the match was aired from 3-5am in Asia. It was an exam year for me, which meant that my parents had "forbidden" me to watch football (specifically, forbidden me to spend the middle of the night watching football instead of sleeping), and had used parental lock on the cable box. However, I'd figured out the code, and would set my alarm, sneak downstairs at 3am, turn on the TV, and put headphones in so I could hear the comms without waking them up with the noise. The match itself is insanity and has gone down in the annals of history as one of the all time great encounters - you should look up a highlight reel if you haven't seen it yet - but United went ahead, then Arsenal drew, then United's captain got sent off, and then while we were down to 10, Arsenal were awarded a penalty. I remember thinking I was ready to impale myself on this standing fan and just end it all, it was such a miserable moment. The great Dennis Bergkamp stepped up to take the pen - and the even greater Peter Schmeichel saved it! I didn't think I

⁷²¹ Champions League.

could feel greater joy - and then we went into extra time, and in extra time Ryan Giggs scored one of the all-time greatest magical goals that we still sing about to this day. It was a crazy night to be a United fan. The match ended perilously close to 6 in the morning, when my mother normally woek up -- I think I went back to bed at 5:45 and tried to pretend to be asleep for the next few minutes. I was useless in school the entire next day, of course. But it was the right choice - I will always remember how I felt that day for the rest of my life. (And I also nailed my exams later that year, so!) It was a magical year to be a United fan. I could also tell you all about how we won the European Cup a month later in May, but the story would be very very similar to the one I just wrote down.
2/18/2014 12:16 AM

Survey 4 Responses:

1 Seeing the champions league final and the Olympic final at Wembley. Playing wise it representing youth national teams. 2/24/2014 9:44 PM

2 in 2006 the semi final if the world cup between Italy and Germany. I always support Germany in international play. I was watching the game at my uncle's House and Germany lost in over time. Italy went on to win the world cup. 2/24/2014 9:39 PM

3 Not professionally 2/24/2014 9:38 PM

4 2012-13 UEFA Champions League Final: Borussia Dortmund x Bayern München, when Arjen Robben scored a 89th-minute winner. I was at a friend's house, watching the game after a rough month, and the goal was cathartic. 2/24/2014 9:38 PM

5 Landon Donovan scoring the game winning goal against Algeria in the 2010 World Cup. I was watching the game at home. I lost it. It was a last minute goal that kept us alive in the tournament. 2/24/2014 9:35 PM

6 Watching World Cup 2010 from our beach house. 2/24/2014 9:35 PM

7 Wpmen's World Cup in LA-shoot out was so exciting and so much fun. 2/24/2014 9:34 PM

8 In the first half of 2002, I lived in Glasgow, Scotland, and the Champions League final was held there that year. The city was electric, and I remember watching the game in my dorm's TV room with dozens of other people, and the energy the game generated, especially after Zidane's⁷²² beautiful goal. 2/24/2014 9:19 PM

9 Hiring Jurgen Klinsmann as US Soccer Coach 2/24/2014 9:16 PM

10 Landon Donovan's goal vs. Algeria. I was watching it on tv at work. I started to scream and all my coworkers looked at me like I was crazy! 2/24/2014 9:11 PM

11 Back in 1998 (I think) watching the match when one of the greatest goals was scored, Dennis Bergkamp scored this amazing goal where he passed the ball to himself, i knew it was a great goal when i watched it. ALSO 2010 world cup, had some great times having some beers with friends watching the game at Brits Pub (Minneapolis, MN). 2/24/2014 9:10 PM

12 Last year, before the coach retired,⁷²³ there were many memorable matches. I watched them all on dvr, usually days after they were played. My favorite part of all the matches is watching Rooney, and hearing the crowd chants. 2/24/2014 9:08 PM

13 World Cup 2002 in Ireland after Ireland tied Germany to advance into the second round of play. 2/24/2014 9:05 PM

14 The final Barcelona against r Real Madrid was that game was great , how Barcelona bit every one at the European league 2/24/2014 8:57 PM

15 At home, 2013 UEFA Final. I was rooting for Dortmund and Robben came in, got around Weidenfeller⁷²⁴ and scored. I was terrified. 2/24/2014 8:56 PM

⁷²² Former French international Zinedin Zidane..

⁷²³ Sir Alex Ferguson departed Manchester United in 2013, after serving as United's manager since 1986.

⁷²⁴ Former German international Roman Weidenfeller was Borussia Dortmund's goalkeeper during the 2013 Champions League final.

16 World Cup 2010 - due to the time difference the bars had to open incredibly early (and serve

breakfast) on weekdays to accommodate us. I have vivid memories of watching the Netherlands at 7am in a bar, half asleep. 2/24/2014 8:39 PM

17 Announcement of pro soccer team in Miami⁷²⁵ (recent) 2/24/2014 8:37 PM

18 James McFadden's goal for Scotland against France in Paris. I was in Glasgow (Scotland)

watching at a bar and whole place exploded. It was a huge deal because firstly: it was technically incredible, and secondly: Scotland were expected to get beaten heavily by France

and we were also at their ground, so everything was against us. Here it is:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nmtB7rBs3M> 2/24/2014 8:28 PM

19 Marco van Basten's wonder goal⁷²⁶ 2/23/2014 1:41 PM

20 Holland v Brazil at Cotton Bowl in '94 WC quarter final...3-2 all goals scored in second half. Sat in the middle of Brazilian fans who were crying after the win.

2/22/2014 11:26 PM

21 The scenes in Manchester after United won the treble in 1999, the pride that I (even as 13 year old non-football fan) felt that an English team had achieved something like that.

2/22/2014 4:33 PM

22 Last season CL match Schalke - Arsenal. My first time at Veltins arena,⁷²⁷ there is this ritual for German clubs that after a player from the home team scores a goal there is a set "conversation" with the announcer, he tells the first name of the scorer, sometime the assist as well, and the crowd shouts back the last name. So, it was my first time there and I was freezing, Schalke were 2-0 down and so I went away for a while cause it was so cold.

Then I caught myself and said that I made it all this way and spent all this money, I'm not gonna watch it on those little screens for those waiting in line at the food stand. Just as I set down my two fav players from the crowd were the scorer and the assistant of a goal. So not only did I got to take part in that ritual, I got to shout the name of my two favorite

⁷²⁵ Inter Miami CF, partially owned by David Beckham, was announced in 2014 and officially founded in 2018, but did not join MLS until the 2020 season.

⁷²⁶ In the final of the 1998 European Championships, Von Basten, a Dutch international, scored in the 88th minute, putting the Netherlands up 1-0 against the Soviet Union. The goal was scored from a nearly impossible angle.

⁷²⁷ Veltins Arena in Gelsenkirchen is the home stadium of Schalke 04.

players! Also, being at the standing part of the Nordkurve⁷²⁸ and singing my favorite chant was amazing as well. 2/22/2014 11:12 AM

23 The big wins generally stand out. The recent match where Liverpool beat Arsenal 5-1, I was at a friend's 21st birthday party but spent 90 minutes glued to the couch watching the game. I was the only Liverpool fan around while there were 5 or so other Arsenal fans (with the rest of the crowd not giving two shits about football), and I was gleefully mocking them to my heart's content. 2/21/2014 9:49 AM

24 When our name changed from MetroStars to NYRB, they took two busloads of fans down to DC for a match. Free ride, free food/drinks, free tickets, Alexi Lalas was even there to greet fans before we boarded. Arrived at the match, were a loud raucous presence especially as we beat DC United 2-1, which our section gleefully chanted DOS A CERO. Fantastic day. 2/20/2014 8:18 PM

25 Manchester United's last gasp CL win in 1999. I was at home, watching it on ESPN. Thought we would lose, then magically we won. Incredible. Also WC 2010 - Germany's victories v England & Argentina. Wow. :D 2/19/2014 12:54 PM

26 Manchester City, play off final, Dicov⁷²⁹ gets the ball in the 93rd minute, goal. 2 - 2, penalties, city promoted. 2/19/2014 3:12 AM

27 2008 CL Final United vs Chelsea. The day I knew United would be my team forever. 2/18/2014 11:14 PM

28 The match was the Scottish Cup Final 2012, between Heart of Midlothian FC (Hearts) and Hibernian FC (Hibs). This was the first time since 1896 that these two teams had met in the final of the Scottish Cup. The Edinburgh derby is never as exciting or as intense as an old firm

⁷²⁸ The Nordkurve in Veltins Arena is similar to the Südkurve of the Allianz Arena. It is where the most ardent supporters are gathered. Standing the entire time is an expectation of those in those sections, as is participating in every chant and cheer.

⁷²⁹ Former Scottish international Paul Dickov.

derby,⁷³⁰ but this game completely changed that. That day, I wasn't in an old rickety stadium in Glasgow, I was in dreamland! I have never been so proud of my team, not just for winning the Scottish cup, but for the way we won it, by humiliating our neighbours from across town! Hearts stormed to victory, winning 5-1! I will never forget the atmosphere that day or the song they played over the p.a. after every goal. 2/18/2014 9:19 PM

29 first international soccer that i remember regularly broadcasted into Canada, was in 1999, so the year Man Utd won the treble. they were the successful team so their games were broadcasted. in that year Gigg's⁷³¹ amazing run (vs. Arsenal) and Ole Gunnar winning it in the final
2 mins 2/18/2014 9:09 PM

30 Barcelona's 5-0 victory against Real Madrid, November 29, 2010. I had a few exams and my sister had work, so we both had to avoid all internet usage and watched back at our apartment. So high-stress (during the game and at the time when we knew the game was happening) but such a magnificent payoff when the final whistle blew. Felt such a sense of camaraderie between my sister and I, as well as all the fans we saw in the stadium. 2/18/2014 8:26 PM

31 New York Red Bulls winning the Supporters Shield.⁷³² I was in my university's library desperately following online updates as I was in a region that did not broadcast the game that would secure the first-ever trophy for the club. 2/18/2014 8:20 PM

32 Michael Owens⁷³³ last minute winner for Man Utd vs Man City in 2009. I was at home watching with my Dad and sister and I screamed so much that it gave my dog a fright so she bit me. 2/18/2014 7:06 PM

33 Chelsea winning the Champion's League final after a colossal match against Bayern Munich 2/18/2014 7:02 PM

⁷³⁰ The Old Firm derby is the name given to matches where the two Glasgow clubs, Celtic and Rangers, play each other.

⁷³¹ Former Welsh international and current Welsh manager Ryan Giggs.

⁷³² The Supporters Shield is awarded to the MLS team with the best record at the end of the regular season. Unlike European leagues, where there is a system of promotion and relegation, MLS mirrors the other American sports leagues, where a set number of teams advance from the regular season to playoffs

⁷³³ Former English international Michael Owen.

34 Champions League Final 2005 - Liverpool vs Milan,⁷³⁴ when LFC came back to win the cup from being 3 goals down. 2/18/2014 5:14 PM

35 Beating Man Utd 1-0 2/18/2014 4:43 PM

36 Beating Borussia Dortmund 4-1 in Dortmund (I support Hamburg) 2/18/2014 4:17 PM

37 1994 World Cup final, probably the first game I have memories. I was 6 years old and I was at home with my family. My sister and I were just screaming at the end as Baggio⁷³⁵ lost his PK. (If I havent made me clear, feel free to mail me: gustavopm@gmail.com) 2/18/2014 4:07 PM

38 Arsenal losing to Birmingham. I was at home and I couldn't believe Koscielny⁷³⁶ messed up. 2/18/2014 3:10 PM

39 Arsenal's invincible season. Watched it at home, anxious but confident the team wanted it enough that they wouldn't lose at the last hurdle. 2/18/2014 1:38 PM

40 1999 champions league final when united beat Bayern. I was 11 years old in Dubai where I lived at the time. As a young kid who played football and idolized David Beckham, that was quite possibly the greatest sporting moment I have ever witnessed in my life. 2/18/2014 1:36 PM

41 Last year in Champions league Real Madrid needed two goals in the last 5 min in order to advance against Dortmund. Real were on a constant attack and threatening. Suddenly the ball finds its way into the box where Benzema⁷³⁷ passes up a shot and passes to ramos who then buries it in the top of the net. The home crowd exploded with energy and so did I. I yelled at my friends tv and stood about 6in away from the screen for the last 5min. Although Real did not score again, the swell in energy and pride after that first goal is something that i will never

⁷³⁴ Ac Milan

⁷³⁵ Former Italian international Roberto Baggio.

⁷³⁶ French international Laurent Koscielny.

⁷³⁷ French international Karim Benzema.

forget. Here is a clip if you want to get an idea for the atmosphere:

<http://vimeo.com/78768504>

2/18/2014 12:51 PM

42 Tottenham beating Manchester City 3_1 last year 2/18/2014 12:35 PM

43 Seeing a WCG qualifier in Costa Rica, and celebrating the victory with a massive parade in the streets that night with the locals 2/18/2014 12:35 PM

44 Barcelona beating AC Milan 4-0 in the Champions League in 2013. I was at my house. I was screaming and cheering with my brother. We were having a brotherly moment. 2/18/2014 12:30 PM

45 Iniesta scoring in 2009 champions league against Chelsea. Thinking it was completely done and then seeing him score was amazingly. I wish I was with others to see it but I was alone 2/18/2014 12:17 PM

46 2002 FA Cup Final, 6 years old at a Wedding in Wales, watching on the TV in the bar of the hotel. Ray Parlour⁷³⁸ scored his wonder goal and I set off on a lap of the grounds in celebration. 2/18/2014 12:14 PM

Survey 5 Responses:

1 When Liverpool won the Carling Cup⁷³⁹ in 2012. Was at a pub in DC with my boyfriend at the time who was also a Liverpool fan. 3/1/2014 2:01 AM

2 Matchwise, it has to be the 2005 Champions League Final when Liverpool came back from 3-0 down to win on penalties...it was truly magical!!! I was watching with a couple of friends in Oklahoma, probably the only people I knew at the time who liked soccer. It was amazing! 2/27/2014 7:57 PM

3 none 2/25/2014 9:41 PM

4 I was a young soccer player still trying to figure out if I even liked the sport. My team was at a

⁷³⁸ Former English international Ray Parlour.

⁷³⁹ The name of the English cup changes every few years, depending on the sponsor at the moment.

tournament when the US women soccer team won the 1999 World Cup. We were so happy and my coach used clips from that game for years to help him teach us right and wrong-doings.

That whole game is burned into my memory (in a good way) 2/25/2014
8:21 PM

5 1998 Holland vs Argentine World Cup Semifinals Bergkamp⁷⁴⁰ winning goal. Watched in Maastricht, Holland town square 2/25/2014 5:34 PM

6 Blackburn Rovers beating Spurs 7-3 in about 1963 2/25/2014 2:13 PM

7 Watching the World Cup in Germany in 2006. Followed the Italian national team. Watched the final in Parma with my Italian friends. 2/25/2014 1:33 PM

8 Watching and rewatching the 1994 Brazilian World Cup Champions games- rewatching those games helped cement my love of soccer and made me a student of the game, rather than a causal (youth) player. 2/25/2014 10:40 AM

9 USA beating Algeria in the 2010 World Cup. I remember the goal by Landon Donovan to win the match for them. I was watching it at home. 2/25/2014 10:12 AM

10 Jens Lehman's red card in the Champions League Final⁷⁴¹- I was at the Nomad Pub in Milwaukee and I knew that it ruined any chance Arsenal had to win #COYG
2/25/2014 9:48 AM

11 When Didier Drogba equalized in the Champions League Final against Bayern Munich. I could write about that moment, and its meaning for a while. Extraordinary .
2/25/2014 9:17 AM

12 Argentina losing to Germany on a late penalty kick in the 1990 world cup final. Utter disaster. 2/25/2014 9:14 AM

13 In 1999 when USA both hosted and won the World Cup because the effects of that game/tournament changed the lives of every girl playing soccer in the US.
2/25/2014 9:10 AM

⁷⁴⁰ Former Dutch international Dennis Bergkamp.

⁷⁴¹ Former German international Jens Lehman was Arsenal's goalkeeper in the 2006 Champions League final. He received a red card in the eighteenth minute.

- 14 Scoring a 40 yard penalty kick 2/25/2014 8:29 AM
- 15 Donovan goal vs Algeria. I was at work. Euphoria. 2/25/2014 6:13 AM
- 16 I think you are asking about a professional, league memory....Wayne Rooney's bicycle kick in the EPL a couple years back was epic. I have a poor memory, sorry. 2/25/2014 6:10 AM
- 17 Croatia's 3rd place in World Cup France 98 2/25/2014 4:02 AM
- 18 Saw Cafu⁷⁴² play and score, at the San Siro⁷⁴³ and Shevchenko's⁷⁴⁴ final season w/ Milan, scored as well. They beat Parma 3-0. 2/25/2014 12:30 AM
- 19 Watching a Manchester United game at a beach bar in Thailand. It was still very early in the morning and there were only a few of us Westerns there -- in board shorts and hangovers, yelling at the TV. I was the only American. 2/25/2014 12:22 AM
- 20 I was at the stadium in Dortmund for the World Cup game in 2006 between Brazil and Ghana in which Ronaldo⁷⁴⁵ scored the goal that made him the leading scorer in World Cup competition.
Trademark Ronaldo, rolling back the years. An absolutely beautiful moment.
2/25/2014 12:18 AM
- 21 Chicago Soldier Field--Seeing David Beckham up close and personal, as well as Zinedine Zidane and others from Real Madrid's 2005 team. I still cheered for Las Chivas del Guadalajara (national pride, after all), but it is a great memory. 2/25/2014 12:13 AM
- 22 World Cup 1994 Libya when the Italian list the final chance 2/24/2014 11:45 PM
- 23 I enjoy indoor soccer because there is a lot more scoring 2/24/2014 11:43 PM

⁷⁴² Former Brazilian international Marcos "Cafu" Evangelista de Morais.

⁷⁴³ San Siro is the football stadium in Milan that is home to both AC Milan and Internazionale Milan.

⁷⁴⁴ Former Ukrainian international and current manager of the Ukrainian national team Andriy Shevchenko.

⁷⁴⁵ There are two famous players named Ronaldo. While the name usually refers to Cristiano Ronaldo, a Portuguese international, it is clear from the context of this reply that the reference is to Ronaldo Nazário de Lima, the former Brazilian international.

24 Drogba 2012 UCL pk winner, ecstatic, especially in light of the 2009 disgrace of a
semifinal vs. Barcelona 2/24/2014 11:42 PM

25 None 2/24/2014 11:17 PM

26 watching Pele play twice in my hometown 2/24/2014 11:02 PM

27 Zidane's headbutt in the 2006 World Cup. I was at home watching the game with my
brothers
and friends. It stands out because i had never seen someone receive a red card for head
butting someone. I was only 12 at the time, but it made me love soccer that much more.
There
are surprises that you could never see coming. 2/24/2014 11:01 PM

28 I was at RFK Stadium during 2009 when the US equalized against Costa Rica in
stopping time 2/24/2014 10:31 PM

29 When my favorite player, Thierry Henry, scored a hattrick against Wigan Athletic in
2006 in the last game Arsenal had at their home field for 93 years, Highbury. I was
watching the match as it was happening and Henry has always been my favorite player of
all time and one of the main reasons why I love Arsenal so much. I was home watching
the game and I remember watching him score the hattrick and almost get a tear in my eye
as I saw Henry get one as well. Highbury was a great stadium with lots of memories and
its passing brought forth the new era of Arsenal futbol. 2/24/2014 10:27 PM

30 Meeting a Turkish dude at Disney who knew that Odense was in the Danish premier
league. 2/24/2014 10:13 PM

31 The Champions League final between Dortmund and Bayern Munich. I watched in a
public
viewing zone in Germany (not Dortmund or Munich though) and it was just amazing
being with
all the fans and tailgating and cheering

French Survey Responses:

1 NA 2/19/2014 8:41 AM

2 France victory in the 98 WC. I remember watching it in a bar with my dad, I was very
young at
that time but it still stands as my best football memory 2/18/2014 3:53 AM

3 la coupe du monde 98: France-Brezile; ce fut un moment fou d`energie et d`emotion. J`etais a la maison (au Cameroun!), et j`etais le seul dans mon entourage a soutenir l`equipe de France. En fait je ne supportais pas vraiment la France, mais un joueur: Zidane! Il etait parfait dans son jeu, et beaucoup ne comprenaient pas cet enthousiasme, cette conviction, cette foi que j`eprouvais pour ce joueur. Le resultat m`avait donne raison: 3-0 fut le score final en faveur de la France. je ne pouvais trop exprimer ma joie ce jour pour ne pas creer de tensions dans mon entourage... 2/16/2014 12:37 PM

4 1- La victoire des Lions Indomptables du Cameroun aux JO de Sydney, j`etais a la maison, Cameroun VS Spain 2/7/2014 11:23 AM

5 rien à signaler 2/7/2014 9:23 AM

6 Le Mondial 1990 où le Cameroun s'est démarqué 2/7/2014 6:59 AM

7 Real Madrid # FC Barcelone 2/7/2014 3:08 AM

8 Le but de Roger Milla et la danse du lion lors de la coupe du monde 1990? 2/6/2014 7:01 PM

9 Coupe d'afrique des Nation 2/6/2014 12:39 PM

10 AU TCHAD / BARCA REAL MADRID / 5-0 2/6/2014 12:34 PM

11 cameroon vs Argentina, 1990 2/6/2014 11:53 AM

12 TOTTENAM 2/6/2014 11:48 AM

13 LDC Barca - ManU 2/6/2014 11:43 AM

14 La defaite du Cameroun face au Togo lors des eliminatoires pour la coupe du monde 2010 2/6/2014 11:34 AM

15 la final de la coupe du monde je voulais voir la holland gagner 2/6/2014 11:04 AM

16 Cameroun - Argentine Mondial 1990, j`étais à la maison avec des amis et nous suivions le match en étant naturellement fières d'être Camerounais et d'avoir de si bons ambassadeurs. il

est clair que comme tous les camerounais nous y avions cru, (à la coupe) au fur et à mesure que le tournoi avançait. Hélas nous étions fauché en quart de finale de façon jusqu'ici pas très claire pour nous. 2/6/2014 10:42 AM

17 La finale de Champions perdue contre Liverpool. 2/6/2014 9:37 AM

18 Cameroun # Angleterre mondial 1990! 25e minute but de David Platt (Angleterre), 61e minute but de Emmanuel Kunde (Cameroun), 65e minute but de Eugène Ekeke (Cameroun)! J'ai failli avoir un infarctus tellement c'était indescriptible. Ensuite 83e minute but de Garry Lineker (Angleterre)! Prolongation un voisin à nous âgé d'une soixante n'a pas tenu le choc du suspens et est tombé dans les pommes. Dans la panique, nous le transportions à l'hôpital et c'est là bas nous apprenions que notre équipe le Cameroun avait perdu avec un deuxième but de Garry Lineker à la 105e minute des prolongations. Ce fut un quartier endeuillé que je retrouvais à mon retour de l'hôpital. En fait tout le pays était en état d'hibernation. 2/6/2014 9:37 AM

19 le Match de finnal Champions leaugue, Bayern/Bouroussia Dortmund. j'étais à Munich dans un Kneipe. c'était un moment magique. 2/6/2014 9:28 AM

20 les matchs de mes équipes favorites 2/6/2014 8:39 AM

21 Eto'o (Chelsea vs Manchester United) marque trois buts 2/6/2014 8:35 AM

22 la musique generalement 2/6/2014 6:45 AM

23 le classico real madrid vs barcelone 2/6/2014 5:32 AM

German Survey Responses:

1 Bernabeu 2000 2/20/2014 11:11 AM

2 WorldCup 2010 R16/QF wins of Germany vs England & Argentina! | WorldCup 2006 in general | Lahm and Schweinsteiger winning CL 2013 with Bayern 2/20/2014 4:11 AM

3 Championsleague-Finalsieg gegen Valencia 2001 2/18/2014 7:27 AM

4 Zidane vs Materazzi, 2006. Zuhause im Fernsehen verfolgt, nach der roten Karte 5 Minuten unaufhörlich gelacht. 2/18/2014 6:52 AM

5 Aufstieg 2004. Mainz 05 - Eintracht Trier. Bruchweg Stadion 2/18/2014 3:52 AM

6 The first time i was in the stadium when i was 7 years old 2/18/2014 2:47 AM

7 die Erleichterung in der Saison 2012/2013, als klar war, dass Werder Bremen nicht absteigt 2/16/2014 11:19 AM

8 Das Elfmeterschießen im Pokal gegen Dynamo. Und mein erstes Spiel International auswärts in Schweden. 2/16/2014 7:02 AM

9 When FC Aarau, my local football club got back into the first Swiss division in late May 2013. We had just won our third to last match of the season and everyone was sure we'd have to wait another week until we could be sure we'd made it and could celebrate - because our biggest rivals in the race for promotion were still playing and winning when the final whistle blew on our pitch. And as the team was walking laps on the pitch and the fans were applauding, the stadium suddenly exploded because the news had spread that the other team had conceded a goal almost with the final whistle in their game and that they had only drew their match, which meant we were promoted! That caused a very improvised party on the pitch when about half of the 6000 viewers took over the pitch and celebrated with the team, who were just as ecstatic as we were. Everyone was standing in the pouring rain getting drenched and singing at the top of our lungs, happy. 2/15/2014 5:34 PM

10 EM 2008, Finale. Meine Freundin und ich sind beim Public Viewing; wir sind die einzigen Spanienfans. Am Ende bin ich die einzige, die vor den großen Leinwänden stehen bleibt, um die Siegerehrung anzuschauen. 2/15/2014 4:49 PM

11 Bayer 04 Leverkusen gegen Chelsea FC, Champions League Vorrunde, Saison 2011/2012.

Manuel Friedrich trifft in der Nachspielzeit zum 2:1. Ich war im Stadion, alle um mich herum

sind aufgesprungen, ich habe fremde Menschen umarmt und mich einfach wahnsinnig gefreut.

2/15/2014 4:39 PM

12 Allianz Arena mit meinem Mann und meiner Tochter 2/7/2014 10:42 AM

13 BVB-Malaga (letzten 10 Minuten), Kneipe mit Freund, nach Rückstand und damit offiziellem

Ausscheiden am emotionalen Tiefpunkt, dann Wendepunkt und Weiterkommen ins Halbfinale

innerhalb von vier Minuten 2/7/2014 7:25 AM

14 Champions League Finale 2001: mit der ganzen Familie vor dem Fernseher und einem Gefühl

der Unbesiegbarkeit nach dem Gewinn der deutschen Meisterschaft nur wenige Tage zuvor in

der 93 Minute, während des Spiels auf und ab mit den Gefühlen, nach dem Spiel das Elfmeterschießen dauerzittern und danach Gänsehaut als Kahn den entscheidenden Elfmeter

hält. 2/5/2014 3:58 PM

15 Champions League Finale 2013, beim Public Viewing mit ein paar Freunden - der Moment ist

einfach unbeschreiblich.

Spanish Survey Responses

1 El año 1991 Colo Colo ganó la copa libertadores de america, me recuerdo sentado en el piso

de la casa viendo el partido en un televisor blanco y negro, era invierno en Chile así que estabas abrigados pero alentando a Colo Colo, toda mi familia estaba presente. Este momento

es lo mejor del fútbol Chileno y lo mejor que fue mi equipo, el popular, el eterno campeón Colo

Colo 2/24/2014 9:08 PM

2 ganar la copa del rey al real madrid 2/18/2014 8:23 AM

3 cuando juega la seleccion por las clasificatorias al mundial 2/5/2014 7:04 PM

4 When America was champion last year 2/5/2014 3:21 PM

5 El 12 - 1, del ESPAÑA MALTA. Las tres ultimas champions del madrid. La final del mundial 2010.y las dos eurocopas que gano españa. 1/31/2014 2:13 PM

6 EL MOMENTO EN EL QUE MARCÓ INIESTA Y ESPAÑA GANÓ EL MUNDIAL 1/31/2014 8:53 AM

7 Argentina campeón del mundo 1986 y sub campeón 1990. 1/31/2014 5:33 AM

8 20 de abril de 2011. Final Copa del Rey (Real Madrid-Barça) en Valencia. Estuve en el estadio, y en el momento que metio CR7 el gol en la prórroga lo que sentí fue una alegría muy grande. Podría hablarle de otros mucho momentos, pero hay veces que los sentimientos entorno al fútbol nonse pueden explicar. Lo que provoca el fútbol en los aficionados es digno de un estudio sociológico muy profundo. 1/30/2014 2:25 PM

9 Muchísimos! tanto en el estadio como por TV, y de diferentes equipos y selección. Recuerdo el partido en el que el Manchester City fue campeón, infartante con el gol de Agüero en el último suspiro. También recuerdo los partidos de Chile en el mundial 1998 y 2010, muy nervioso, pasándolo mal durante los partidos. Recuerdo los partidos de niño en el estadio Santa Laura de Santiago de Chile, siguiendo la campaña de 1987 de Universidad Católica donde fuimos campeones con un equipazo. 1/30/2014 1:15 PM

10 Las victorias de mis equipos favoritos: Copas de Europa del Real Madrid, Mundial y Eurocopas de la Selección Española, final de la Recopa de 1995 con victoria del Real Zaragoza con un gol en el último minuto desde el centro del campo. Las finales excepto las de la selección he estado en casa con mi familia. El momento fue de alegría inmensa... una locura! Cuando ganamos el mundial estaba en Segovia con unos primos y nada más terminar el partido nos fuimos a Madrid para celebrarlo en la calle con todo el mundo. Fue increíble ver por fin al país unido en la alegría. No importa el motivo. 1/30/2014 12:54 PM

11 El gol de Koeman en Wembley y el 5-0 del Celta a la Juve 1/30/2014 12:00 PM

12 2013 Final Copa del Rey contra el Real Madrid. El Atletico ganó después de 14 años.
1/30/2014 10:05 AM

13 Las Copas de Europa que ganó el Real Madrid en Amsterdam y París en 1998 y 2000 respectivamente. 1/30/2014 9:40 AM

14 La séptima, octava y novena del Madrid. Eurocopas y mundial de España. Ligas del Madrid. Muchos partidos en el Bernabéu 1/30/2014 6:58 AM

15 La séptima copa de Europa del Real Madrid 1/30/2014 3:36 AM

16 12-1 España-Malta; ganador de la Copa de la Liga 1/30/2014 2:01 AM

17 Final copa del mundo 2010. España 1 - 0 a Holanda. Estaba con amigos
1/30/2014 1:41 AM

18 Bajar a ver los partidos con mi abuelo es algo que se ha quedado en la memoria. Gracias a ello guardo un gran cariño a mi equipo. 1/30/2014 1:37 AM

19 España en el mundial 1/29/2014 7:27 PM

20 En el año 79 siguiendo a Bucaramanga entre el ejército y fue duro 1/29/2014 7:02 PM

21 El ascenso del Real Sporting de Gijón, estaba en el campo, con mis amigos y fue uno de los días más felices de mi vida, tanto en ese momento como en las horas posteriores. Y el campeonato del mundo por selecciones de España, estábamos en mi casa rodeados de amigos y creo que fue el momento de alegría más salvaje y explosivo y visceral que he vivido hasta la fecha y puede que vivirá (junto con el gol de Puyol en semifinales ante Alemania)
1/29/2014 6:35 PM

22 Los ascensos a la primera división española 1/29/2014 5:56 PM

23 Lo mejor que me puede pasar es ver un partido de mi equipo 1/29/2014 5:02 PM

24 La victoria del Barcelona en el Bernabéu al Real Madrid, por 2 a 6. Estaba en mi casa disfrutando del partido con amigos 1/29/2014 4:58 PM

Limitations of Research Study

When I first began my ethnographic research, my project was still very nebulous. There was no real direction or focus, just a general sense that I wanted to talk to soccer fans about their experiences and that some of them claim soccer as their religion. As the research progressed, I realized just how many religious supporters there were. Had I known in 2013 what I know now about my project, I would have made very different decisions in regards to both the online surveys and the interview protocol. The following paragraphs discuss the changes I would make to the research questions in light of where the project actually went.

First, the first question I should have asked was actually question five of the online survey: “Do you hold an allegiance to one professional football club?” Had I begun with that question and made it mandatory, it would have enabled me to sort out those who were speaking of professional club soccer more easily, rather than having to sort through the data. It also would have been smart if I had set it so that only positive responses led to completed surveys. At the time of the study’s creation, I had not yet settled on speaking solely about religious soccer in the context of professional club soccer. It would have significantly narrowed my sample size, but it also would have narrowed the focus, clearly delineating professional club soccer fans from those who only follow their national team.

Second, I would have asked questions about the role that soccer plays in their lives, not just what their rituals are and to share an important moment. Questions like “What role does soccer play in your life?” or “How would you describe your relationship

with soccer?” would have elicited more of the information that I actually wanted in the end. As the focus became more and more on *what* religious soccer is (as opposed to whether or not soccer is a religion), I found that I was having to rely heavily on the interviews as opposed to the survey. The questions used in the interview protocol lent themselves to conversations about religious soccer in ways that the survey did not; had I to do it again, I would incorporate the above questions, as well as one or two more from the interviews.

Much of the dissertation took shape after the conflict between DBG and FCD flared and the narrowed focus on the relationships between clubs and their religious supporters is a direct result of that conflict; had I not already been doing research with DBG members, I might have missed the conflict entirely. That conflict fundamentally changed this project, as it provided an opportunity to address an issue incredibly prevalent across soccer cultures: the relationship between fans and their clubs is constantly changing and the decisions that one side makes directly impact the other.

Finally, I would have worked my international network with more intention and done more interviews with fans outside of the United States and Europe. The lack of international interviews largely stemmed from focusing on the American and German contexts⁷⁴⁶, but I wish that I would have made a concerted effort to include South American and African voices to the interview portion and been able to address religious soccer in more than just the two contexts included in the dissertation. Soccer has a vibrant

⁷⁴⁶ The interviews conducted with German fans were done in English, as neither my ability to speak German nor comprehend spoken German were sufficient to conduct interviews in it.

history on both continents and their voices would have made important contributions, especially when talking about religious soccer.

Appendix B: IRB Protocols

Approval Date: 27 January 2014 Valid for Use Through: 28 January 2016

Project Title: Soccer Fan Practices and Beliefs

Principal Investigator: Rebecca A. Chabot

Faculty Sponsor: M. Dores Cruz

DU IRB Protocol #: 543507-1

You are being asked to be in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything you don't understand before deciding whether or not to take part.

Invitation to participate in a research study

You are invited to participate in a research study about the practices and beliefs of soccer fans.

You are being asked to be in this research study because you have self-identified as a soccer fan.

Description of subject involvement

If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to fill out a short online survey in one of four languages: English, Spanish, French, or German. This will take about 10-15 minutes.

Possible risks and discomforts

There are no risks associated with this study because the data collection is completely anonymous and the topic is not sensitive.

Possible benefits of the study

This study is designed for the researcher to learn more about how soccer fans interact with their club and the sport.

If you agree to take part in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. However, information gathered in this study may help clubs better engage their fans and will enable a dissertation to be written that will assist clubs with this engagement.

Study compensation

- You will not receive any payment for being in the study, as participation is

voluntary and can be done anywhere with internet access and a computer.

Study cost

- You will not be expected to pay any costs related to the study.

Confidentiality, Storage and future use of data

To keep your information safe, the researchers will keep no identifying data of any kind.

- Your name will not be attached to any data. All questions are answered confidentially and for general practices and beliefs only.
- The data will be kept on a password-protected computer and a password protected website. No identifying information of any kind will be requested of participants.

The data you provide will be stored online at a secure, password-protected site.

The researchers will retain the data until the completion of the dissertation.

The data will be made available to other researchers for other studies following the completion of this research study and will not contain information that could identify you. At no point in the completion of the survey will you be asked any information that will identify you.

We would like to include your survey responses in the dissertation that results from this research project. However, as no identifying data will be requested of you, the survey responses are used for demographic and demonstrative purposes and you will not be identified as a participant or linked to the data in any way.

Who will see my research information?

Although we will do everything we can to keep your records a secret, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed if you choose to sign a consent form.

If you choose to sign a consent form, the consent form signed by you may be looked at by others.

- Federal agencies that monitor human subject research
- Human Subject Research Committee

All of these people are required to keep your identity confidential. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to the person working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Also, if you tell us something that makes us believe that you or others have been or may be physically harmed, we may report that information to the appropriate agencies.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. If you decide to withdraw early, any responses you submit to the survey will still be used.

- the information or data you provided cannot be destroyed because it is not linked to you either directly or by a code and is included with the responses of all participants in the analytic data.

Contact Information

The researcher carrying out this study is Rebecca A. Chabot. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may email Rebecca A. Chabot at becky.chabot@du.edu.

If the researchers cannot be reached, or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) questions, concerns or complaints regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects issues, please contact Paul Olk, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, at 303-871-4531, or you may contact the Office for Research Compliance by emailing du-irb@du.edu, calling 1-303-871-4050 or in writing (University of Denver, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121).

Agreement to be in this study

I have read this paper about the study or it was read to me. I understand the possible risks and benefits of this study. I know that being in this study is voluntary and that I do not need to complete this form in order to participate. I choose to be in this study: I will get a copy of this consent form.

Signature:

Date:

Print Name

University of Denver

Social, Behavioral, and Educational Research Informed Consent Form

Approval Date: 27 January 2014 Valid for Use Through: 28 January 2016

Project Title: Soccer Fan Practices and Beliefs

Principal Investigator: Rebecca A. Chabot

Faculty Sponsor: M. Dores Cruz

DU IRB Protocol #: 543507-4

You are being asked to be in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. A member of the research team will describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything you don't understand before deciding whether or not to take part. Invitation to participate in a research study

You are invited to participate in a research study about the practices and beliefs of soccer fans.

You are being asked to be in this research study because you are a soccer fan who has indicated a willingness to speak about how you interact with the sport and your club.

Description of subject involvement

If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to spend approximately one hour being interviewed by the PI of this project. This will take about 60 minutes.

Possible risks and discomforts

The researchers have taken steps to minimize the risks of this study. Even so, you may still experience some risks related to your participation, even when the researchers are careful to avoid them. There are no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study. Interview will be scheduled at your convenience and will be conducted either via Skype or Google hangout or in person, should the PI be able to make feasible arrangements to do so.

Possible benefits of the study

This study is designed for the researcher to learn more about how soccer fans interact with their clubs and the sport.

If you agree to take part in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. However, information gathered in this study may enable soccer clubs to better engage with their fans and the world through the constructive ethic that will result from this research.

Study compensation

- You will not receive any payment for being in the study.

Study cost

- You will not be expected to pay any costs related to the study.

Confidentiality, Storage and future use of data

To keep your information safe, the researchers will ensure that all notes and materials resulting from the interview will be kept on a password-protected computer and, if printed, in a locked locker in a secure room with restricted access. No recordings will be made of the interviews.

The data you provide will be stored on a password-protected computer and in a locked locker in a secure room with restricted access.

The researchers will retain the data for the duration of the dissertation writing process.

The data will not be made available to other researchers for other studies following the completion of this research study and will not contain information that could identify you. Interviews will be used for the purposes of this dissertation and any manuscripts that follow from it, but solely by the PI and will not be provided to other entities.

We would like to include your name in the dissertation and any subsequent manuscripts that result from this research project. We want to identify you for attribution and explanatory purposes. However, you have the option to not have your name used when data from this study are published; if this is the case, please indicate so on the last page of this form; an alternate name will be used that is not traceable to you in any way.

Who will see my research information?

Although we will do everything we can to keep your records a secret, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

Both the records that identify you and the consent form signed by you may be looked at by others.

Federal agencies that monitor human subject research.

Human Subject Research Committee

All of these people are required to keep your identity confidential. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Also, if you tell us something that makes us believe that you or others have been or may be physically harmed, we may report that information to the appropriate agencies.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time, including during the interview itself. If you decide to withdraw early, any information you provide will not be used and any notes taken during the interview will be deleted or shredded.

Contact Information

The researcher carrying out this study is Rebecca A. Chabot. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may email Rebecca Chabot at becky.chabot@du.edu

If the researchers cannot be reached, or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) questions, concerns or complaints regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects issues, please contact Paul Olk, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, at 303-871-4531, or you may contact the Office for Research Compliance by emailing du-irb@du.edu, calling 303-871-4050 or in writing (University of Denver, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121).

Agreement to be in this study

I have read this paper about the study or it was read to me. I understand the possible risks and benefits of this study. I know that being in this study is voluntary. I choose to be in this study: I will get a copy of this consent form.

Please initial this box if data from this research may be used for future research.

Please initial here and provide a valid email (or postal) address if you would like a summary of the results of this study to be mailed to you. _____

Signature: Date:

Print Name:

543507-5

1. ¿Cuántos años tiene usted?

18-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

44-49

50+

2. ¿Cuál es su género? Nota: Así es como se identifica, no su sex ofísico.

Masculino

Femenino

Trans*

Otr@

3. ¿En qué país reside actualmente? Si su país de origen es el mismo que el país en el que reside, por favor. Especifique los dos países en el cuadro de comentarios proporcionado, lo que indica que es el país de origen y que es el país de residencia actual.

Estados Unidos

Reino Unido

Francia

Alemania

Italia

España

Otro (especifique por favor)

4. Por favor, ordene las siguientes ligas en cuanto a lo que usted sigue los más estrechamente (1 es la liga a la que usted paga más la atención). Si sólo sigue una liga, por favor, rango que como 1. Si la Liga no está en la lista, seleccione "Otro".

Major League Soccer (US)

Barclay's Premiere League (England/Wales)

Ligue 1 (France)

Bundesliga (Germany)

Serie A (Italy)

LaLiga (Spain)

5. ¿Tiene usted fidelidad a un club de fútbol profesional?

Sí

No

6.¿Para cuales clubes anima usted? Por favor, ordene los equipos para los que usted anima en orden descendente, con su club principal en la posición1. Si sólo se anima para un club, clasificarlos como1y dejar el resto en blanco. Si su equipo no está en la lista, seleccione "Otro".

FC Dallas (MLS)
Los Angeles Galaxy (MLS)
New York Red Bulls (MLS)
Seattle Sounders (MLS)
Arsenal (BPL)
Chelsea (BPL)
Liverpool (BPL)
Manchester United (BPL)
Lyon (L1)
Marseilles (L1)
Paris Saint-Germain (L1)
Bayer Leverkusen (Bundesliga)
Bayern Munich (Bundesliga)
Borussia Dortmund (Bundesliga)
Schalke 04 (Bundesliga)
AC Milan (SerieA)
Inter Milan (SerieA)
Juventus (SerieA)
Napoli (SerieA)
Atletico Madrid (La Liga)
Barcelona (La Liga)
Real Madrid (La Liga)
Valencia (La Liga)
Other

7.¿Dónde y cómo ve usted partidos?

Options: Nunca, Raramente, A veces, Siempre

En un pub/bar deportivo/con otras personas

En la casa/sola

Via corriente en línea

A través de la televisión y a que es transmitido

A través de la televisión en la repetición/DVR

8.¿Qué artículos de su propiedad que están relacionados con su club? Seleccione todas las que apliquen. Siéntase libre para elaborar en los comentarios. Si usted es dueño de ningún producto, por favor, seleccione ninguna.

Ninguna

Camiseta oficial

Camisetaimitación

Bufanda
Bandera
Chaqueta
Sudadera
Camiseta
Gnomo del jardín
Otro (especifique por favor)

9. ¿Tiene algún ritual al rededor de su equipo? ¿Hay cosas que hace en el día del partido? Cosas que hace en el día del drenaje? Hábleme de cómo interactuar con el equipo. ¿Hace usted un blog? Twitter? Por favor se alomás descriptivo posible.

10. ¿Qué es un momento del fútbol una memoria que se destaca para usted? ¿Dónde estabas? ¿Cuál fue el partido? Háblame de ese momento o la memoria.

534507-6

Choose 1:

1. Quel âge avez-vous?

18-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

44-49

50+

Choose 1:

2. Quel est votre sexe? Note: Ceci est la façon dont vous vous identifiez, pas votre sexe physique.

Homme

Femme

Trans*

Autre

Choose 1:

3. Dans quel pays résidez-vous actuellement? Si votre pays d'origine n'est pas le même que le pays dans lequel vous résidez, s'il vous plaît spécifier les deux pays dans la zone de commentaires, avec indication qui est le pays d'origine et qui est le pays de résidence actuel.

États-Unis

Royaume-Uni

France

Allemagne

Italie

Espagne

Autre (s'il vous plaît, spécifier)

Rank:

4. S'il vous plaît classer les ligues suivantes en ce quiconcerne laquelle vous suivrez le plus près (1 est la ligue à laquelle vous payez le plus d'attention). Si vous ne suivez une ligue, s'il vous plaît rang que comme 1. Si votre ligue n'est pas listé, s'il vous plaît sélectionnez «Autre».

Major League Soccer (US)

Barclay's Premiere League (England/Wales)

Ligue 1 (France)

Bundesliga (Germany)

Serie A (Italy)

La Liga (Spain)

Autre

Choose 1:

5. Détenez-vous allégeance à un club de football professionnel?

Oui

Non

Rank:

6. Que clubs soutenez-vous? S'il vous plaît classer les équipes pour lesquelles vous remonter le moral en ordre décroissant, avec votre club primaire numéro 1. Si vous encouragez pour un seul club, les classer comme 1 et laisser le blanc de repos. Si votre équipe n'est pas listé, s'il vous plaît sélectionner "Autre".

FC Dallas (MLS)

Los Angeles Galaxy (MLS)

New York Red Bulls (MLS)

Seattle Sounders (MLS)

Arsenal (BPL)

Chelsea (BPL)

Liverpool (BPL)

Manchester United (BPL)

Lyon (L1)

Marseille (L1)

Paris Saint-Germain (L1)

Bayer Leverkusen (Bundesliga)

Bayern Munich (Bundesliga)

Borussia Dortmund (Bundesliga)

Schalke 04 (Bundesliga)

AC Milan (Serie A)

Inter Milan (Serie A)

Juventus (Serie A)

Napoli (Serie A)

Atletico Madrid (La Liga)

Barcelona (La Liga)

Real Madrid (La Liga)

Valencia (La Liga)

Other

Rank:

7. Où et comment regardez-vous les matchs?

Options: Jamais, Rarement, Quelquefois, Toujours

Dans un pub/bar des sport/avec d'autres
À la maison/seule
Sous forme de flux en ligne
Via la télévision comme il est diffusé
Via la télévision sur rediffusion ou DVR

Choose all that apply:

8. Quels sont les articles vous possédez de votre club? S'il vous plaît sélectionnez toutes les réponses. N'hésitez pas à élaborer dans les commentaires. Si vous possédez pas d'articles, s'il vous plaît choisir aucun.

Aucun

Trikot officiel

Faux trikot

Echarpe

Drapeau

Veste

Sweat

T-shirt

Nain de jardin

Autre (s'il vous plaît spécifier)

Specify:

9. Avez-vous des rituels autour de votre équipe? Y a-t-il des choses que vous faites le jour du match? Choses que vous faites les jours de tirage au sort? Parlez-moi de la façon dont vous interagissez avec l'équipe. Bloguez-vous? Tweet? S'il vous plaît être aussi descriptif que possible.

Specify:

10. Avez-vous des rituels autour de votre équipe? Y a-t-il des choses que vous faites le jour du match? Choses que vous faites les jours de tirage au sort? Parlez-moi de la façon dont vous interagissez avec l'équipe. Bloguez-vous? Tweet? S'il vous plaît être aussi descriptif que possible.

5433507-7

Choose 1:

1. Wie alt sind Sie?

18-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

44-49

50+

Choose 1:

2. Was ist Ihr Geschlecht? Hinweis: Dies ist, wie Sie sich identifizieren nicht Ihre körperliche Sex.

Männlich

Weiblich

Trans*

Andere

Choose 1:

3. In welchem Land haben Sie aktuell Ihren Wohnsitz? Falls Ihr Herkunftsland vom Land Ihres Wohnsitzes abweicht, geben Sie bitte beide Länder im vorgesehenen Kommentarfeld an und kennzeichnen Sie, bei welchem Land es sich um das Herkunftsland und bei welchem um das Wohnsitzland handelt.

Vereinigte Staaten

UK

Frankreich

Deutschland

Italien

Spanien

Andere (bitte, angeben)

Rank:

4. Bitte ordnen Sie die folgenden Ligen danach, welche sie am genauesten verfolgen (1 ist die Liga, der Sie die größte Beachtung schenken). Falls Sie nur eine Liga verfolgen, bewerten Sie diese bitte mit 1. Falls Ihre Liga nicht aufgeführt ist, wählen Sie bitte „Sonstiges“.

Major League Soccer (US)

Barclay's Premiere League (England/Wales)

Ligue 1 (France)

Bundesliga (Germany)

Serie A (Italy)

La Liga (Spain)
Sonstiges

Choose 1:

5. Sind Sie treuer Fan eines Profivereins?

Ja

Nein

Rank:

6. Welche Vereine unterstützen Sie? Bitte ordnen Sie die Mannschaften(, die Sie anfeuern,) in absteigender Reihenfolge, beginnend mit dem Verein, den Sie in erster Linie unterstützen, als Nummer 1. Falls Sie nur einen Verein anfeuern, bewerten Sie diesen mit 1 und lassen den Rest frei. Falls Ihr Verein nicht aufgeführt ist, wählen Sie bitte „Sonstiges“.

FC Dallas (MLS)

Los Angeles Galaxy (MLS)

New York Red Bulls (MLS)

Seattle Sounders (MLS)

Arsenal (BPL)

Chelsea (BPL)

Liverpool (BPL)

Manchester United (BPL)

Lyon (L1)

Marseilles (L1)

Paris Saint-Germain (L1)

Bayer Leverkusen (Bundesliga)

Bayern Munich (Bundesliga)

Borussia Dortmund (Bundesliga)

Schalke 04 (Bundesliga)

AC Milan (Serie A)

Inter Milan (Serie A)

Juventus (Serie A)

Napoli (Serie A)

Atletico Madrid (La Liga)

Barcelona (La Liga)

Real Madrid (La Liga)

Valencia (La Liga)

Sonstiges

Rank:

7. Wo und wie sehen Sie sich Fußballspiele an?

Options:

Nie, Selten, Manchmal, Immer

In einer Bar/Sportsbar/zusammen mit anderen

Zu Hause/allein

Über einen Online-Stream

Als Liveübertragung im Fernsehen

Als Wiederholung im Fernsehen oder als Aufzeichnung

Choose all that apply:

8. Welche der folgenden Artikel besitzen Sie in Bezug auf Ihren Verein? Bitte kreuzen Sie alle zutreffenden an. Sie können in den Kommentaren weitere Artikel angeben, die sich in Ihrem Besitz befinden. Sie können Ihre Antwort in den Kommentaren weiter ausführen. Wenn Sie keine solchen Artikel besitzen, wählen Sie bitte "Keine".

Keine

Offizielles Trikot

Imitiertes Trikot

Schal

Flagge

Jacke (Trainingsjacke?)

Pullover

T-Shirt

Gartenzwerg

Specify:

9. Haben Sie Rituale rund um Ihre Mannschaft? Gibt es bestimmte Dinge, die Sie an Spieltagen tun? Dinge, die Sie an Auslosungstagen tun? Bitte erläutern Sie, wie Sie mit der Mannschaft interagieren. Bloggen Sie? Twittern Sie? Bitte schildern Sie alles so anschaulich wie möglich.

Specify:

10. Welcher Fußballmoment oder welche Erinnerung sticht für Sie besonders heraus? Wo waren Sie? Welches Spiel war es? Beschreiben Sie diesen Moment oder diese Erinnerung.

543507-9

Interview Protocol

Tell me about your earliest soccer memory.

Tell me about the moment where you would first have called yourself a fan.

For what club do you cheer? Tell me about your club.

What is your earliest memory of your club?

Tell me what you know about your club's history (both on and off the pitch).

What is your favorite memory of your club?

Tell me about your favorite player that has played for your club.

What role does the club play in your life?

Do you have any rituals around your club? What are they?

Tell me about a typical match day for you.

On average, how many hours a week do you spend either reading about/writing about/thinking about/watching football?

What one moment, match, or memory exemplifies your club? That is, if you were to try and explain your club to someone else, and you could only use one moment or match or memory, what would it be and why?

27 January 2014

DU IRB Board-

The following changes have been made to IRB Project [543507-1] Soccer Fan Practices and Beliefs, per the Modifications Required Letter received on 26 January 2014.

1. Reviewers would like an initial question (with check box) added to the online questionnaire to confirm consent, as participants will not be asked to complete the signed consent form. First question of the surveys has been modified to indicate that response to the questions indicates consent. An additional question would have required purchasing an upgraded account for the survey system, something that is not financially possible for the PI at this time.
2. There is no description of the recruitment process for the suggested in-person interviewees or discussion of sampling and representativity (if any). This needs to be addressed in the narrative, especially the recruitment for interview participants.
3. Also, reviewers noted that it is very possible that a casual fan would not be ideal for the interviews; however, the only inclusion criteria for the study is "soccer fan." If additional criteria will be applied for interviews, please make sure this is reflected in the Narrative.
4. Reviewers recommend adding the Skype interview consent to the waiver of documentation. Signed consent is not necessary and likely adds both risk and unnecessary burden to the study. Instead consent can be confirmed at the beginning of the Skype interview. Please revise the consent form, narrative, and (if necessary) the waiver of documentation form to reflect this change.

Both issues 2 and 3 have been addressed in the narrative (and highlighted in pink text to make them easier to see) as has the change in the consent policy regarding issue 4.

Language has also been changed in the ICF Form for interviews.

All relevant materials (the narrative and consent form) have been uploaded to IRBNet.

Cordially,

Rebecca Chabot

Approval Date: 27 January 2014 Valid for Use Through: 28 January 2016
Project Title: Soccer Fan Practices and Beliefs
Principal Investigator: Rebecca A. Chabot
Faculty Sponsor: M. Dores Cruz
DU IRB Protocol #: 543507-4
Edited ICF for Interviews

You are being asked to be in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. A member of the research team will describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything you don't understand before deciding whether or not to take part.

Invitation to participate in a research study

You are invited to participate in a research study about the practices and beliefs of soccer fans.

You are being asked to be in this research study because you are a soccer fan who has indicated a willingness to speak about how you interact with the sport and your club.

Description of subject involvement

If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to be spend approximately one hour being interviewed by the PI of this project.

This will take about 60 minutes.

Possible risks and discomforts

The researchers have taken steps to minimize the risks of this study. Even so, you may still experience some risks related to your participation, even when the researchers are careful to avoid them. There are no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study. Interview will be scheduled at your convenience and will be conducted either via Skype or Google hangout or in person, should the PI be able to make feasible arrangements to do so.

Possible benefits of the study

This study is designed for the researcher to learn more about how soccer fans interact with their clubs and the sport.

If you agree to take part in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. However, information gathered in this study may enable soccer clubs to better engage with their fans and the world through the constructive ethic that will result from this research.

Study compensation

- You will not receive any payment for being in the study

Study cost

- You will not be expected to pay any costs related to the study

Confidentiality, Storage and future use of data

To keep your information safe, the researchers will ensure that all notes and materials resulting from the interview will be kept on a password-protected computer and, if printed, in a locked locker in a secure room with restricted access. No recordings will be made of the interviews.

The data you provide will be stored on a password-protected computer and in a locked locker in a secure room with restricted access. The researchers will retain the data for the duration of the dissertation writing process.

The data will not be made available to other researchers for other studies following the completion of this research study and will not contain information that could identify you.

Interviews will be used for the purposes of this dissertation and any manuscripts that follow from it, but solely by the PI and will not be provided to other entities. We would like to include your name in the dissertation and any subsequent manuscripts that result from this research project. We want to identify you for attribution and explanatory purposes. However, you have the option to not have your name used when data from this study are published; if this is the case, please indicate so on the last page of this form; an alternate name will be used that is not traceable to you in any way.

Who will see my research information?

Although we will do everything we can to keep your records a secret, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

Both the records that identify you and the consent form signed by you may be looked at by others.

Federal agencies that monitor human subject research
Human Subject Research Committee

All of these people are required to keep your identity confidential. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Also, if you tell us something that makes us believe that you or others have been or may be physically harmed, we may report that information to the appropriate agencies.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time, including during the interview itself. If you decide to withdraw early, any information you provide will not be used and any notes taken during the interview will be deleted or shredded.

Contact Information

The researcher carrying out this study is Rebecca A. Chabot. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may email Rebecca Chabot at becky.chabot@du.edu

If the researchers cannot be reached, or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) questions, concerns or complaints regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects issues, please contact Paul Olk, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, at 303-871-4531, or you may contact the Office for Research Compliance by emailing du-irb@du.edu, calling 303-871-4050 or in writing (University of Denver, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121).

Agreement to be in this study

I have read this paper about the study or it was read to me. I understand the possible risks and benefits of this study. I know that being in this study is voluntary. I choose to be in this study: I will get a copy of this consent form.

By my verbal agreement to the conditions above, I give consent to participate in this project.

By my verbal agreement, I hereby consent to the use of information from this project in the future.

Please initial here and provide a valid email (or postal) address if you would like a summary of the results of this study to be mailed to you. _____

Signature:

Date:

Print Name:

Appendix C: FCD Official Emails and Related Materials

From: Dallas Beer Guardians <dbgofficial@gmail.com>
Date: May 13, 2014 at 4:06:09 PM CDT
To: Dallas Beer Guardians <DBGOfficial@gmail.com>
Subject: Fwd: FW: New policy effective immediately – NO BEER/LIQUID TOSSING

Dear DBG,

We have received the following email below, as a new policy as been established in the beer garden for games going forward. We understand that this goes against our traditions, and we have never received warning of complaints before this email. We understand and respect our front office, and urge you to be smart and understand the repercussions if you do participate in beer showers this weekend.

If you would like to respond with your opinion to them in a courteous and professional way, their information is listed below in the email.

If you have any questions please don't hesitate to reach back out to us.

Thanks for your passion and love for FC Dallas,

Brandon Huckabee
President

Sanguinem Sudorem et Cervisiae,
DBG Leadership

———Forwarded message———

From: Robert Casper <rcasner@fcdallas.net>
Date: Tue, May 2014 at 3:29 PM
Subject: FW: New policy effective immediately – NO BEER/LIQUID TOSSING
To: DBG <dbgofficial@gmail.com>

Brandon and DBG,

Please see below from the Toyota Stadium Operations and Security staff. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

FC Dallas recognized supporter group members,

Because of the growing number of complaints from people within your own section, the FC Dallas Operations department is implementing a new policy that will prohibit beer/liquid throw in at any time during any event in Toyota Stadium. What started out as a celebratory tradition has quickly become a problem to many including fans, FC Dallas staff and even the police officers that are posted in the beer garden. After consistently receiving complaints, we have made the decision to make the new policy effective *immediately*. The policy and our response guidelines will be swift and certain in order to take control of this escalating problem so that we can provide a positive game day experience for everyone in the general admission field seating area as well as the Budweiser Beer Garden. We are not trying to create a difficult situation but rather keep the Beer Garden fun, safe and welcoming for all fans, which will help all supporters groups grow! We want our fans to consumer their beverages rather than dousing other fans.

I have attached the new response guidelines which outlines the disciplinary plan for an offense of this policy (additions in red). In summary of the new response guidelines, any person identified throwing, tossing, or spilling beer or any liquid intentionally will be **EJECTED** immediately. Further, violators will be banished for the next home match. This policy will also be retroactive. We will be reviewing video recordings to identify violators and those violators will be subject to the same sanctions during upcoming matches.

In the coming weeks, we will be issuing “red cards” to violators to indicate that they have been identified as having violated the policy. That red card will also request identifying information of the violator so that the sanction can be officially documented and served. If the violator refuses to *voluntarily* provide the information an extended banishment and/or criminal trespass will be issued. As previously stated, a violator who receives a red card will be ejected and penalized by a banishment for one (1) more home match. No refunds will be issued. If the violator is a season ticket holder, he/she can utilize the ticket exchange program for the banishment match.

As you can imagine, because of all the complaints we are receiving, we feel that the disciplinary response to this new policy is clearly warranted. We will roll-out this policy with an absolute NO TOLERANCE approach from this point forward. You will see plenty of signage indicating the new policy. Ignorance of the policy will not be considered an excuse, so please share this message with all members of your groups.

We have always appreciated to cooperative efforts that we share with our supporters groups and we have no reason to think that this problem cannot be corrected during Saturday's home match against Chivas USA!

We appreciate your cooperation and we look forward to an exciting, safe and enjoyable second half of the home season!

From: Zac Stables <zstables@fcdallas.net>
Date: May 14, 2014 at 5:20:44 PM CDT
To: "embassy_pictures@yahoo.com" <embassy_pictures@yahoo.com>
Subject: Policy Change in Budweiser Beer Garden

Jay,

We are writing to make you aware of a change in stadium policy which will affect the area of your season ticket in the Budweiser Beer Garden.

Effective for the match this weekend v. Chivas USA, the Toyota Stadium policy has been amended to read that 'any person identified throwing, tossing, or spilling beer or any liquid intentionally will be removed from the match and suspended for the subsequent match as well (the equivalent to a player red card offense'. Reoccurring offenses by the same individual will result in longer terms of suspension. Beginning this Saturday, security will review video after each match to identify any violations which would result in a retro-active ban should the offense not be handled during the match itself—no violation prior to the implementation of this policy will be reviewed or considered.

We recognize that there may be mixed reviews from which the Beer Garde as some see the 'beer shower' as a tradition amongst supporters in this section. The traditions created and built by our supporters are appreciated and welcomed as they foster unity, increase stadium atmosphere, and encourage collective backing for the team. While surely unintended, this particular type of celebration unfortunately has caused division and complaints; even amongst our own fans in the area. We make this change at the request of the League Office in New York City, while also trying to maintain the cohesion of all our valued fans in the Budweiser Beer Garden. The Budweiser Beer Garden has grown to represent the best sports fan experience and value in DFW, and we are anxious to continue the growth of those coming together to support the team on the field each week.

We ask that any concerns of challenges with the new policy please be directed to zstables@fcdallas.com. We look forward to finding an appropriate solution for anyone who feels their fan experience is affected adversely as a result.

Thank you for your support of FC Dallas.

Zac Stables
Manager, Fan Relations

Appendix D: MDTA Ethics and Equity Proposal

MDTA Ethics and Equity Ombudsperson Panel and Reporting System Proposal

Mission, Processes, and Ethical Paradigm

Created for the Minnesota Debate Teachers Association by

Proposal authors: Becky Chabot, PhD Candidate (University of Denver)
with Dr. Keith Bistodeau, Ed.D. (Hamline University)

Revised Edition: July 2020

**DRAFT PROPOSAL--NOT FOR CIRCULATION--MDTA MEMBERS
ONLY**

Introduction and Notes on Methodology

At the 2018 MDTA Spring Meeting, the MDTA agreed to undertake several actions in order to improve equity in debate in Minnesota. This proposal addresses two of those actions:

1. Creating a reporting system for incidents of harassment at tournaments
2. The creation of an ombudsperson panel to adjudicate those incidents.

This proposal utilizes the results of the 2019 MDTA Equity Survey, which was designed to address and identify some of the equity issues that exist in the Minnesota Debate Community. While this proposal is grounded in the findings pertaining to equity issues that were made even more visible to our community by the Equity Survey, this proposal is also the result of two years of conversations and consultations with individuals across the United States who are involved in equity work in debate. The group of individuals consulted includes members of the NSDA Board of Directors, NSDA Equity Officers, as well as coaches and students, both in MN and outside of MN.

It is also the product of extensive academic training and research. Author credentials available upon request.

This proposal does largely mirror the NSDA's processes for addressing issues of equity and harassment at tournaments, though it is more contextualized and localized to Minnesota than the NSDA's policies and utilizes an ethical paradigm by which to make decisions. It incorporates NSDA best practices with Minnesota law, operating in accordance with MSHSL and MDTA policies.

This is a draft document, not the final version of the proposal. MDTA members are asked not to share this document outside of the MDTA membership; upon adoption of the final draft by the membership, copies of that final proposal may be shared freely.

We, the authors, suggest the utilization of this proposal in its draft form for the 2020-21 school year as a pilot year, during which the proposal will be regularly evaluated. At its conclusion, evaluative data (both qualitative and quantitative) will be utilized to create the final proposal prior to the next vote of the MDTA membership. Upon approval of this proposal, the research plan to assess the program over its pilot year will be presented for approval at the Fall 2020 MDTA meeting,

Finally, this is not meant to serve as a cure-all for equity issues in debate. This proposal addresses two pieces of a much larger project that the MDTA must undertake to truly address equity issues in MN debate. This proposal addresses experiences at tournaments and is not designed to address all aspects of equity.

Becky Chabot

Dr. Keith Bistodeau

10 July 2020

Section One

Reporting Procedures

Because of the uncertain nature of the 2020-21 school year, this proposal addresses both physical and virtual tournaments.

Reporting Procedure: In-Person Tournaments

Gatekeeper—The Gatekeeper has two responsibilities: they are the first point of contact for people who want to report an issue in person and they ensure that the issue is directed to the appropriate group of people, either the tournament director/tab room staff or the Ombuds Panel. In most circumstances, this role will be filled by the tournament director or a member of the tab staff. At physical tournaments, there is nearly universally someone sitting in front of Tab, whether gathering ballots or just serving as a point of information who can easily serve as the Gatekeeper. This role does not need to be a trained Ombudsperson, however the Gatekeeper should be someone who will respect the confidentiality of the process.

Initial Conversation—Each weekend, there is an Ombuds Panel Chair. If a Complainant is referred to the Ombuds Panel, their first point of contact is the Panel Chair. In that initial conversation, the Panel Chair listens to the Complainant's story and then explains the process to them. At that point, Complainants choose to either file a formal complaint or not to do so; it is entirely the choice of the Complainant as to whether or not the formal process begins. If the Complainant chooses to file a formal complaint, the Panel Chair then contacts the other members of the Ombuds Panel for that

tournament and the official process begins. Quite often, the initial conversation suffices for many Complainants and they choose not to file a formal complaint.

QR Code Reports— Not all students are comfortable walking into the tab room when an issue arises; in order to address this concern and to make it as easy as possible for students to report things, a QR code that links to the Equity Questionnaire (Appendix C) enables students/coaches to quickly report an issue during or between rounds without the need to physically walk to the tab room. The online form will be carefully monitored for submissions.

Upon receipt of a form, the Program Coordinator will either send the form to the Panel Chair at that tournament or pass the report along to tab staff if it is not an ethics or equity issue.

Filing a formal complaint— When a complaint is referred to the Ombuds Panel, the Panel Chair explains the process to the Complainant who wants to file the complaint. They are then asked to complete the second step in the process, which is to fill out the Equity Questionnaire (Appendix C) to file a formal complaint.

Investigation— When a formal complaint is received, the Panel Chair convenes the Ombuds Panel, which begins its investigation according to the process outlined in this document (Appendix D). In brief, the Complainant filing the complaint meets with the Ombuds Panel. During the course of the conversation, Ombudspersons take notes; after the conversation ends, they then confer to decide with whom they need to speak to investigate the complaint. Separate meetings are held with each person involved in the complaint.

Conferral— After all relevant information has been gathered through the investigation, the Ombuds Panel then confers to determine 1) if the investigation results require action, 2) whether the complaint rises to the level of a mandated report to the appropriate authorities, and 3) what recommendations they will give to the Tournament Director.

Recommendations to Tournament Director— The Ombuds Panel will share their recommendations for action with the tournament director. The Tournament Director then chooses to accept the recommendations, in part or sum, or to reject the Ombuds Panel's recommendations.

Follow-up with Students—At the completion of the process, the Ombuds Panel will meet with the student/coach who filed the report. The outcome of that process will not be shared with the student in detail, a follow up conversation with the student/coach provides the Ombudspersons an opportunity to ensure that the issue is resolved.

Reporting Procedures: Virtual Tournaments

This will largely mirror the in-person process, but will be done utilizing Zoom meetings to contact the Ombuds Panel. Virtual tournaments will all use two forms: one is a contact form to speak with the Panel Chair (essentially mirroring the Gatekeeping process at physical tournaments) and the second is the online form for formal complaints; initial conversations between the Panel Chair and a Complainant will occur after the contact form is submitted. The Panel Chair will then explain the process in that initial conversation and the Complainant will then have the chance to file a formal complaint. Once the formal complaint is received, the Program Coordinator will share it with the

Panel Chair for that tournament, who will convene the Ombuds Panel, and initiate the formal process.

MSHSL⁷⁴⁷ Policy

All students and coaches are bound by the MSHSL handbook and Code of Conduct for the entire season, including at invitational tournaments. MSHSL policy regarding reporting will be followed at all times and Ombudspersons will receive training from MSHSL staff on MSHSL policy. We are working with the MSHSL to ensure as much clarity around this process as possible; policies and procedures for MSHSL reports will be clearly communicated as we clarify best practices with them.

Most pertinent to the reporting system and the Ombudspersons Panel is the MSHSL's student policy regarding harassment and violence. "A student shall not engage in sexual, racial or religious harassment or sexual, racial, religious violence or hazing during the school year or any portion of an activity season which occurs prior to the start of the school year or after the close of the school year."⁷⁴⁸

If formal complaints include violence, harassment, or hazing, MSHSL policy regarding reporting will be observed. For any complaint that rises to the MSHSL-level of reportable offense, the Head Coach(es) involved will be immediately contacted by the Panel Chair, regardless of the role of the Complainant. In the event that the Alleged

⁷⁴⁷ MSHSL stand for Minnesota State High School League, the governing body for all officially-recognized high athletics and activities.

Offender is the Head Coach, the Tournament Director and Program Coordinator will contact that school's AD and follow MSHSL protocol.

The Ombuds Panel supplements MSHSL policy by enabling the debate community to address issues before they become problems that would trigger reporting and to improve the experience at invitational tournaments.

Legal Issues

General

The Ombuds Panel makes recommendations; it does not enforce those recommendations. The decision rests with the Tournament Director whether or not to take the recommended course of action. Tournament Directors who choose to have Ombudspersons present at their tournament should, in their communications to and meetings with participants, announce that there are Ombudspersons at the tournament. This ensures that the entire community present knows that the process is active for that tournament. The Ombuds Panel favors restorative practices over punitive ones; whenever possible, punitive consequences should be avoided.

If an incident is egregious or if there are repeated issues with the same person, it is ultimately the Head Coach who makes the decision about whether or not to hire someone. The confidentiality of this process means that coaches will not always be notified when there is a report about their coaches or judges; Head Coaches will be notified only if the Ombuds Panel and the Tournament Director agree that they need to be notified. While this may frustrate some Head Coaches, the process is designed to protect those involved; because judges receive pay for their work, not maintaining a strict

confidentiality policy could have economic repercussions for persons involved and could damage their reputation.

Decisions regarding removal from a tournament or hiring reside in Tournament Directors and Head Coaches, which makes confidentiality the primary area of concern for the Ombuds Panel. In the event of repeated or escalating behavior issues, or in the case of serious reports, the Program Coordinator will confer with the MDTA President about next steps. If a report includes criminal behavior or meets the legal threshold for discrimination in federal or state law, action will be taken in accordance with official MDTA policy.

Data Collection

There will be two types of data collected and the Program Coordinator is responsible for maintaining them. This process is to be stringently followed, as will be explained in the following section.

Non-identifying Data

Non-identifying data will be collected any time a student is referred to the Ombuds Panel by the Gatekeeper. Those non-identifying data points will be recorded in a spreadsheet by the Program Coordinator. At the end of the season, the Program Coordinator writes and submits a report to the MDTA Board to be distributed to all MDTA members. Each year, a new tab will be added to that same spreadsheet, so that the MDTA is able to track data year over year.

Identifying Data

The only person who will have access to the identifying data will be the Program Coordinator. They are responsible for maintaining a single record for the year; at the conclusion of the season and the report has been made to the MDTA Board, all records are purged. When the outgoing Program Coordinator trains the incoming Program Coordinator, the incoming Program Coordinator is given the opportunity to read the records from the past year before they are purged.

There is one exception to the purging of documents: any records pertaining to adults that triggered an MSHSL report or a mandated report to local law enforcement will be maintained. The outgoing Program Coordinator will give those records to the incoming Program Coordinator after the conclusion of the current season and prior to the start of the following season.

Paper form: At the tournament's completion, if any reports have been received, the Panel Chair puts the paper forms and any notes in an envelope and mails them to the Program Coordinator. No copies will be made of any paper complaint forms.

Digital form: When someone submits a complaint online, those reports go directly to the email address set up for the Program Coordinator (mdtaombuds@gmail.com), who is monitoring their email constantly during tournaments. They will then forward the complaint to the Panel Chair at that tournament. After the tournament's completion, the Panel Chair deletes the email and removes it from their servers.

College Campuses

If any reports involving harassment or discrimination regarding gender or sexual violence at a tournament held on a university campus, those incidents need to be reported to the university's Title IX Officer; the responsibility for making that report falls to either the Ombuds Panel Chair or the Tournament Director, depending on the situation. This is not the case for tournaments held at other locations, including public or private schools or off-campus tournament sites.

Mandated Reporting

In the event a reported incident requires a mandatory report be made to the appropriate authorities, it is the responsibility of the Ombuds Panel Chair to make that report; Panel Chairs should be mandated reporters in all circumstances that allow it. All mandated reports will be handled according to Minnesota state laws. The full statute is available [here](#). It is an expectation of all Ombudspersons to read and understand the statutes within.

Section Two

Constructive Social Ethic

The constructive social ethic presented here is a condensed, non-scholarly explanation of the elements of the ethical paradigm. Copies of the full paradigm, including sources and citations, will be made available to MDTA membership in early 2021. All Ombudspersons will receive training in the ethical paradigm. This is a constructive social ethic, not a prescriptive one; it provides tools and framework for processes, but is designed to be contextualized within a particular group or community. That is to say, what this ethic looks like in practice is dependent on the group utilizing the framework.

Contingent Relationships

Debate is based in contingent relationships. The existence of coaches and judges is contingent on the existence of students and vice versa. Each needs the other to exist. To be a coach, one needs people to coach; to be a competitor, one needs the opportunity to compete. Think of gears working together. Each group is a gear in the mechanism of debate. A single gear on its own does nothing; it requires other gears to turn properly. Relationships are at the core of this activity and there are times where adults lose sight of the contingent nature of those relationships. When an issue arises, it damages relationships. If one of the teeth on one of the gears suddenly grows to twice its size, it throws the entire mechanism off. Restorative practices are designed to restore relationships, which is why they are a vital part of any action recommendations the Ombuds Panel makes to the Tournament Director.

Effective Communication

Effective communication, particularly around equity issues, requires vulnerability and commitment on the part of those involved; it also requires intentionality. Beyond this, in order for communication to be effective, anyone involved in helping to address issues within our community needs to be willing to embrace the possibility that they will need to be vulnerable as well. Difficult conversations, where emotions are high on all sides, are a regular occurrence; the ability to calmly communicate at those times is vital. Additionally, Ombudspersons will rarely all be in the same place at the same time, which means that Ombudspersons need to be effective communicators with each other, as well as with Tournament Directors, Complainants, and members of the community. Hallmarks of effective communication include: prompt response times, active listening, and a willingness to engage in and skill dealing with difficult conversations.

Equity Lens

This process is about equity and that is the lens through which everything in the process should be viewed. The overarching question is always:

How does this make debate in Minnesota more equitable for our students (and others in the activity)?

Equity is not equality, though they are often conflated. Equity requires the dismantling of systems of oppression. It is always an on-going process of observation, reflection, and action. Equity work happens in an ever-growing praxis spiral, with each action taken observed and reflected upon to take further action. The Equity Lens utilizes the See-Judge-Act methodology to continually move the process forward.

See— Observation of the situation. What is happening? Who are the people involved?

What are the facts?

Judge— Reflection on the situation. What are the issues that need to be addressed? How does this impact student experience? How does this hurt relationships in the community?

What action(s) would address the issue?

Act— Action undertaken.. Once the course of action is decided, that action takes place.

That action is then observed and reflected upon, continuing the spiral.

Decision Process

Ombuds Panels at tournaments, after completing their investigation, deliberate and discuss what recommendations to make to the Tournament Director. Each of the Ombudspersons on the Ombuds Panel brings a different perspective to equity work. As such, Ombuds Panels will operate on a consensus model, collectively agreeing on the recommendations. Each Ombudsperson will share their initial thoughts and then discussion occurs. Giving every Ombudsperson the opportunity to share their thoughts before discussion commences ensures that no one person on the Ombuds Panel is making decisions without the input of the others.

If, after considerable conversation and deliberation, the Ombuds Panel cannot agree on a course of action, the recommendation of the majority of the Ombuds Panel will be reported to the Tournament Director. This is only in the case of last resort; every effort should be made to arrive at consensus.

Section Three

Ombudspersons

Mission Statement

The role of the MDTA Ethics and Equity Ombudsperson Panel is to assist tournament directors in addressing ethics and equity issue complaints as they arise at tournaments and to assist in adjudication of those issues in conjunction with tournament directors.

Research Data

The results of the 2019 MDTA Equity Survey show that we have challenges in Minnesota debate when it comes to equity. The Equity Survey addressed three key areas (racism, sexism, and ableism) and those key areas are emphasized within the proposal. This proposal encompasses challenges beyond the three that were included in the Equity Survey, as its focus was limited in scope and it was designed to simply assess where there are concerns that need to be addressed. Further and ongoing research is necessary to monitor ongoing equity issues and is discussed in the **Next Steps** section of this proposal.

Guiding Principles

There are seven principles that undergird both this proposal and the work of the panel. These are in addition to the Equity Lens through which all this work is viewed.

Confidentiality—The process, its investigations, and its outcomes must be kept confidential; only those necessary to the investigation will be part of the Ombuds Panel’s process. Ombudspersons will be required to sign confidentiality agreements and violations of that agreement may impact one’s status as an ombudsperson.

Education—Debate is an educational activity. When incidents happen and/or issues arise, they should be seen as opportunities to educate and should be engaged with as such. This process is about teaching, not punishment; it is about learning from mistakes.

Immediate Solvency—Address student concerns quickly, sensitively, confidentially, and compassionately as they arise. Ensuring every student feels heard and investigating reports as they come in aid in immediate solvency for students.

Incident-Focused—Addressing the incident and assisting students are the goals of this process; while there are consequences for actions, punishing the offender is not the goal. The focus is on the actions/behavior, rather than the person themselves, and thus directs the conversation to the behavior at issue.

Long-term Solvency—Create a long-lasting and sustainable system for addressing ethics and equity issues at tournaments in Minnesota, which in turn will bolster the efforts of individuals in the MDTA community to address the system issues that persist.

Restorative Practices—Action recommended by the Ombuds Panel must include restorative practices whenever possible and appropriate.

Student-Focused—The activity exists for students and, as such, they should be at the center of all that coaches and judges do. The focus is on student debate experiences and making debate a more equitable and positive experience for students.

Ethics and Equity Ombudspersons Panel

The selection and training of those who wish to become ombudspersons is a vital step in the move towards addressing equity issues at tournaments and the community. This portion of the proposal addresses first the question of selection requirements for those who wish to become an ombudsperson, and then addresses the issue of training the panelists. In addition to knowledge about debate, its formats, and the typical functionality of tournaments (including their governance structure), potential ombudspersons need specialized training.

Selection Criteria

1. Minimum of five years of debate experience total, with at least three years of involvement as an adult.
2. Enhances the diversity of the panel
3. Excellent communication skills, especially active listening
4. Demonstrated commitment to equity, in and out of debate
5. Completion of the application questionnaire (Appendix A), confidentiality agreement (Appendix B), and recusal agreement (Appendix C)

Selection Process

Interested persons submit an application (Appendix A; pg. 27-8), outlining their experience and responding to the questions. Should there be more interest than need, there are three potential selection processes that could be utilized to select ombudspersons.

Option 1—A selection committee of 5-9 people, composed of members of the MDTA Board, the Equity Task Force, and the previous year's Program Coordinator.

Option 2—A selection committee of 5-9 people, composed of MDTA members, students, and the previous year's Program Coordinator.

Option 3—A selection committee of 5-9 people, composed of current Ombudspersons, the MDTA president, and students.

In any of these options, utilizing the NSDA's data points for paneling outrounds at the national tournament would be a helpful tool. Those data points are race, ethnicity, gender, LGBTQ+ status, and disability status; these are not meant to represent the entirety of someone's identity, but rather to provide a matrix that can make panel selection easier.

It is the opinion of these consultants that, if the MDTA Board and membership decide to run the program as a yearlong pilot to assess its effectivity and impact, preference for selection as Ombudspersons should be given to those who often work in Tab, members of the MDTA Board, and Equity Task Force Members; others are also welcome to apply. Our suggestion is that the MDTA designate a group of five people to

select the first class of Ombudspersons from interested applicants for the 2020-21 school year.

Expectations for Ombudspersons

1. Completion of all training
2. Attendance at monthly Ombuds Panel meetings (no more than 45 minutes)
3. Attendance at processing sessions
4. Availability to work most weekends during the season
5. Commitment to using process as outlined and approved (pg. 19-23; Appendices C and D)
6. Strict adherence to the recusal policy (Appendix B)
7. Strict adherence to the confidentiality policy

Compensation

All Ombudspersons should be appropriately compensated for their work..

Ombudspersons commit their time and energy to the process and that time and energy are valuable. This work includes significant emotional labor on the part of Ombudspersons, work that is rarely compensated but that requires a lot of the persons doing it.

Additionally, as Ombudspersons will not be judges at tournaments, service as an

Ombudsperson would mean a potential loss of income for that weekend. Compensation would ideally include a stipend for the year and payment for tournaments worked. The

Program Coordinator should also receive a stipend to compensate them for time spent on administration of the Ombuds Panel and Reporting System.

For the pilot year, we recommend the following compensation for the Program Coordinator and the Ombudspersons:

Program Coordinator: \$250 for the season
Ombudspersons: \$100 to compensate time spent in training
\$65 per Ombudsperson for every day of service.

For the pilot year, we suggest the following:

1. The MDTA pays the Program Coordinator \$250 and each Ombudsperson \$100 to compensate for training and work over the season.
2. For those schools who are financially able to do so, they are asked to pay their Ombudsperson as a judge.
3. For those schools who are not financially able to do so, the MDTA pays the Ombudsperson.

As of now, there are 52 potential shifts for Ombudspersons. We expect that number to go down, as Tournament Directors confirm whether or not they want an Ombuds Panel at their tournaments. In the event that tournaments are online, the number of potential shifts drops dramatically.

Program Coordinator

Each year, one Ombudsperson serves as the Program Coordinator. The Program Coordinator is responsible for creating and maintaining the schedule for all Ombudspersons. The Program Coordinator is also the liaison to Tournament Directors and serves as the point of contact for Tournament Directors who wish to have Ombudspersons at their tournament. The Program Coordinator is also responsible for maintaining all paperwork and records during that year, as well as scheduling processing sessions. They are also responsible for crafting an annual report for membership that analyzes data collected and provides a comprehensive overview of the work done by the Ombudspersons over the year.

There are two parts to the record keeping done by the Program Coordinator. The first is the maintenance of a [spreadsheet of non-identifying data points](#) gathered from all interactions between ombudspersons and complainants, regardless of whether or not a formal complaint is filed. The second is the collection and management of identifying data. The person in this position should rotate annually; after the pilot year, the Program Coordinator should be an experienced Ombudsperson.

Assignment of Ombudspersons at Tournaments

The goal is to have a team of three Ombudspersons at each tournament: a Chair for the weekend and two additional members of the Ombuds Panel. If the number of trained Ombudspersons is not sufficient to staff multiple tournaments in a single weekend, the Panel will be split across sites, with the on duty members of the Ombuds Panel in regular contact throughout the day. Assignments made by the Program Coordinator will primarily be based on two criteria:

1. which Ombuds Panel members will be at which tournaments and
2. the diversity of the panel from the available Ombudspersons

Important note: when an Ombudsperson is serving on the Ombuds Panel at a tournament, they should not be in the judging pool; being available throughout the tournament at short notice is a requirement of all Ombudspersons on duty. Ombudspersons can also work as tab staff, but the Panel Chair cannot be the Tournament Director.

For virtual competition, there will be a single three-to-five-person Ombuds Panel for the weekend, available in a Zoom meeting throughout the entire day, with a breakout room that will be used for confidential conversation and deliberation. Tournament directors or designated tab staff will be able to access the Ombuds Panel in that Zoom meeting; if there are reported incidents, this format also enables the Ombuds Panel to investigate reports, speak with involved parties, and continue to deliberate as a unit. Additional members of the Ombuds Panel will be on-call during that period, in the event that one of the Ombudspersons working needs to recuse themselves or the volume of reports requires additional assistance.

Responsibilities of Ombuds Panel Chair

Each tournament will have a designated Ombuds Panel Chair. The Panel Chair has additional responsibilities during tournaments. The Panel Chair is responsible for convening the Ombuds Panel when they are needed, watching for incoming online form reports from the Program Coordinator, and serving as the liaison to the Tournament Director and tab staff.

If there is a conflict of interest for an Ombudsperson, who then recuses themselves, the Panel Chair contacts another Ombudsperson to serve as the third member of the Ombuds Panel for that report; in the event a conflict of interest is determined by the Panel Chair and the Tournament Director after consultation with coaches involved, the Panel Chair has the authority to remove an Ombudsperson from the Ombuds Panel for that

report. The Panel Chair also is responsible for following up on any issues not resolved during the tournament and for making any mandated reports to the proper authorities.

In the event that the Panel Chair has a conflict of interest, the Panel Chair will 1) convene the Ombuds Panel, 2) designate one of the other Ombudspersons to chair the process, and 3) contact a replacement Ombudsperson. Finally, the Panel Chair is responsible for providing the Program Coordinator with the non-identifying data points for that tournament at its conclusion.

Training

After the first group is selected, training will happen in a cohort model, so that all members of the Panel have the opportunity to know each other and to learn from each other. This is particularly important because people's life experience varies vastly and Ombudspersons will need to rely on each other's experience throughout the process. Comprehensive training is vital to effectively address student concerns. All training sessions will be conducted in accordance with the seven guiding principles outlined previously, through the Equity Lens (omitted). Training sessions will provide both theoretical and practical knowledge; these training sessions will require some activity and reading work outside of sessions, though the time required outside of training sessions will be minimal.

While a small portion of training will be conducted by members of the MDTA community, the majority of training will be conducted by trainers from community organizations. These individuals and organizations need to be compensated for their time and their expertise; as we have contacted organizations, we have asked them what

compensation they feel is fair. While this includes monetary compensation, our conversations have also included creative forms of compensation (i.e., all ombudsperson would pledge one hour of their time over the course of the year to that organization). The expertise that these trainers are able to impart is vital to the training of Ombudspersons.

The labor that goes into equity work requires compensation. Not only because professionals doing professional work always need to be compensated, but because this labor is also psychological, emotional, exhausting and rarely compensated in any way. This is especially true for BIPOC members of our community; our history is riddled with the stealing and appropriation of their labor.

We, the authors of this proposal, are steadfastly committed to two things and urge the MDTA to make the same commitments for this training program:

1. Those doing equity work for the MDTA must be fairly compensated.
2. Those doing the labor are best suited to determine what fair compensation is.

Training Areas

Based on the Equity Survey data and knowledge of the community, a number of topic areas have been identified as necessary parts of training Ombudspersons. This is not an exhaustive list of the topics to be covered, nor do the summaries contain all materials and methodologies that will be used in the course of the training process. Most topic areas will involve some form of self-assessment on the part of Ombudspersons prior to that session. All processes and procedures in this document will be included in the training of all Ombudspersons.

Implicit Bias/Anti-Bias

Implicit bias training invites participants to examine how their own life experiences have shaped their views. It requires introspection and a willingness to face one's own prejudices, as the training brings those to the surface. Each person has the opportunity to learn what their unconscious biases are and to develop tools to address those biases. The training will be a combination of several different methodologies. Prior to the start of group training sections, all Ombudspersons will take the Harvard Implicit Bias Test. Then, all Ombudspersons will complete the Implicit Bias Module Series created by the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University.

Antiracism

The Minnesota debate community is diverse, but the diversity of the student population is not reflected in the coaching and judging populations. The results of the Equity Survey clearly show that racism and racial prejudice impact BIPOC students at tournaments. The murder of George Floyd by MPD officers has catalyzed our community and opened the eyes of many to the realities of white supremacy and white privilege for the first time. Racism is both active (i.e. calling someone a racial slur) and passive (failing to address structural issues that contribute to racial inequity and reinforce white supremacy). The debate space is similarly riddled with racial inequity and white supremacy. It is not enough to not be racist; all Ombudspersons must commit to antiracism as a core tenet of how they do their work. All Ombudspersons will read *How To Be An Antiracist* by Ibram X. Kendi; Ombudspersons are also encouraged to work their way through the resources listed on the MDTA Equity Page.

For White Ombudspersons, this training is especially important; those who are White need to wrestle with their own racism to be truly committed to antiracism. This is often an uncomfortable process, bringing with it feelings of shame and guilt, but it is a necessary one to ensure that all Ombudspersons are equipped to compassionately and sensitively address incidents of racism/racial prejudice as they occur. As such, White Ombudspersons will complete additional training in this area. All White Ombudspersons are expected to read Biased by Jennifer Eberhardt and there will be processing sessions wherein White Ombudspersons are able to process feelings of guilt and shame in a space so that it does not place BIPOC members of the community in a situation where they are

asked to comfort or assuage those feelings. BIPOC members of the community should not have to deal with White fragility and all that accompanies it.

Sexism, Violence, and Trauma

Sexism is rampant in debate around the country, and the same is true in Minnesota debate. Issues related to sexism also make up the majority of complaints filed with the NSDA. Female students routinely face extra scrutiny in the debate space, with judges commenting on their appearance, the pitch of their voice, and the tone of their arguments.

Training will address the ways in which the patriarchy has created spaces of exclusion and a parallel set of rules for men and women, while also addressing the overt and covert ways that sexism and misogyny operate, especially in the debate space. It will also discuss tools for combatting everyday sexism.

Ableism

While the Equity Survey data did not highlight ableism as a major area of concern, ableism in debate does impact students. Understanding the role that ableism plays in debate enables the Ombudspersons to recognize the ways in which debate requires persons with disabilities to adapt so that they fit into a particular mold in order to participate. Many disabilities are not immediately apparent and, because of that, ableism issues are often just below the surface.

Training will examine ableism from two different approaches: one for those who do not have challenges related to ableism and one for those who do. Training will utilize critical disability theory and current best practices in the field, looking particularly at the ways in which ableism shapes the debate space. It is designed to educate Ombudspersons about ableism and orient the Ombudspersons' understanding of ableism from a curricular epistemological lens.

Economic Inequality

One of the limitations of the MDTA Equity Survey was that it did not ask any questions about economic inequality. While additional research would be required to assess the quantitative aspect of this, there is no question that economic inequality impacts students and adults alike. The current state of the global pandemic is such that it is very likely that students will be competing for part or all of their season in a virtual format, which poses accessibility issues for many students; this is just one example of how economic inequality is experienced in the debate space.

Training will examine the ways in which economic inequality shapes the lives of community members, with particular attention paid to how it impacts the debate space.

LGBTQ+: Queerness in the Debate Space and Best Practices

Along with sexism, issues around gender identity and, to a lesser extent, sexual orientation are regular occurrences. One piece of this is using the correct pronouns, but even a conversation about pronouns requires nuance not currently part of conversations

about them. The Panel needs to approach these issues from a perspective that is informed by science, both physical and social.

Training will examine the complexities of gender and orientation, orienting Ombudspersons to the spectrums on which gender and orientation exist. Special attention will be paid to best practices concerning the affirmation of gender identities and the ways in which spaces can be welcoming and supportive of all students.

Intersectionality

All of the above topics will be approached from the perspective of intersectionality, paying close attention to the ways in which various forms of oppression layer on each other. One cannot address any system of oppression without a genuine understanding of the ways in which systems of oppression reinforce each other.

Trauma-Informed Interactions

The mental health of students is more important than any debate round. At times, arguments and comments trigger a trauma response in students. Trauma alters the way students handle a situation and trauma responses need to be handled. Ensuring that all ombudspersons know how to engage with a student who is traumatized makes the process easier for students.

The training will address how to recognize the signs of trauma, how to engage with someone experiencing a trauma response, and how to validate a trauma survivor's response to a trigger. It will also include direct engagement with trauma survivors who will share their experiences in the intersection of trauma and debate.

Mandated Reporting, Confidentiality, and Legal Issues

All Ombudspersons will receive training on Minnesota's mandatory reporting statutes. Additionally, all Ombudspersons will receive training on the confidentiality agreement and the MDTA policy on criminal conduct.

Training Logistics

Each year, there would be a single cohort of Ombudspersons. Until the global pandemic passes, all training sessions will be conducted as webinars and Zoom discussion groups. Upon the return to normal activities, training sessions will be conducted in-person over the course of two days during the summer at a location yet to be determined (likely a participating school). Each class of Ombudspersons will be ready to begin at the start of the following school year.

An additional training day will be offered each summer for all Ombudspersons. That training will reflect any developments in scholarship and address any changes made to policies. Half of that day will be dedicated to a retreat for participants, facilitated by Ms. Nicole Dimich to process the year and to set goals for the upcoming season. Ombudspersons will also have additional processing opportunities with Ms. Dimich; the frequency and timing will be decided by the members of the Ombuds Panel (up to four per year). This kind of work requires significant emotional labor on the part of the Ombudspersons and the ability to process that labor needs to be part of any reporting system instituted.

Section Four

Next Steps

Pilot Program

As with any proposal, a pilot program is recommended to determine effectiveness; if this system is approved to pilot, one year would give us a chance to evaluate the proposal on a regular basis, as well as to conduct some of the additional research needed to fill the gaps in our knowledge about equity issues in Minnesota debate. A researcher, someone not involved in the development of this proposal or its implementation, will develop those evaluative protocols (qualitative and quantitative) and tools. At the conclusion of the year, those evaluative measures and data will be utilized in the creation of the final proposal at the Spring 2021 MDTA meeting.

More Research

Additional research into equity, including ongoing monitoring of trends in reporting, needs to be conducted. This includes the ethnographic portion of this year's research, which will begin during the summer, after the protocol is written and approved; it is very likely that these conversations will bring forth additional challenges for the MDTA to address. Going forward, if the MDTA wants to measure any gains they make in these areas, qualitative and quantitative equity data needs to be collected annually.

Compensation Committee

Formation of a committee of persons from the MDTA board, membership, and Ombudspersons is necessary to determine what adequate compensation for Ombudspersons would be and investigate potential funding sources (i.e. grants) for that compensation.

Harassment and Discrimination Policy

The MDTA should craft and adopt an official Harassment and Discrimination Policy; this would provide clear guidance to the community on these issues and provide language that Tournament Directors are able to utilize at their tournament, in communications, etc. Though the MDTA does not have the authority to tell tournament directors what they must do, an official Harassment and Discrimination Policy affirms the MDTA's commitment to ethics and equity, while providing MDTA members with tools to improve tournament experiences for students. The NSDA's policy can be found in Appendix E (pg. 32).

Final Draft

After evaluative data is collected, coded, and analyzed, a final draft of the proposal encompassing the changes needed to the program will be submitted to the MDTA membership for adoption.