

WATCHING THE WORLD CUP, AMERICAN STYLE:
RACE, NATIONALITY, AND GENDER IN THE WORLD'S GAME

by

DANIEL T. BUFFINGTON

(Under the Direction of Linda Grant)

ABSTRACT

This project explores the role of international sport and mass media in the processes of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups. Using qualitative content analysis I document the patterned ways in which media coverage of men's World Cup soccer characterized national teams, their players, and fans as having a peculiar style of performing or celebrating sport based on national identity. I analyzed how style in this context acted as a form of cultural representation that drew upon the racial and economic history of the nation to conceptualize its imaginary core. In particular, I highlight the way U.S. nationality was constructed via its differentiation from other nationalities as understood through their relationship to soccer and the World Cup. I approach these mediated depictions as part of the social construction or framing of reality that contributes to an understanding of social identity rooted in separate, hierarchically-arranged categories. I supplemented this analysis of media content through ethnographic observation at two nationally-distinct fieldsites where fans gathered to watch live broadcasts of the World Cup. In this way, I was able to move beyond some of the limitations inherent to the study of media texts in isolation by specifying how the format (television broadcast) and context (the public space of the sports bar) of media text consumption impacted its reception. Patrons who gathered to watch these broadcasts experienced this act of consumption as a dialogical interplay between the personal act of viewing the

televised broadcast and their collective engagement with a temporary community of fellow sport spectators. Analyses showed that while viewers shared a discourse about nationality and ability similar to that outlined in the analysis of media texts, the format of reception, in particular the public nature of the context, provided opportunities to construct meaning collectively and interactionally unavailable to the private viewer. Thus, I was able to show how media content became bound up in social relations that impacted how patron's received information provided via the television broadcast.

INDEX WORDS: Culture; Social inequality; Social identity; Mass media; Sport; Soccer; nationality; Race; Ethnicity; Gender; Masculinity

WATCHING THE WORLD CUP, AMERICAN STYLE:
SPORT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL, GENDER, AND RACIAL IDENTITY
IN THE WORLD'S GAME

by

DANIEL T. BUFFINGTON

B.A., The University of New Mexico, 1999

M.A., The University of Georgia, 2003

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Athens, GA

2008

© 2008

Daniel T. Buffington

All Rights Reserved

WATCHING THE WORLD CUP, AMERICAN STYLE:
SPORT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL, GENDER, AND RACIAL IDENTITY

IN THE WORLD'S GAME

by

DANIEL T. BUFFINGTON

Major Professor: Linda Grant

Committee: Jim Dowd
Patricia Richards

Electronic version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
December 2008

DEDICATION

There's only one Sarah Daniels....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Like all intellectual work, this project is product of the efforts of many people. The conceptualization of the dissertation owes much to the work of Hugh O'Donnell, Benedict Anderson, and Eduardo Archetti, among others. I would like to thank Linda Grant, Jim Dowd, Patricia Richards, and Todd Fraley for their advice and comments on this project. Linda deserves special recognition for her wonderful mentoring that always kept me looking forward. I would also like to thank mom, dad, Beth, Sarah, and the Shearer Creek gang for their nearly-eternal patience with me during the writing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Sport-Nationality Nexus.....	5
From the National to National Intersections.....	7
The Importance of Media Studies.....	11
Soccer in the USA?.....	13
Outline of Study.....	14
Orientation.....	16
2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORY.....	19
Theorizing Nationalism in a Globalized World.....	20
National Sporting Styles.....	23
From Sociology of the Media to Sport Fandom.....	38
3 METHODS.....	45
Media Sample.....	46
Ethnography.....	65
Summary.....	72
4 SOCCER STYLE AS CULTURAL REPRESENTATION: REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL TEAM; IMAGINING THE NATION.....	78

Representing the National Team; Imagining the Nation.....	79
Soccer Style as Cultural Representation.....	93
Chapter Discussion.....	105
5 INDIVIDUAL POINTS OF INTERSECTION: RACE, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY THROUGH THE PRISM OF NATIONALITY.....	113
Racailizing Nationality: Comparing Coverage of Brazil, France, and USA.....	115
A South in the North: The American South and U.S. Nationalism.....	125
Chapter Discussion.....	139
6 U.S. AND THEM: U.S. AMBIVALENDE TOWARDS THE WORLD’S SPORT AS AMERICAN NATIONALISM.....	146
Differentiating Us from Them: The U.S. Versus the World.....	147
Sport Fandom as National Culture.....	170
Chapter Discussion.....	177
7 VIRTUAL FANDOM: WATHCING THE WORLD CUP IN PUBLIC SPACE.....	181
Virtual Fandom: Watching Soccer as Mediated Social Event.....	183
Talking about Nationality Through Soccer: Interests and Claims.....	198
Chapter Discussion.....	207
8 SOCCER, NATIONALISM, AND HEIRARCHIES OF RACE, ETHNICTY AND GENDER.....	213
Theoretical Considerations and Contributions.....	215
Thinking Socially.....	229
Limitations.....	231
REFERENCES.....	234

Academic Works Cited.....	234
Newspaper Articles Cited.....	251
APPENDICIES.....	286
A DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF NATIONAL TEAMS.....	286
Europe.....	286
Latin America.....	295
Africa.....	298
Southwest Asia and North Africa.....	300
East Asia.....	301
Australia.....	303
U.S.A.....	303

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1: Distribution of Newspaper Articles by Publication, Year, and Location.....	74
Table 3.2: Distribution of Authors by Publication and Year: Overseas-based.....	75
Table 3.3: Distribution of Authors by Publication and year, U.S.-based.....	76
Table 3.4: List of Televised Games Transcribed by Announcing Team.....	77
Table 4.1: Distribution of Team Tendencies by Region.....	107
Table 4.2: Distribution of Team Tendencies by Country.....	108
Table 4.3: Distribution of Offensive-Defensive Skills by Region.....	109
Table 4.4: Distribution of Offensive-Defensive Skills by Country.....	110
Table 4.5: Distribution of Physical and Mental Skills by Region.....	111
Table 4.6: Distribution of Physical and Mental Skills by Country.....	112
Table 5.1: Distribution of Selected Skills for Brazil, by Racial/Ethnic Grouping.....	144
Table 5.2: Distribution of Selected Skills for France, by Racial/Ethnic Grouping.....	144
Table 5.3: Distribution of Selected Skills for USA, by Race/Ethnicity.....	145
Table 6.1: Temporal Distribution of Fan Tendency Comments for USA, by Media Source.....	179
Table 6.2: Distribution of Fan Tendency Comments for Overseas, by Tournament.....	180

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 4.1: Offensive-Defensive Antinomy and Related Skills.....	85
Figure 4.2: Physical Antinomy and Related Skills.....	87
Figure 4.3: Emotional Antinomy and Related Skills.....	89
Figure 4.4: Field of Soccer Representation.....	90
Figure 7.1: Fieldsite 1: The Soccer Pub.....	211
Figure 7.2: Fieldsite 2: The Biergarten.....	212

- Chapter 1 -

Introduction

In 1988, Pierre Bourdieu called for a more serious and engaged program for the sociological study of sport. At the time, this statement by such a prominent theorist seemed to offer much promise for future scholarly explorations. Yet, despite increasing recognition of its importance for society and daily life over the ensuing two decades, the most recent summary of the field in the *Annual Review of Sociology* indicated that sport remains “a relatively neglected and undertheorized area of sociological research” (Washington and Karen, 2001: 187) suggesting it is still, as it was then, a substantive area “scorned by sociologists” (Bourdieu, 1988: 153).

In this project, I make a case for the centrality of sport for the study of society by showing how it is intimately bound up in the larger processes of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups by exploring media coverage of men’s World Cup soccer. In this sense, I ground this study within the broad turn (Friedland and Mohr, 2004) towards culture as a primary subject of interest to sociology (also see Alexander and Smith, 2003; Smith, 1998) and the emergence of discourse and textual representation as a major field of research (Turner, 1990; also see Bernstein and Blain, 2003). As Lutz and Collins (1993) noted, this cultural turn has “sparked interest across the social sciences and humanities in the question of how people represent various kinds of human differences – racial/ethnic, gender, historical and class – to themselves and each other” (p. 3). I follow this lead by showing how coverage of the World Cup drew upon culturally constructed differences in nationality, race, class, and gender to evaluate and rank different social groups within these categories.

Sport provides a fertile field for researching representations of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups because “sport is about difference” (Tudor, 1998: 147). Whether assigned to individuals or collectives, sport provides a number of criteria (statistical measurements, wins and losses, skills, stylistic differences in play) through which competitors can be compared, distinguished, and ranked. Thus, when journalists describe sport performances they “articulate the conjunction where difference and identity meet” (p. 147). However, sport offers more than just opportunities for articulating culturally constructed differences between groups. The common interest generated by sporting events create opportunities for collective engagement and the production of “we-feelings” (Dunning, 1999: 6) often thought to be absent from modern life. Thus, sport helps individuals to negotiate the process of belonging to, as well as being excluded from, social groups (Abrams, Hogg, and Marques, 2005: 2; Calhoun, 2007: 1; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 2; Tajfel, 1982: 2).

Because exploring identity construction in this context involves researching mass media, one is immediately confronted with a series of issues regarding the representation of social reality. Living in a media saturated society (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003) means having access to a whole series of images and ideas about the world that go far beyond personal experience. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of modern existence is the “infusion of everyday life... with temporally and spatially distant events” (Boden and Molotch: 1994: 277). For this reason, mass media have been central to a number of theoretical concerns regarding contemporary society, such as the “framing” (Benford and Snow, 2000: 626; Gitlin, 1980) or “social construction” of reality (Bourdieu, 1998; Gamson, et. al, 1992; Tuchman, 1978), the cross-national exchanges of culture that characterize globalization (Held and McGrew, 2003: 17), and postmodern concerns with

simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983 1989), spectacles (Debord, 1967/1994), and fragmented social existence (Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1984; Lyotard, 1984).

These theories share a concern for how mediated representations of the social world blur “the lines between the 'realistic' and the fictional” (Appadurai, 1990: 299). Stereotyping denotes one rather vexing potential manifestation of misrepresentation, one that has been a prominent topic for previous research on symbolic production of identity in media (Pescosolido, Grauerholz, and Milkie, 1997), especially within sport (Davis and Harris, 1998; Plymire, 2005; Tudor, 2006). Much of this research operates with the implicit assumption that sport is a microcosm of society, “reflecting” (Frey and Eitzen, 1991; Lapchick, 1986) its institutional and representational hierarchies and inequalities. While such perspectives have much to offer in terms of documenting prejudice, if we are to truly engage in a “strong program” of culture (Alexander and Smith, 2003; also see Friedland and Mohr, 2004; C. Smith, 2003; P. Smith 1998) – one capable of recognizing sports’ independent force (Hartmann, 2000) - then media coverage of sport cannot be considered as merely mirroring society. Thus, I approach the representations present in World Cup coverage to be “structures of meaning” and “configurations of feeling” (Hall, 1975: 16) that actively contribute to structuring of inequality.

This means that even when cultural representations do not encompass stereotyping and other forms of “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu, 1998: 17) that directly disparage other groups they still impinge upon issues of social inequality through their ability to give value-laden meanings to social life. On this point, I am particularly indebted to Nancy Fraser’s (1997 2000 2003) theorizing on maldistribution and misrecognition as independent, yet entwined components of injustice and inequality (also see Benhabib, 2002). Accordingly, while maldistribution operates through processes such as exploitation, economic marginalization, and

deprivation that impact economic fortunes, misrecognition encompasses “social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication” (Fraser, 1997: 14) that frame social actors in particular cultural terms. The latter includes:

cultural domination (being subjected to patterns of interpretation and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one’s own);
nonrecognition (being rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretive practices of one’s own culture); and *disrespect* (being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions) (Fraser, 2003: 13, emphasis added).

In this sense, Fraser differs from others who have conceptualized misrecognition in terms of psychological damage (e.g. Honneth [1996]; Taylor [1994]) by framing it as cultural meaning assigned to groups. Thus, “institutionalized patterns of cultural value [constitute] some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient and inferior” (Fraser, 2003: 30).

Here Fraser’s model has clear overlaps with the study of intergroup relations in social identity theory (e.g. Abrams, Hogg, and Marques, 2005; Tajfel, 1982). Cognizant of the psychologically functional aspects of group classification as a way of simplifying an utterly complex reality, this perspective recognizes that “psychological processes ensure that groups are inevitable, but do not directly govern what type of groups they are, what characteristics they have, or how they relate to other groups” (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 18). Rather, these features emerge historically from the social relations forged between groups. These include value-laden comparisons across categories that constitute some groups as dominant and others as subordinate (Deschamps, 1982; Rice and Mullen, 2005; Tajfel, 1982). Thus, social identity theory recognizes that cultural depictions give meaning to social life in part through their ability to mediate the

individual's membership or estrangement from various groups and the social relations of power between them.

In Fraser's model, the culturally prescribed valuations of groups of social actors are understood as operating autonomously within and through institutions (2003: 29), and, as in the social identity approach, necessitate historical and cultural analysis (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 18; Tajfel, 1981: 162-3). As an autonomous force, misrecognition operates as its own form of inequality giving rise to attempts on the part of social actors to control their own representation, most explicitly seen in identity politics. Still, they inform and are informed by economic relations in a manner similar to how status operates as a "specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*" (Weber, in Grusky, 2001: 136) in Weberian class theory (Fraser, 2003: 14). For example, cultural frames that associate black males with laziness and irresponsibility impact their desirability as workers in the eyes of employers (Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991; Wilson, 1996: 111-146).

Following from these insights, I approach media coverage of the World Cup as one example of the articulation of these institutionalized patterns of culture and meaning. Thus, I pay particular attention not only to the representations, but also to the ways these representations create distinctions with the potential to evaluate and rank social actors and groups in cultural terms that have implications for other forms of inequality in society.

THE SPORT-NATIONALITY NEXUS

International sport and nationalism are inextricably linked. Although overstated, George Orwell's famous aphorism that sport is "war minus the shooting" (1950) captures the degree to which sport contests – especially when played in an international context – mimic warfare between nations (Dunning, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986) in arousing both collective loyalties

for and rivalries between national groups among spectators and participants. Thus, as a social practice prone to arousing awareness of identity and difference, sport provides ample opportunities for the enactment of two related components fundamental to group formation: inclusion and exclusion (Abrams, Hogg, and Marques, 2005). Although the nations represent themselves as different, they do this difference work in similar ways (Lechner, 2007).

Inclusion operates at a national level by highlighting what members of a national community share. Through an “inward-looking process” (Higson, 1998: 358) nations define themselves around common history, traditions, sense of place, and other shared experiences (McClintock, 1997). Sport has frequently been cited as providing this sense of *sameness*. Elias and Dunning (1986) have noted that sport’s mass popularity in modernity derives, in part, from its ability to provide a unique field of interaction. Whereas much of modern social life can be characterized by increasing social atomization and the development of norms aimed at self-regulation of behavior, sport encourages high levels of emotional expression in public space and those non-instrumental forms of interpersonal interaction Simmel (1949) dubbed sociability (see Giulianotti, 2005). In this way, sporting events approximate those sacred moments of time wherein feelings of collective effervescence (Durkheim, 1915/1965) mediate the individual’s relationship to a group larger than themselves. Several studies (Crolley and Hand, 2006; Hogan, 2003; Hunter, 2003; Rowe, McKay, and Miller, 1998) have shown the importance of sport to forming imaginary bonds between members of a national collective that can never expect to know each other through interpersonal interaction (Anderson, 1983/1991). Not surprisingly, international sport is often seen as a particularly salient arena for socialization into national identity (Sack and Zuster, 2000).

However, nations also define themselves through exclusion by specifying who does not belong to the national community (Calhoun, 1997: 45; Higson, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 1993: 624). Thus, this aspect of national identity formation highlights *difference*, specifying what makes the in-group distinct from the out-group. As globalization makes us more aware of those beyond our borders and raises concerns regarding homogenization, nations feel even stronger pulls to specify what makes them unique (Lechner, 2007; Lechner, 2008). The direct competition structured into modern sport provides a ready-made adversary against whom perceptions of the in-group may be contrasted (Archetti, 1994a: 60-1; 1994b: 233-4; Boyle and Haynes, 2000: 143 Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001, 201). Even more, these rivalries are enacted in an emotionally riveting situation, enhanced by the collective enactment of nationally-significant symbolic content (colors, flags, anthems, etc) used to demarcate who belongs by clearly indicating group loyalties and disloyalties.

Thus, I begin this project with the assumption that sport and nationality are mutually constitutive fields that reinforce each other. Sport gives form to national identity by providing opportunities for the collective representation and enactment of sameness and difference. As the site of their most obvious intersection, international sporting events such as the World Cup provide a fertile environment for exploring the symbolic production of the national.

FROM THE NATIONAL TO NATIONAL INTERSECTIONS

While focusing on nationality, this project also sheds light on nationality's intersection with other categorical identities (namely, race and gender) that influence the mode of representation. When journalists describe members of national teams, they are, of course, not just describing citizens of nations. Players are also inscribed with race, gender, and class identities (among others) that are inseparable. For this reason, it is no longer sufficient – as most textual

analyses of sports reporting do – to research race, nationality, and gender as if they were separate entities. Thus, I ground this project within the “constitutive” approach (Yuval-Davis, 2006) to intersectionality (Acker, 2006; Browne and Misra, 2003; Kivisto and Hartung, 2007; McCall, 2005; Pheonix and Pattynama, 2006; Walby, 2007; L. Weber, 2001) by revealing the “distinctive yet interlocking structures of oppression” (Hill Collins, 2004: 84) that permeate media presentations of gender, race, and nationality in the World Cup. Rather than a calculable formula that makes all forms of inequality commensurable, the constitutive approach seeks out specific cases of intersection in order to specify their contingent qualities within a particular social context (Hill Collins, 2004: 85; McCall, 2005: 1791). For example, in a recent article concerned with inequality in the job market, the authors sought to trace out “social constructions of gender that are racialized and social constructions of race that are gendered” within the field of work (Browne and Misra, 2003: 490). This project follows this lead in exploring the several ways nationality, race, gender, and other identities met and overlapped within the context of international sport.

The intersection of race with nationality will prove especially interesting in this context because global migration networks have led to many national teams employing athletes of varying skin tones and ancestral backgrounds (Bale and Maguire, 1994; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001; Maguire, 1999). As “the most visible of fetishes” (Bhabha 1999: 166) skin tone provides one marker of within-team difference likely of significance to those socialized into the phenotypically oriented American racial classification system. In addition, racial identity has been shown to be a significant influence on how men and their masculinity are represented publicly (Connell, 1995), especially in the field of sport. A well-established literature on U.S.-based professional and collegiate sports documents that journalists routinely present Black and

White players oppositionally, with the former associated with physical abilities and the later with mental skills (Buffington, 2005; Davis and Harris, 1998). This project explores the overlapping of national and racial identity by addressing the following questions: *How are male athletes of the same nationality, but of different skin tones, presented? Given that the context is international, will nationality override racial identity in the descriptions provided by commentators or will the pattern present in domestic U.S. sports prevail?* Because the World Cup contains such a mixture of teams from across the globe, some of which employ players from diverse backgrounds, I am also able to move beyond the usual Black-White binary that structures so much of scholarly work on race in the United States (Browne and Misra, 2003: 507; Kim, 1999) by providing specific information on the representation of East Asian, North African, Southwestern Asian, and Latino identities in the U.S. media.

When considering the role gender plays in this context, it is important to remember that the social world I explore is saturated with men: male players, male coaches, male administrators, male commentators, mostly male writers, and mostly male fans. Thus, when journalists make declarative statements about fans, teams, and players or one national fan group engages in banter, this involves (primarily) men explicating what masculinity entails through discourse or performance (West and Zimmerman, 1987) for consumption by other men. One of the more significant ways this manifests in sport involves the high evaluation accorded to the ability to inflict physical violence and deny its effects (Citcher, 1991: 73; Messner, 2007: 91-106; Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt, 2000; Messner and Sabo, 2004; Maguire, 1999), which forms a primary means for male fans to celebrate minor male-female physical differences as a marker of male superiority (see Messner, 1992: 168; Trujillo, 1994). In addition, in this context representing the national team as an embodiment of the nation exemplifies one of the ways in

which the national imaginary becomes gendered (McClintock, 1997). As several scholars have pointed out (Richards, 2004; Walby, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1993) men and women become culturally connected with different facets of the nation. In this case, male athletes represent the physical energy, strength, and force of the national collective symbolized through sport performance and celebration. In this sense, masculinity in the social world I explore is linked into the larger field of gender relations through its ability to structure men's relationships to women vis-à-vis the relative exclusion of women and symbolic devaluation of femininity.

However, as a growing body of literature has suggested, men also form relationships with each other grounded in inequality and power differences (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Kimmel, 2001; Klein, 1995; Majors, 1998; Messner, 1992). Accordingly, there are multiple forms of masculinity that operate in relation to one another, some valorized, idealized, and highly sought after, while others are devalued, demeaned, and ridiculed (Connell, 1995). The "hegemonic" version currently in vogue embraces several qualities associated with athletics, such as physical dominance, musculature, and the control of emotions, which suggest sport participation and fandom as near-necessary extensions (Messner, 1992 2003). Conversely, men who reject sport may find their masculinity "subordinated" or "stigmatized." In addition, Connell's (1995) model indicates that unique, "marginalized" forms of masculinity derive from its intersection with other axes of inequality, including racial and national identity. For this project, I asked: *How do the national and racial identities of individual athletes impact the valuation of their masculinity as expressed through sports performance? Are certain national or racial groups more readily associated with valued forms of masculinity?* Previous research in sport has indicated that African American masculinity is often tied to physical prowess and deviance (Cole and King,

1998; Davis and Harris, 1998), while Latino baseball players' masculinity is interpreted as an expression of widespread cultural acceptance for machismo (Klein, 1995).

THE IMPORTANCE OF MEDIA STUDIES

Researching media is especially important because it is a primary mechanism through which most people acquire information about the social world in general (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003; Gerbner et al, 2002; McChesney, 2004: 52-3) and sport in particular (Blain and Boyle, 1998; Kinkema and Harris, 1998; Whannel, 1992). For example, estimates for the global television audience for the 2006 final between France and Italy ranged from 260 to 750 million, while the official live attendance was just over 69,000.¹ In addition, many fans prepared themselves for this game by reading newspaper accounts beforehand and concretized their memory of it through post-scripts, highlights, and game summaries.

The sociological perspective applied to the study of mass media (see Croteau and Hoynes, 2003) holds mediated texts and the indirect manner of consumption they imply to be of sociological significance for three reasons. First, these texts can be examined for their symbolic content. This involves the primary thrust of most studies of mass media, especially regarding sport (Plymire, 2005), which use textual or content analysis to capture the most common themes, narratives, and modes of representing some aspect of the social world. In this sense, the mediated text becomes a symbolic system to be unpacked in order to expose the underlying cultural codes at work in any textual reproduction. Rather than focus on the realism of this symbolic universe, researchers explore how representations cognitively construct groups by the relations created between them (Lutz and Collins, 1993: 2). These cultural codes can be analyzed as either an independent symbolic system of meaning communicating important information about social life

¹ The low estimate of 260 million was reported by Bloomberg news (Cone, 2006), while the 750 million estimate as well as the live attendance figure was reported on FIFA's website (<http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/marketingtv/factsfigures/tvdata.html> [accessed on July, 22, 2008]).

(Alexander and Smith, 2003) or as a gauge of the social norms, values, and interests of specific individuals or interest groups who produced the message (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003: 198-9).

Second, mediated texts can be explored as a potential socializing agent that affects what we know about the social world beyond personal experience. This line of inquiry considers how information bound up in media-produced texts become one potential resource within the cultural toolkit (Swidler, 1986) used to construct the symbolic material of everyday social life. Although, as with the first point, this necessitates exploring media content, it also suggests greater attention be paid to audiences (Hall, 1980). Similarly, the third concern of sociology regarding media encompasses the exploration of media reception as a particular form of social interaction. As usage increases and becomes an enduring feature of contemporary leisure patterns, consumption of mass media becomes bound up in the process of social relations that impact how we learn (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003: 15-16).

I addressed this first concern regarding mediated texts by conducting a textual analysis of United States-based media coverage of the 2002 and 2006 men's World Cup of soccer. In the process I show how this coverage is intimately bound up in the larger processes of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups, especially at the national level. Texts produced as a part of this coverage characterized various surrogate units of the nation (national teams, individual players, and fans) in cultural terms by describing each as possessing a peculiar style of performing or celebrating soccer. In addition, I was able to link the media texts coded to their public consumption by conducting month long ethnographies of soccer supporters at two venues at which fans gathered to view the 2006 World Cup. Through observing fans' interaction with mediated presentations of the World Cup I was able to supplement the study of media content by showing how interpretations of media content were

affected by the situated *activity* of viewing (Radway [1984] 1991a 1991b). In this case, viewing these mediated texts in a public (rather than a private) setting created a context wherein audience members often constructed meaning collectively and interactionally, rather than in isolation.

SOCCER IN THE USA?

Upon first impression, researching the men's World Cup of soccer in an American context might appear an odd choice of subject matter given the relative lack of interest in the sport and tournament compared to the rest of the world (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001; Sugden 1994). Indeed, one of the striking features of this lack of interest has been the relative inattention given to the world's most popular sporting event by U.S.-based media (Williams and Giulianotti, 1994: 7). However, U.S. media coverage of soccer has improved markedly since hosting the event in 1994 and ratings for the two tournaments examined here were often interpreted as impressive while setting several records.² A case could be made for researching the U.S. women's national team given their popularity and international success (two-time World and Olympic champions). However, women's soccer in the U.S. faces the same obstacles of nearly-absent coverage that most women's sports face in the U.S., meaning constructing a large enough sample would be difficult. In addition, the literature on national playing styles that I draw upon reports exclusively on men's teams. Where women's international soccer has been explored, the focus has revolved around perpetuation of traditional gender roles and exclusion from the media coverage (Christopherson, Janning, and McConnell, 2002; Schultz, 2004; Shugart, 2003).

² High ratings for 2002 and 2006 were considered especially strong considering inconvenient start times due to time differences as well as competition from Univision (which broadcast the same game feed, but with commentary in Spanish). The 2006 final between France and Italy attracted 11.9 million households on ABC (a further 5 million watched on Univision; Sandomir, 2006) revealing ratings that far surpass equivalent competitions in hockey (2006 Stanley Cup Finals: 3.3 million average households over NBC's 3 telecasts), and are competitive with basketball (2006 NBA Finals: 12.9 million average households over 6 games; 2006 men's NCAA basketball final: 17.5 million households) and baseball (2005 World Series: 17.1 million household average over 4 games). Thus, while the World Cup viewing is not as proportionate in the United States as in many other countries, it is now at a level where it competes with events from some of North America's more established sports.

Still, I take the relatively devalued place of soccer in the U.S. sporting landscape as an interesting opportunity for study. As a tournament where, to quote one of the newspaper articles sampled, “for four weeks the world shows its back to the number one nation” (Tisdall, June 7, 2006) U.S.-based media coverage is in a unique situation of dependence. Unlike the Olympics, which are dominated by U.S. athletes, commercial interests, and stylistic coverage (Billings, 2008; Hargreaves, 2000), American based reporting on the World Cup is – to some degree – internationalized, or, at the very least, forced to raise its head from its typical insularity and pay attention to those outside its border in a cultural setting of more significance to them than the home audience to whom the message is addressed.

The timing of both of the tournaments examined here is also crucial. In a globalized age where, at least perceptually, the nation is under threat from homogenization, reputations built through international sporting competitions provide one of the main mechanisms for a nation to “create a home in a homeless world” (Lechner, 2007: 221; also see Lechner, 2008). Even more, these tournaments took place following the internationally significant events of September 11, 2001 as well as the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus, these tournaments took place during a context of increasing U.S. intervention overseas coupled with concurrent global criticism, a context ripe for explorations of nationalism and national identity.

OUTLINE OF STUDY

In order to understand how national, gender, and racial identity are configured through mediated international sport, I analyzed United States-based media coverage of the 2002 and 2006 men’s World Cup of soccer. This included five well-known, mainstream newspapers as well as cable and terrestrial television broadcasts of live games. I used “qualitative” content analysis (Berg, 2001) with the primary purpose of documenting the recurring themes and

patterns surrounding nationality. Although “national sporting stereotypes” have been researched for some time in several European contexts (Blain, Boyle, and O’Donnell, 1993; Crolley and Hand 2002; O’Donnell, 1994), nationality has been largely ignored in research on the U.S. sport media (Billings and Eastman, 2002: 355). Furthermore, the research coming out of Europe has focused on the most famous teams with the greatest international reputations, meaning several regions (namely East Asia, North Africa, Southwest Asia, and North America) have been either unreported or ignored (for a recent counterexample, see Crolley and Hand, 2006). Thus, this project will extend these findings to a unique context, while also addressing the dearth of studies about nationality within U.S. sport.

Given my interest in the U.S. men’s national team (USMNT), I supplemented the analysis of U.S.-based sources with four Anglophone newspapers from overseas. This will allow for a comparison between the processes of *autotypification* (Blain, et al, 1993; Crolley and Hand, 2002) – or how a group represents itself, in this case the most common themes and narratives regarding the USMNT within the U.S. press – and *heterotypification* – or how a group is represented by others, in this case the representation of the USMNT in press located outside its own borders. While the former will give an internal view of nationalism, the latter will provide perspective on how those outside United States borders view American nationalism via the national team.

I supplemented this textual analysis with just over 100 hours of ethnographic fieldwork during the 2006 World Cup in two public settings where fans gathered to watch the same broadcasts that I had analyzed textually. The first setting involved a local sports bar in the United States that caters specifically to fans of soccer and rugby, while a centrally located beer garden in Dresden, Germany served as the second setting. Through observations of soccer fans watching

televised broadcasts of games in public venues and some informal, in-situ conversations I was able to extend understanding of how media content serves as a resource for understanding race, gender, and nationality as expressed through the World Cup, while simultaneously addressing some of the issues raised by a cultural studies approach to media impact, especially concerns regarding how media format and context of consumption impacts audience understandings of media messages.

ORIENTATION

Chapter 2 reviews several bodies of literature that influenced the design of the project and provides a more in-depth discussion of the theoretical assumptions guiding this analysis. This includes a summary of three central tensions that outline the major theoretical assumptions orienting research on the national phenomenon, a review of the growing literature on sport and representation in the media, and a discussion of the major concerns for a sociological perspective on the study of media as a part of society. I outline the methods used to conduct this research as well as the rationale for their choice in Chapter 3. This includes a discussion of the selection, collection, and analysis of both textual and ethnographic data as well as the methodological framework undergirding the project. Chapter 4 introduces the analysis by exploring media representations of national teams. At this level, distinctive styles of play, sport-specific habits, and skill sets were applied to entire squads. Although primarily referenced as an idealized manifestation of the national, these patterned forms of representation also called upon level of economic development, racial demography of the nation, and culturally constructed differences in masculinity to articulate each nation's imaginary core. Chapter 5 outlines the characterization of individual players with a specific eye towards how differences in racial or ethnic identity between individual teammates impacted their mode of representation within the overarching

framework of the national team and the associated playing style established in the preceding chapter. This involved a detailed comparison of three nations (Brazil, France, and USA) that employed racially diverse squads and an in-depth case study of unique representation surrounding a U.S. player. Chapter 6 keeps with the focus on mediated representation of national identity, but investigates this interest through the characterization of fan and citizen reactions to the World Cup. Like players and teams, media assigned fan groups and other members of the national community a particular style of celebrating victories, mourning losses, and reacting to the revelry of the World Cup that communicated the degree to which soccer in general, and the World Cup in particular, could be considered a significant feature the national culture. By proposing a nationally-distinctive relationship to the World Cup compared to the rest of the world, these articles articulated important features of imagined American nationalism. Chapter 7 maintains this focus on fandom, but employed ethnography to understand how fan consumption of media-produced texts about the World Cup both gave meaning to and were given meaning by the social context of their consumption. Chapter 8 bookends the project, acting as both summary of the major findings and reassessment of the research questions that drove this project. This involves highlighting the contributions of this project to the sociological literature on culture, media, sport, and social inequality.

In sum, this project makes the case for sport as an important feature of modern social life because of its ability to provide a sense of group membership and belonging as well as ostracization and estrangement. In this sense, international sporting events, such as the men's World Cup of soccer, provide interesting opportunities for the exploration of nationality, but also the way nationality is fused with notions of race and gender. I locate these intersecting representations of identity within theoretical concerns about the prominent role of mass media in

contemporary society, especially the social construction of reality. In this project, I make the case for media coverage of the World Cup being a significant contributing force to identity formation and the creation of boundaries between groups. Rather than neutral descriptions, these distinctions between identity categories contribute to the unequal cultural valuation of groups that forms one component of overall inequality in society.

- Chapter 2 –

Review of Literature and Theory

Understanding linkages between mediated sport and identity formation requires a synthesis of research literatures from several sub-areas of sociology. I begin by grounding this project in the theoretical literature on nationalism. This involves outlining three central tensions that orient most theoretical perspectives on the subject. Having established the position on nationalism and national identity that informed this project, I then move on to review the budding literature on international sport, media, and identity formation. A prominent component of such studies involves documenting the patterned ways of representing identity within the linguistic descriptions produced by media as part of their coverage of international sporting events. This includes two rather distinctive bodies of writing coming out of Europe and the United States, with the former focusing on nationality and the latter on race and gender. In this section, I also explore a more sparse body of work that traces national tendencies displayed in sport to the local cultural and socio-environmental milieu in which they were formed and put into practice. By suggesting that national playing styles are indigenous in origin, rather than media constructions, this literature enters into dialogue with the first reviewed. Finally, I cover the literature on sociology of the media, highlighting the importance of media texts as both symbolic content and potential socializing agent. The latter requires a more detailed look at how the situated activity of consuming media as well as prior collective identities brought to the act of media consumption, such as those formed around masculinity, influence what media texts mean to audience members. This final section, then, outlines the purpose of the ethnographic study.

THEORIZING NATIONALISM IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

The increasingly porous borders between territorial units that characterizes globalization creates interesting challenges for research on nationalism. While some have interpreted this development as reducing the nation-state to be an archaic relic doomed to extinction, most scholars agree it remains one of the most important components of daily social life in the modern world (Billig, 1995, Calhoun, 2007; Edensor, 2002). Still, living in a globally interconnected world means national identity forms, not in a vacuum, but within a system of other, competing national identities. Thus, rather than render national identity obsolete, globalization has created a system in which the national comes into sharper focus through comparison to other nationalities (Lechner, 2007 2008).

In the introduction of his highly influential book *Imagined Communities* ([1983] 1991), Benedict Anderson identifies one of the major paradoxes of nationalism as its relative theoretical impoverishment despite its utter significance and power in everyday life. Although scholars widely agree that nationalism is an important social force in fields as variable as art and literature, the economy, social movements, and politics, scholars across theoretical camps and academic departments have struggled to develop commonly agreed upon definitions and theories. The subsequent acceptance and oft-cited use of Anderson's concept of nation as "imagined community" may have begun to reverse this trend. Nonetheless, nationalism remains a slippery term. In order to clarify, I outline three related theoretical tensions that characterize scholarly exchanges on the concept of nationalism.

First, there are competing claims over the antiquity of nationalism. On the one hand, a position that Calhoun (1997) identifies as "primordialist" suggests nations are an extension of pre-modern bonds into the modern historical period and as such, nations are relatively old.

Although only leaders of nationalist movements claim that these primordial ties remain unchanged over time, traces of this assumption can be found in Geertz's work on kinship ties and nationalism in newly formed states (1963), Anthony Smith's emphasis on the older ethnic roots of modern nations (1991 2001), and Hutchinson's research on the use of ancient "ethno-symbols" as the source for modern national myth (2001). This body of work can be distinguished from a "modernist" position, which claims a more recent inception of the concept of nation. For example, Gellner's (1983/2006) research emphasizes the spatial standardization that came about through national schooling, hygiene, and recreational programs that led to national identity becoming more salient than local or regional affiliations. Equally, Anderson (1983/1991) gives much credit to the printing press and its ability to hail all readers as members of the same community as essential for developing unified national communities. Thus, a modernist position emphasizes developments specific to the modern world as necessary precursors to the formation of national identity.

Second, there is debate over nationalism's authenticity. Although expressed most strongly within nationalist movements, a similar position in academic scholarship can be found among those identified as primordialists, who tend to see national cultures as authentic because of their ties to antiquity. For example, A. Smith (1986 1991 2001) and Hutchinson (2001) insist upon the continuity of pre-modern ethnic myths, symbols, and identity over time. This can be contrasted with a position that presents nationalism as needing to be created or constructed. Anderson's (1983/1991) notion that bonds among national group members cannot be based on affective, interpersonal ties and thus must be forged at an imaginary level serves as the classic example. A more extreme version, which Calhoun (1997) identifies as "instrumentalist," emphasizes that national communities are not just imagined, but invented (Hobsbawm and

Ranger, 1983/1992). Accordingly, national traditions and myths – despite claims of antiquity - are wholly conceived in the modern era, typically by a powerful group intent upon mass manipulation. Thus, rather than being authentic, nations and their expressive form - nationalism – are artificial constructions of human intention rather than natural extensions of human culture from past into present.

An instrumentalist position also implies nationalism as a “top-down” project led by dominant groups in society. Other authors approximating this position have focused on the role of the modern state and its attendant institutions in creating unification of national culture across space and time (Giddens, 1984; Tilly, 1990), such as through the extension of citizenship rights (Marshall, 1950/1992). In sum, the top-down perspective locates nationalism exclusively within the realm of official or high culture. This can be opposed to a “bottom-up” process arising from more popular sources. This perspective asserts that state institutions come under constant challenge from groups seeking to play a role in defining the nation (Richards, 2004), thus stressing the role of non-elites and popular culture in imagining the nation (Billig, 1995). In this sense, bottom up theories are more favorable to the meaning of nationalism being challenged over time, in contrast to implications of permanency found in the top-down perspective.³

In this project, I begin with the assumption that nationalism is a modern formation needing to be created and that this creation takes place, in part, within popular culture. As Billig (1995) points out, the term nationalism is too often limited to a rather narrow range of behaviors primarily revolving around either separatist movements aimed at re-drawing state lines along those of ethnic or linguistic groupings or extremist right-wing parties with the goal of creating a more limited definition of who belongs to the nation. When used in this manner the term comes

³ See Richards’ (2004) critique of Marshall and Edensor’s (2002) critique of Gellner as well as Hobsawm and Ranger.

to denote “dangerous and powerful passions... a psychology of extraordinary emotions... [and] an exotic force” (p. 5). Even more, because separatist movements typically occur outside more established Westernized nations and extremists operate on the political margins within these Western nations, nationalism appears to only surface on the periphery, far removed from everyday life (also see Calhoun, 1997). In those rare moments when nationalism does become associated with these more established nations it is seen as something sporadic, appearing at an independence celebration, national commemoration, or a war rally, but then dissipating at the conclusion with no long-term implications or impact. Billig’s (1995) main concern is how limiting nationalism to the extraordinary and the peripheral creates a myopia in which everyday banal expressions go unrecognized and un-researched. Popular culture denotes one area in need of further investigation (Edensor, 2002). Thus, this perspective provides a richer foundation for investigating the formation of national identity within mediated representations of international sport.

NATIONAL SPORTING STYLES

National Sporting Style in the European Media: From National Team to Nation

European scholarly interest in media coverage of international sport, and soccer in particular, can be traced back to a groundbreaking textual analysis of the 1974 World Cup undertaken by the British Film Institute (Buscombe, 1975), a study properly located within the development of British Cultural Studies and the attendant interest in quotidian culture, including media, and its impact on society (Tudor, 2006). As Tudor, one of the original researchers, points out, scholars have explored the media coverage of every subsequent World Cup. Although this original study suggested several possible research permutations, national sporting stereotypes as constructed through the linguistic discourses produced by media have emerged as the primary

topic of interest (for example, see Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell, 1993; Crolley and Hand 2002 2006; O'Donnell, 1994).

Research in this vein indicates that one of the prominent ways media invoke nationality is through the allocation of sporting style (Critcher, 1991). This involves representing national teams as having distinctive, and sometimes historic, habits of play, tactical affinities, or skill sets that impact how they perform on the field. Significantly, media coverage implies that this style of play is rooted in certain characteristics held more generally by the citizens of the territorial unit they represent (Blain and Boyle, 1998; Critcher, 1991; O'Donnell, 1994). For example, discussions about the German national team routinely invoke discipline, teamwork, and efficiency as salient qualities (Crolley and Hand, 2002; Maguire and Poulton, 1999b; Stiehler and Marr, 2003), characteristics explicitly connected to German manufacturing (Poulton, 2004) and behavior during World War II (Blain and Boyle, 1998; Maguire, Poulton, and Passami, 1999). In this manner, the national team becomes a substitute for the nation in that certain ways of playing sport are taken to be indicators – or “indexical” (Blain and O'Donnell, 1998; also see Blain and Boyle, 1998) - of broader behavioral and mental patterns rooted in national identity. This type of portrayal constructs the national team as not just representing the nation in an international tournament, but as an intimate *part* of that nation (Hobsbawm, 1990, 143; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001, 191-2). The useful qualities and skills, as well as the faults and inadequacies, exhibited by the players and team on the field are the same qualities and skills to be found among the “ordinary” citizenry.

Collectively, these studies suggest that coverage of this type creates a single, idealized national style. However, Lechner's (2007 2008) research shows that discussions of Dutch nationality in the context of soccer involve several competing claims that express tensions at

work within Dutch society. Still, these competing claims, like the singular style, are interpreted as communicating important information about the way a nation conceives of itself in relation to its neighbors.

Although a more minor component, research of this type has also indicated that style can be allocated to individual players through the assignment of certain attributes or skills (Cricher, 1991). This link between national identity and sport-based expression has even be extended to national fan groups (Anderson and Radmann, 1998; Blain, et al, 1993; O'Donnell, 1994). In this sense, national fan groups have a style of celebrating victories, reacting to losses, and making meaning out of their national team's performance thought to be related to key features of national identity.

This literature is not only extensive; it has also been documented across a number of different contextual settings. Print studies have explored various styles (tabloid versus "serious" newspapers), rates of publication (daily versus weekly), political affiliations (liberal, conservative, and neutral) within a single country (Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Garland and Rowe, 1999; Hand, 2002; Kosebalaban, 2004; Maguire and Poulton, 1999a; Maguire, Poulton, and Possamai 1999; Marks, 1999; Tzanelli, 2006), as well as across national and linguistic settings (Albaceres, Tomlinson, and Young, 2001; Blain and O'Donnell, 1994; Boyle and Montiero, 2005; Crolley and Hand, 2001 2006; Crolley, Hand, and Jeutter, 1998; Crolley, Hand, and Jeutter, 2000; Maguire and Poulton, 1999b; O'Donnell, 1994). Studies of televised broadcasts, although less common, also exist (Poulton, 2004; Stiehler and Marr, 2003). Comparative studies across national boundaries make a useful distinction between representations of a national team generated by a nation's own media – what Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell (1993) termed *autotypification* - and those generated by another nation's media,

referred to as *heterotypification* (also see Crolley and Hand, 2002). Although some differences existed between autotypification and heterotypification, the aforementioned studies overall reported remarkable cross-sample similarities. Thus the national sporting styles documented, while containing local variations, nonetheless appear representative of a meta-discourse that taps into certain shared European ideas regarding nationality (O'Donnell, 1994) and cannot be dismissed as the idiosyncrasies of a specific journalist, publication, political affiliation, or nationality.

Researchers in this field have been concerned with the implications of national sporting style for both stereotyping and national myth-making. Presenting sports-based performances as representative of national tendencies that can be accurately captured by a handful of essential characteristics mimics the process through which groups are simplified for purposes of categorization and comparison. Although partially derived from the psychological necessity of reducing an utterly complex reality into a more simplistic, manageable format, the specific characteristics emerge historically from the social relations forged between groups (Abrams, Hogg, and Marques, 2005; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1982). Yet, because the relationship between playing style and nationality is “co-dependent” (Crolley and Hand, 2006: 12), with each reinforcing the other, distilling playing style into simplistic formulations also implies the simplification of nationality to a set of essential characteristics (Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell, 1993; Crolley and Hand, 2002; O'Donnell, 1994). The interpretation of the national team's performance as indicative of underlying features of the national approximate those moments wherein nations operate as “supra-individuals” (Calhoun, 1997: 253) with a distinct identity, character, mission, destiny, and talents (also see, Calhoun, 2007: 103-4). Thus, national playing styles become a way for nationality to be culturally represented in more exact terms than

typically available (Archetti, 1994b: 234; Critcher, 1991). While this contributes to national myth-making more generally, overly simplistic characterizations of groups provide fodder for subsequent stereotypical representation (Rice and Mullen, 2005).

I was able to locate 25 articles/chapters and 3 books published since 1991 employing empirical studies to examine nationality and national identity in European media coverage of soccer. Based upon the styles, skills, and abilities assigned to each nation in these studies I constructed a “matrix of national sporting styles” summarized below. While characterizations of teams that had long and successful histories competing in past international events (such as England and Brazil) were relatively easy to construct because of the wealth of literature available, several of the participants in the 2002 and 2006 World Cup had no documented national sporting styles that I was able to discover. Thus, the following summary will not include those nations, but will begin with the nations for which there was the greatest amount of information.

England. The dominant portrayal of the English national team – present in both the British and continental European press - revolves around a “bulldog” or “fighting” spirit (Crolley and Hand, 2002) that highlights extreme effort, endless energy, total commitment, courage, and tenacity (Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Blain, Boyle, and O’Donnell, 1993; Critcher, 1991; Crolley and Hand, 2001 2006; Crolley, Hand, and Jeutter, 2000; Garland and Rowe, 1999; Maguire and Poulton, 1999a 1999b; Maguire, Poulton, and Possamai 1999; Poulton, 2004). The English style emphasizes teamwork and sacrifice to the collective cause above individual flair so that organization and discipline become highly valued. In addition, journalists often comment on the physical power and athleticism of English players. This unusual resolve led to commentators

citing England as tough to beat because they play strong even when facing great adversity (Albaceres, Tomlinson, and Young, 2001). Finally, the British press frequently praise England and differentiates it from its continental neighbors because of their apparent proclivity towards fair play and abiding the rules (Crolley and Hand, 2001). More critically, commentary differentiate them from other well-known soccer nations by their lack of skill, technique, and creativity, leading to accusations of a “predictable” style (O’Donnell, 1994).

Germany. Discussions of the German national team revolve around three oft-repeated themes: physical prowess, efficiency, and self-belief (Crolley and Hand, 2002; also see Blain and O’Donnell, 1994; Crolley, Hand, and Jeutter, 2000; Merkel, 1994; Stiehler and Marr, 2003). Reports articulate physical prowess through commentary on German players’ size and strength, but can also manifest, especially in British papers, in the form of military metaphors that evoke collective memories of World War II (Maguire, Poulton, and Possamai 1999a; Maguire, Poulton, and Possamai 1999a; O’Donnell, 1994).

Journalists indicate Germany possessed efficiency through language borrowed from industrial production (discipline, organization, reliability, and machine-like precision) and frequently tied these qualities to German manufacturing (Poulton, 2004; also see Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Maguire and Poulton, 1999b; Merkel, 1994; Stiehler and Marr, 2003). Finally, commentary often propose that German teams possessed the ability to harness emotions for superior displays (Crolley and Hand, 2002; O’Donnell, 1994; Stiehler and Marr, 2003). Thus, their supreme confidence, competitiveness, and collective resolve allowed for victories even when playing below par. More critically, like the England, journalists consider Germany to lack some of the individual skills

(technique, flair, passing) possessed by other teams, making their style somewhat dry and dull (Merkel, 1994).

France. References to an attack-oriented style of play dominate reporting on the French national team. Referents such as “style,” “artistry,” “choreography” and other vocabulary derived from the performing arts convey the flair, creativity, and highly technical game associated with the French (Crolley and Hand, 2006; also see Blain, Boyle, and O’Donnell, 1993; Crolley and Hand, 2001; O’Donnell, 1994). As a result, their more individually innovative players are seen to create an exciting style to watch, as captured by the oft-repeated phrase “champagne football” (Marks, 1999). More negatively, France has been associated with mental frailties such as a lack of fighting spirit, commitment, and self confidence that hinder their aforementioned skills and lead to poor performances (Crolley and Hand, 2002).

Spain. When commenting on the Spanish national team, journalists frequently discuss the emotion and passion displayed by its’ players (Crolley, Hand, and Jetter, 2000; also see Blain, Boyle, and O’Donnell, 1993; O’Donnell, 1994). This could include emotional states thought to augment play, such as pride and verve, however, both the Spanish and European press more frequently present emotions as Spain’s primary downfall.

Accordingly, accounts describe players as fearful, nervous, and lacking self belief (Crolley and Hand, 2002; Crolley and Hand, 2006) so that they were never able to reach the potential suggested by an offensive skill set praised for its high levels of technique, skills, and dribbling (Hand, 2002). Equally, a tendency towards volatile, temperamental outbursts undermine a defense frequently portrayed as tough by suggesting that at times their play bordered on the violent (Hand and Crolley 2005).

Italy. Like the Spanish, portrayals of the Italian national team oscillate between discussions of a talented offense, a solid defense, and emotional states that overwhelm coaches, players, and fans (Crolley and Hand, 2006). Journalists associate Italy with flair, talent, and technique and, like with the French, did so by drawing upon Italy's history as a center for the performing arts. Thus, commentary describe individual players as "artistic" and "theatrical" (Crolley and Hand, 2002). Although the Italians are routinely praised defensively, there is some indication that media interpret this as deriving from caution brought on by self-doubt. Indeed, cross-nationally reports emphasize the highly uncontrollable emotional states of Italian players (Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell, 1993; O'Donnell, 1994)

Latin/South America. Discussions of national teams from Latin American revolve around three oft-repeated themes: individual, attack oriented skill, emotional instability, and a laid back, unconcerned approach (Blain, et al, 1993). The first clearly associates the entire region with immense talent and a willingness to attack in any situation that makes for an exciting style to watch. When applied to this region's most frequent representatives, Brazil and Argentina, offensive abilities are often naturalized and emphasized as beyond ordinary, as when players are said to have "magical" or "sublime" skills (Crolley and Hand, 2002; O'Donnell, 1994). The second theme emphasizes volatile emotional states that interfere and undermine performances. The third theme, lack of commitment, arose in particular when the attack was unsuccessful, leading to accusations of laziness, inefficiency, inconsistency, and frivolousness.

Scandinavia. In stark contrast to the emotional instability that surrounding Spain, Italy, and Latin America, when journalists discuss Scandinavian national teams they identified

emotional control as the primary asset, often drawing upon metaphors of Nordic weather and its ‘coolness’ (Bairner, 1994; Blain, et al, 1993). This meant that players are considered to be rational, organized, calm under pressure, and able to give full concentration to the task at hand. More critically, emotional control can become a detriment because of a lack of dynamism and willingness to do the unexpected (O’Donnell, 1994).

Africa. Three themes dominate presentations of African nations: a wide-open attacking style augmented by skills such as creativity and technique (O’Donnell, 1994), athleticism, especially in the form of speed and strength (Crolley and Hand, 2006), as well as inefficiency (Hand, 2002). As with Latin Americans, offensive proclivity is presented as a natural, innate, or uncontrollable ability that, at its most extreme, imputes “childlike” qualities to African nations. That is, their play is joyous, enthusiastic, instinctual, and devoid of structure in a manner similar to children’s unsupervised play (Blain, et al, 1993). This latter component tethers offensive prowess to the inefficiency theme by suggesting African teams and players are primitive, underdeveloped, and irrational in manner that amplifies journalists’ perceptions of disorganization and tactical naivety. Finally, reports frequently praise African teams for their athleticism, which makes them particularly adept at the sport, and has also been documented regarding English players of African descent (Crolley and Hand, 2002).

As stated above, I was unable to find well-established patterns of coverage on several nations that qualified for the 2002 and 2006 World Cup, even some nations located in Europe. I found only one article regarding Portugal (Boyle and Montiero, 2005), a brief description of Eastern European nationals playing in Spanish domestic leagues (Crolley and Hand, 2002, 143), and two

works on Dutch soccer (Lechner, 2007 2008). Until the publication of a recent book by Crolley and Hand (2006), analysis of the media coverage of national teams from North and Central America, and Asia was completely absent. They report that most of the coverage of the U.S. national team in England, France, and Spain forgo discussions of style to comment on the perceived incongruity between the U.S. nationality and soccer leading to the conclusion that the team has “no defined style of play” (p. 176). Similarly, discussions of the playing style of Korea and Japan are vague, with hard work and discipline being the only qualities repeatedly mentioned. Outside of one article on Turkey (Kosebalaban, 2004) – a country that straddles Europe and Asia – I was unable to located any research on coverage of the national teams from Southwest Asia.

Race, Gender, and Nationality in United States Sports Media

Scholars in the United States have produced an equally impressive body of literature on identity formation in U.S.-based sport media, although it differs in several ways from the European literature reviewed above. First, most research has explored television, rather than print sources, and domestic (club team) sports rather than international competitions. Even when the focus has been more international, the Olympics, especially the Summer Games, have served as the primary substantive topic. Most importantly for this project, however, is the relative inattention given to the national dimension in U.S.-based research, even when exploring international competitions (Billings and Eastman, 2002: 355). Instead, the focus has been on empirically documenting differences in the reporting on or commentary about athletes by their gender, race, or ethnicity. Where nationality has been front and center in analysis, the concern has been with nationalistic bias on the part of the media (favorable reporting of the “home” team).

A review of the literature discovered only five articles that focused on mediated national identity, and all of them differed in important ways from this project. For example, although Billings and Tambosi (2004) analyzed U.S. broadcast commentary of preliminary round games involving the United States and Brazil at the 2002 World Cup, their primary analysis focused on quantitative differences in coverage between the “home” [U.S.] and “champion” [Brazil] team (also see Billings, 2008). As a part of this analysis, they did mention that Brazilian players were statistically significantly more likely to be credited with creativity, but no connection was made to the European literature described above. Delgado (2003) explored media coverage surrounding the meeting of the United States and Iran at the 1998 World Cup, but only commented on the political frames applied to this match. Sabo and colleagues (1996) reported some stereotyping of Asian nationals as “stoic conformists” (p. 13) in the Summer Olympics, but indicated that national typing was largely absent. The remaining studies only made brief mention of national identity. For example, an analysis of the 2002 Winter Olympics presented U.S. athletes as “composed and courageous” (Billings and Eastman 2003), and Mayeda (1999) reports the “model minority” and “economic threat” stereotypes shaped coverage of Japanese nationals playing in Major League Baseball.

Despite the lack of attention given to the national dimension, scholars in the U.S. have mounted an impressive array of literature on racial and gendered differences in sports commentary. This contrasts with the aforementioned literature coming out of Europe in which race and gender have either been ignored or sublimated (for counterexamples, see Boyle and Haynes, 2000; Carrington and McDonald, 2001; Whannel, 1992). A well-developed literature on domestic U.S. men’s sports⁴ indicates that Black and White athletes are often presented in a

⁴ As to be expected in a U.S. context, these studies have focused primarily on “the Big 3” sports: basketball, baseball, and American football.

diametrically opposed manner, creating a “black brawn versus white brains” distinction (Jackson, 1989). This often takes the form of African-Americans’ being presented as “natural athletes” with superior physical skills, especially when compared to whites (Buffington, 2005; Davis and Harris, 1998; Denham, Billings, and Halone, 2002; Dufur, 1997; Jackson, 1989; Murrell and Curtis, 1994; Rada and Wulfemeyer, 2005). Conversely, White players are praised for mental skills such as hard work/teamwork, intelligence, and leadership capabilities (Dufur, 1997; Jackson, 1989; Hoose, 1989 Murrell and Curtis, 1994; Rada and Wulfemeyer, 2005). This distinction is also seen in U.S.-based commentary on women’s sports (Denham, Billings, and Halone, 2002), and in Olympic telecasts (Billings and Eastman, 2002 2003; Sabo, et al, 1996), although less consistently than in domestic men’s sports.

Research on gender in sport media has focused on differential rates of coverage for men’s and women’s sport (Koivula 1999; Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 1996) as well as the impact of an athlete’s gender on commentary (Duncan and Messner, 1998; Denham, Billings, and Halone 2002; Sabo and Jansen 1998). Regarding the latter, female athletes are often presented as less serious and accomplished athletes who are of interest primarily for the way they look or what they do outside of a sport setting, a pattern repeated in studies of commentary at the international level (see Billings and Eastman, 2002 2003; Eastman and Billings, 1999; Higgs, Weiller, and Martin 2003). Some of these studies have explored the intersection of masculinity with nationality and race. Klein (1995) reported on the impact of a Latino stereotype of machismo on public and private displays of masculinity among Mexican baseball players, while Davis and Harris (1998) report that the various stereotypes circulating in the sports media regarding African American male athletes present them as deviant in terms of style of play,

sexuality, and off-the-court behaviors (also see, Cole 1996). Collectively, these studies show gender's significant impact on media interpretations of athletes on and off field performances

In sum, despite a similar goal of documenting the ways in which media coverage of sport contributes to identity formation the two bodies of literature remain unlinked. The relative inattention to national identity within previous research on U.S.-media means little is known about the national dimension in an American context. Even those few projects reporting on national identity in the U.S. context fail to connect with the rich vein of research coming out of Europe (see Billings and Eastman, 2002 2003; Larson and Rivenburgh, 1991; Sabo, et al., 1996). Despite more attention to the national dimension in European-based research, most explorations ignore race and gender, but also fail to move beyond the regions that have historically dominated international soccer (e.g. Europe and Latin America). By documenting the patterned ways of representing nationality in U.S.-based media coverage of the World Cup, this project will link these two disparate bodies of literature together. In addition, by exploring the cross-cutting intersections of nationality, race, and masculinity I move beyond those analyses that have considered these dimensions separately, or, when considered in tandem, as merely additive (Hill Collins, 2004).

Socio-environmental Roots of National Sporting Styles

My review of the literature also uncovered a body of literature that offered an alternative explanation of national sporting style as having origins in the local cultural and socio-environmental milieu. For example, drawing upon theoretical work that proposes the body as a site of cultural formation (e.g. Mauss, 1973; Bourdieu, 1990), Archetti (1999) suggests that national culture becomes inscribed into the body as habitus, leaving residual traces that encourage particular actions and expressive states when performing tangible activities such as

sport and dance (Dyck and Archetti, 2003). In addition, there are reputations gained from sporting performances that are often promoted by members of the national community as a manner of national self-distinction in a highly globalized world (Lechner, 2007). That is, despite having a historic and material foundation, national sporting styles also have a figurative or symbolic function as “the way we like to represent ourselves and to be seen by the relevant others” (Coelho, 1998: 168). Other scholars have used nationally idiosyncratic features of social structure, geography, and history to explain the significance and particular habits of playing soccer in Brazil (Lever, 1983; Page, 2002; Pardue, 2002) as well as the symbolic role of soccer and skiing in imagining two distinctive versions of Austrian national identity (Horak and Spitaler, 2003). Collectively this body of literature presents sport as a “window into society” in that the way in which sport is played within a particular country stands in for patterns of culture and history that have affected the national experience more generally.⁵

In suggesting an indigenous, material basis for national playing style this literature enters into dialogue with the research previously reviewed and its suggestion that national playing styles are largely an invention or production of media reporting. Mass media accounts often appear as primary or secondary sources in socio-environmental studies, however, they are considered to be self-interested representations (Lechner, 2007 2008) or a source drawn upon and debated in everyday conversation (Archetti, 1999 2003). Interestingly, many of the same qualifiers and phrases used to describe national playing styles in research on media also appear in this body of literature, with one key difference: the negative connotations were either absent or greatly reduced in magnitude, with far more focus placed on what were seen to be the virtues of this style. The reason for this difference becomes apparent when it is realized that research from

⁵ Despite a surface appearance of congruence with the largely discredited field of national character studies (see Benedict, 1946; Mead 1942), the socio-environmental perspective presents these national playing styles as non-essential, impermanent, and subject to challenge and change.

the socio-environmental perspective involved auto-representations wherein national citizenry become active components in the process of imagining the nation through sport, promoting and accentuating those characteristics seen as making that nation distinct from, but also recognized by, the rest of the world. This allowed these accounts to largely forgo research on media's concern with objectification, stereotyping, and notions of identity rooted in power differences and inequality to pursue the process of national self-representation through valorization. In this sense, these two bodies of literature observe the same phenomenon at different levels of construction.

For this reason, I consider these two perspectives to be reconcilable. Using the insights of this tension in the literature, I proceed with the understanding that players and teams may perform differently from each other on the field, in part, based on socialization into national identity (although the global migration inherent to elite athletic careers in the contemporary era may reduce this tendency [Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001, 205]). However, even when these performance differences are minute, they are likely to be characterized in ways that suggest a gulf of distinction. But, as the socio-environmental perspective reminds us, these distinctions also involve auto-representations. National sporting style is both celebrated locally and objectified from afar. It is for this reason that I – following the socio-environmental perspective – use terms, such as “representation” and “characterization,” to describe media descriptions of player, teams, and fans in Chapters 4 through 6. In addition, the importance of those outside the media in helping to shape conceptualizations of national playing style in the socio-environmental perspective encouraged me to engage not just media texts, but how these texts are consumed by fans.

FROM SOCIOLOGY OF THE MEDIA TO SPORT FANDOM

Media Impact on Society

The sociological perspective on media points out the overlapping relationship between media and (post)modern society. As access to various forms of mass media increases along with levels of usage “near constant exposure to media [becomes] a fundamental part of contemporary life” (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003: 5; also see Gerbner et al, 2002; McChesney, 2004: 52-3).

Although the sociological perspective, especially when applied to social movements, recognizes the potential for challengers to insert alternative frames for viewing the world into media, the focus is often on the divergence between the story told by journalists and the reality upon which the story is based (Beamish, Molotch, and Flacks, 1995; Best and Horiuchi, 1985; Croteau and Hoynes, 2003:196). Understanding how this divergence effects society requires researching media-produced texts as: (1) a symbolic system of meaning; (2) a potential socializing agents for those exposed to it; and (3) a particular form of social interaction that impacts how we learn about the world beyond personal experience.

The first examines the content of media texts, considering them as either an independent symbolic system of meaning communicating important information about social life (Alexander and Smith, 2003) or as a gauge of the social norms, values, and interests of specific individuals or interest groups who produced the message (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003: 198-9). As members of society, journalists and editors make decisions over what stories to cover and how to cover them within a socially-learned and embedded system of meaning. This is most obvious in the practice of gatekeeping (Shoemaker, 1991) wherein certain stories are selected as more important and thus worthy of coverage, while others are dubbed superfluous and avoided. However, the cultural information contained in media-produced texts cannot be reduced to the

interest of sponsoring agents (Alexander and Smith, 2003). That is, the media text becomes a symbolic system to be unpacked in order to expose its “concrete embodiments of wider ideal currents” (Alexander and Smith, 2003: 26). For example, previous research has documented the “symbolic contests” (Gamson and Stewart, 1992: 56) between competing advocacy networks that played out in political cartoons and the symbolic role of media in the transition from fascism to democracy in Spain (Edles, 1998). Although not unconcerned with potential impact on audience members, these authors considered these media reports to have an analytic importance in and of itself.

Although the primary thrust of studies of media’s symbolic content involve how one group is objectified by another through representation, I move beyond this to “discover the self-interested construction” (Semmerling, 2006: 2) that is a part of the representational process. As Said noted in Orientalism (1978), European study of Asian cultures “has less to do with the Orient than it does with ‘our’ world” (p. 12). In studying ‘Orientalism,’ Said uncovered a wealth of information regarding what Europeans thought about their own society by researching how the culture and peoples to the east of Europe had been represented (also see Lutz and Collins, 1993). The application of behavioral and attitudinal models to “others” – like the process of orientation – helps to define one’s own in-group by making the out-group into a fixed, static object against which the in-group can be located. This is often done by assigning the out-group qualities which are the opposite of the qualities the in-group would like to associate with itself. This relates, obviously, to the use of difference to define nations discussed above, but, as Said’s research shows, this process is related to broader patterns of group formation applicable beyond national identity. Thus, I approach these representations of identity in media coverage of international sport as a point of reference for understanding not just American ideas about

national groups outside its borders, but – akin to Geertz’s (1973: 448) stories we tell ourselves about ourselves – an American representation of the self.

Second, media content can be of sociological concern for its potential to impact audience members. Indeed, one of the earliest and still most significant questions regarding scholarly investigations of mass media concerns the potential for mediated messages to socialize those exposed to it. For example, researchers have been concerned with the impact of portrayals of men and women engaged in traditional gender roles on television for the lives of real women (Kimmel, 1995). Within the media effects field concerned explicitly with this question, the agenda-setting perspective indicates that although mass media cannot manipulate audiences to think a particular way, it can influence the perception of the importance of a particular issue (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; also see Rogers and Dearing, 1994; McCombs and Reynolds, 2002). Similarly, cultivation theory proposes that the correlation between audience understandings and media content increases through prolonged exposure (Gerbner et al, 2002) as media messages substitute for other means of knowing about the social world (McQuail, 1994).

Although useful for understanding the most basic ways media impacts audiences, Livingstone (1993) critiqued traditional media effects for its assumption of a relatively passive viewer overwhelmed by powerful media. A more critical perspective on impact, influenced by Stuart Hall’s (1980) “encoding-decoding” thesis and Roland Barthes’ approach to semiotics, proposes that media power, while still significant, is more bounded and less predictable due to complex interactions between media content and audience members’ “prior collective identifications” (McQuail, 1994: 331). Importantly, researchers influenced by this theoretical perspective recognize the possibility of resistant or oppositional interpretations that attempt to “transfunctionalize” (Gottdiener, 1985: 988) the meaning of mass cultural objects. The

polysemetic readings of cultural symbols derives from the differing “interpretive communities” (Fish, 1979) into which audience members were socialized and currently socialize (for empirical examples, see Ang, 1985; Buffington and Fraley, 2008; Morely, 1980, 1986; Radway, [1984] 1991a; Wilson and Sparks, 1996 1999). Thus, interpretations of media are conceived of as a negotiation between available media content and socially learned decoding strategies brought to the interpretation process (Jhally and Lewis, 1992).

Finally, the sociological perspective on media encourages researchers to pay attention to the social relations formed through media consumption. As usage increases, media become more bound up in our social lives, becoming one of the mechanisms driving social relations that impact how we learn (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003: 15-16). However, many of the theoretical perspectives on media impact fail to specify the medium and thus generalize across all forms despite important differences between private and public consumption, or the experience of reading, listening, or viewing (Brummett and Duncan, 1990; Duncan and Brummett, 1989). This interest partially arises out of the concern with audience decoding strategies suggested by the critical perspective described above, but goes beyond just looking at audience members’ socially-learned interpretive strategies to consider the social interaction that accompanies consumption of the media. This concern can be found in ethnographic studies, such as David Morely’s *Nationwide* project (1980), which paid specific attention to the context of consumption. For example, Radway’s ([1984] 1991a 1991b) research revealed the importance of the *activity of reading* to the meaning assigned to romance novels. Understanding how the process of media consumption impacts audience understandings is an important, yet neglected, research subject (Duncan and Brummett 1989; Eastman and Land 1997).

Several insights from the sociology of media have been important for the conceptualization and design of this project. First, I begin with the assumption that the symbolic content of the reports about the World Cup produced by U.S.-based media are important in and off themselves as “structures of meaning” and “configurations of feeling” (Hall, 1975: 16) that communicate information about national groups and the boundaries between them. It is this assumption that drove the content analysis and documentation of the patterned ways in which national teams (Chapter 4), individual players (Chapter 5), and fans (Chapter 6) were presented in media coverage of international soccer. Second, the potential for media content to be an agent of socialization or a contributing factor in social relations suggests that greater attention must be paid to the audience and their consumptive practices. This concern drove the ethnographic portion of this study (Chapter 7), wherein I spent a month observing soccer fans at two venues designed for public viewing of the 2006 World Cup. This not only allowed me to observe the activity of viewing sport broadcasts in public, but also to consider how prior affiliations – such as gendered identities – that place different valuations on sports consumption impacted reactions to media broadcasts.

Sport Fandom and Masculinities

Despite challenges and changes induced by women’s increasing participation (Heywood and Dworkin, 2003; Messner, 2007), sport remains a privileged institution for the socialization into and expression of various forms of masculinity (Brookes, 2002; Connell, 1995; Messner, 2003; Rowe, 1997). Much research on sport and masculinity takes the embodied gender identities expressed in *participation* as the substantive subject of exploration. However, sport *fandom*, as part of the segregated leisure patterns of men (Rowe, 1997), also provides emotionally riveting opportunities for enacting masculinity (Holt and Thompson, 2004;

Kimmel, 1995: 246-7; King, 2003; Messner, 1992: 168-170; Wenner, 2008). Although not exclusive to men, sports talk is “overwhelmingly masculine” (Farred, 2000: 101) and, in the contemporary setting, involves exchanges about mediated sport (Sabo and Jansen, 1998: 205). Discussing or listening to sport talk radio, attending live events, watching games in the public setting of a sports bar or even in the private setting of a living room often creates a masculine-dominant social space (Nylund, 2007; Wenner, 1997; also see Goldberg, 1998) for all-male bonding structurally homologous to the homosocial institutions created in the wake of earlier challenges to the gender order (Kimmel, 1995; Messner, 1992: 13-17). Importantly, sport fandom helps the vast majority of men, who either do not participate, or play at an amateur level, to identify with the highly violent performances of elite male athletes that serve as the primary markers of male-female physical difference (see Lorber, 1994: 41; Messner, 1992: 168; Trujillo, 1994).

Identification with these violent spectacles and the ability to converse articulately and knowledgeably about sport serves as a marker of what Connell (1995) refers to as “hegemonic masculinity”. Men who are unwilling or unable to do so may find their masculinity called into question (Wenner, 1997: 80-1). Thus, sport fandom, like participation, helps to parse out the varying interpretations of masculine behavior within society. This point is particularly important for the ethnographic portion of this study. Because sport plays such a central role in masculine identity (marking it as legitimate or illegitimate), it forms one of those prior collective identities audience members bring to the consumptive act and use to both decode the information on screen as well as structure their relationships to other patrons in the public space of the sports bar.

To reiterate, I begin this project with the assumption that nationalism is a modern formation often created through popular culture and take mediated presentations of international sport to be one important example of this popular expression. Although inspired by studies from both sides of the Atlantic that take mediated sport as a major field of research, I move beyond the limitations of both sets of literature. First, I take the identity constructed through sport performance to be an intertwined articulation of ideas about nationality, race, and masculinity. Second, I explore their manifestation in an unexplored context (U.S.-based media) and include regions of the world typically ignored. Finally, by linking this analysis of media content to ethnography of fans I was able to extend understanding of how media content serves as a resource for audience members, while simultaneously addressing some of the issues raised by a cultural studies approach to media impact, especially concerns regarding how the format and context of media text consumption impacts audience understandings of media messages.

- Chapter 3 -

Methods

My interest in how media coverage of the World Cup contributed to the processes of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups necessitated the use of several forms of qualitative inquiry. I used textual analysis of U.S.-based print and televised coverage of the 2002 and 2006 World Cup in order to examine the symbolic content contained in these mediated texts. I augmented this primary mode of inquiry through a supplementary analysis of four English-language sources from outside the United States and their coverage of the United States men's national team. Using this range of media sources allowed me to systematically compare the symbolic universe created by these texts across media formats (newspapers versus television) as well as country of origin (United States-based versus Anglophone papers from overseas).

In order to better understand the process through which this symbolic content becomes an intimate part of our social world I also researched the reception of these mediated texts. This involved ethnographic analysis of soccer fans watching televised broadcasts of the 2006 World Cup in two public venues and included unobtrusive observation as well as some informal, in-situ conversations with patrons. This analysis augmented investigation of media content by providing insight into the complex ways in which this content, socially-learned interpretive strategies, the specific media format, and the context of consumption interact to give form to the viewing experience.

MEDIA SAMPLE

Analysis of media coverage of the World Cup drew upon two distinctive formats: newspapers articles and television broadcasts. Using both of these forms of media allowed me to compare World Cup coverage across two distinctive forms of presentation. The television sample involved games broadcast live. Because soccer involves two 45 minute halves with no timeouts and few stoppages of any length, announcers have little time to issue prepared comments or to stray off topic. Thus, other than a brief preview at the beginning of the first half or a summary of the first half at the opening of the second, most commentary contained spontaneous description of the game-at-hand. In this sense, televised announcing of soccer differs significantly from sports, such as baseball and American football, that typically include numerous timeouts and breaks in the action during which announcers fill air time with information that may not be directly related to the immediate circumstances of the sporting event.

In contrast, newspaper coverage usually provided previews (of teams, specific matches, or the entire tournament itself), player profiles, game summaries, as well as post-tournament analysis. In writing before or after the fact, print journalists had more time, despite the restrictions of daily reporting and a busy tournament schedule, to reflect and form thoughts before writing. Because of this, print journalists covered a wider range of topics, including some that dealt with off-field topics such as the fans reactions analyzed in Chapter 6. Finally, unlike television commentary, newspaper stories typically pass through copy editors who shape or modify the text prior to publication. Thus, comparing these two distinct forms of presentation allows for a fuller view of the possible formations of nationality race, and masculinity in an

international sporting context. Because of the different manner in which the data was collected and analyzed for print and television sources, it is necessary to discuss them separately.

Print Sources: Data Collection

The newspaper articles analyzed here come from five sources within the United States: *USA Today*, *New York Times*, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, and *San Diego Union-Tribune*. *USA Today* provided a widely read, nationally-oriented source with an extensive sport section, one that has been identified as supplying some of the best soccer coverage in the United States (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001: 206). As the U.S.-based paper with the most influence globally and domestically, *New York Times*, often sets the tone of coverage for other papers in the U.S., although perhaps less so regarding sport. In addition, the paper is located in a metropolitan area that is host to the New York-New Jersey Metrostars/Red Bulls⁶ of Major League Soccer (MLS), the elite U.S. professional men's soccer league. A regionally influential paper in the Midwest, *Chicago Sun-Times*⁷, also operates in a city that is host to an MLS team, the Chicago Fire. Both the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and the *San Diego Union-Tribune*⁸ were chosen to provide a greater regional perspective on the Southeast and West Coast (for a discussion of the reasons for selecting the San Diego paper, see footnote 5), respectively. As such, this sample of papers provided a diverse representation of the types of discussions surrounding the World Cup that appeared throughout United States newspapers.

⁶ The Metrostars were bought out by Red Bull, the energy drink manufacturer, in 2006 and renamed after the company.

⁷ I chose the *Chicago Sun-Times* over the *Chicago Tribune* because the database used to gather these articles, Lexis Nexis Academic, groups the *Tribune* into an aggregate news source ("global news wire") that includes over 150 publications. These search results cannot be separated by publication. So in order to have a similar method of gathering articles and to avoid sampling issues I used the *Sun-Times*.

⁸ The *Los Angeles Times* might seem a better suit for determining the regional perspective on the West coast given its prominence in that region and the fact that it was identified by Markovitz and Hellerman (2001) as one of four papers in the United States with excellent coverage of international soccer. However, the *LA Times* is only available via Lexis-Nexus Academic Search Premier for six months prior to the search date. Therefore, the articles from the 2002 World Cup were unavailable through the search engine used to gather other articles analyzed in this project. Given this situation, I decided it best to use the *San Diego Union-Tribune* for consistency.

I performed a search of the term “World Cup” within the Lexis-Nexis Academic database for each publication.⁹ Due to anticipated rain in East Asia, the 2002 World Cup was held earlier in the summer (May 31st-June 30th) than in 2006 (June 9th-July 9th). Both tournaments followed a similar format. The first two-and-a-half weeks involve a constant barrage of multiple games daily that becomes more spread out during the last week-and-a-half as teams are eliminated. Given that coverage of the World Cup typically begins several weeks in advance, I limited my search to articles published on May 1st or after for both 2002 and 2006. I chose July 31st as the end date of the search in order to capture post-scripts or summaries. After dropping articles that dealt with other World Cup events (e.g. of skiing or horse racing) as well as those that focused strictly on the commercial or economic impact of the event, I was left with 404 articles from 2002 and 282 from 2006, for a total of 686 (see Table 3.1).

New York Times contained the most extensive coverage, providing approximately one-third of all articles for both years, while the *Chicago Sun-Times* provided the thinnest coverage, including only 8 articles in 2006. Most of the newspaper coverage centered on the United States Men’s national team (USMNT), so that upon elimination coverage dropped precipitously. This accounted for the higher number of articles in 2002 (following the USMNT’s advancement to the quarterfinals) compared to 2006 (first round elimination). The *San Diego Union-Tribune* provided an exception to this pattern because the paper, in a reflection of the city in which it is marketed, covered the Mexican national team almost as extensively as the United States.¹⁰

All of the newspapers examined except for the *Chicago Sun-Times* sent at least one correspondent to the host country or countries of the World Cup (the *New York Times* sent

⁹ I used the “headline/lead paragraph(s)/term” search feature of the Lexis-Nexis “Academic Universe” database. Each search was done independently for each of the sources identified in the text.

¹⁰ Nearly a quarter of the residents of San Diego identified themselves as of Mexican descent by the latest Census estimates (factfinder.census.gov)

several). These “live” correspondents typically provided the bulk of the published articles, with their reports supplemented by local correspondents reporting on community reactions to the tournament as well as stories compiled from news wire agencies. This meant that some writers appeared with more frequency within the sample than others (see Table 3.2). For example, Mark Zeigler wrote 110 of the 191 articles (57.6%) analyzed from the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the highest percentage contributed by any one writer. The articles ranged in type, but the majority were straight news stories that summarized game outcomes or provided injury reports or previews of upcoming games. Several editorial columns afforded authors more leeway in terms of subject matter and opinions expressed.

Given my interest in the most common themes and narratives surrounding the U.S. men’s national team, I also performed a supplementary search of four Anglophone newspapers from outside the United States: *Toronto Star*, *The Guardian (London)*, *The Times (London)*, and *The Herald (Glasgow)*. *Toronto Star* and *The Herald (Glasgow)* were chosen because of their respective positions as widely circulated papers within major metropolises of Canada and Scotland, respectively. *The Guardian (London)* and *The Times (London)* widely circulate in England, a country where the World Cup is a major event and receives significant coverage. In addition both papers identify with divergent political positions as “liberal” and “conservative,” respectively. I limited this sub-sample to articles that dealt with the U.S. men’s national team by searching for the term “World Cup” in conjunction with “United States”, “U.S.”, “USA”, and “America” within the Lexis-Nexis Academic database for each publication. As with the previous search, I limited the search to May 1 through July 31. After dropping inappropriate articles, I was left with 56 articles from 2002 and 30 from 2006 for a total of 86 articles (Table 3.1). These overseas papers depended on their already existing infrastructure of live correspondents and

news wire compilations for many of the stories. However, on occasion articles were written by United States-based correspondents, especially when the story assessed U.S.-based fan reactions to game outcomes. Thus, as with the U.S.-based papers, some journalists appeared with more regularity (Table 3.3), although the distribution was more even than for the U.S. papers analyzed here. These papers also primarily reported in the form of straight news stories, only occasionally supplemented by the more extensive commentary in an editorial.

Television Sources: Data Collection

The English language broadcast of the 2002 and 2006 World Cup in the United States appeared on ABC and its ESPN affiliates (ESPN and ESPN2)¹¹. Both tournaments consisted of 64 games each, for a total of 128 matches, all of which were broadcast on one of these networks. In 2002, 7 games were broadcast on ABC with the rest appearing on cable-based ESPN affiliates, while for the 2006 tournament ABC increased its coverage to 12 games. For both tournaments, ABC/ESPN used multiple announcing teams, with each team containing two commentators. The vast majority of these announcers were born in the United States.¹² Unlike several other countries, ABC/ESPN only sent its top announcing crews to broadcast live from the stadiums, with most announcing teams supplying dubbed audio commentary over a live feed inside ESPN's television studios in Bristol, Connecticut.

For the televised broadcasts, I selected games to transcribe and analyze through a purposive sample that focused on three national teams: Brazil, France, and the United States. I chose these countries for several reasons. France and Brazil represent two highly successful sides in recent international competitions with playing styles that have been well-documented in previous

¹¹ Both ABC and the ESPN family of networks are owned by Disney.

¹² In 2002, ABC/ESPN employed one regular announcer born in Ireland, but with U.S. citizenship (Tommy Smith), one announcer born in Italy (Giorgio Chinaglia), and one born in England (Mike Hill). In 2006, only Tommy Smith returned, partnered with English-born Adrian Healy.

research. Furthermore, Brazil played in seven games in 2002 (winning in the final), while France played 7 in 2006 (losing in the final), allowing for a larger sample that included some of the tournaments' more important games (i.e. semifinals and finals). The inclusion of the United States allowed a closer look at this underexplored nation in international soccer within two divergent contexts. In the first, the team's exit in the quarterfinals was deemed a surprising overachievement (2002), whereas first round elimination in 2006 was interpreted as resounding failure. In addition, all three national sides contain players with different skin tones and ancestral backgrounds, leading to the possibility of interesting overlaps of nationality, race, and masculinity explored in Chapter 5.

Thus, over the course of both tournaments I sampled 29 total games (12 matches involving Brazil; 10 involving France, and 8 for the United States [Brazil and France played each other in 2006]). I then randomly selected one half of each game for transcription into a word processing program. A full list of the games and halves transcribed can be found in Table 3.4. Because I transcribed commentary for both the oversampled targeted teams and their opponents, I was also able to analyze commentary about many other national teams as well. Over the course of the two tournaments covered here, 44 different national teams qualified, with 22 of these appearing in at least one game of the television sample. These teams were well distributed geographically, with at least one representative from all six regions recognized by FIFA.

In order to distinguish between these two primary media sources (print and television), I use distinctive citation styles when reporting this data in Chapters 4 through 6. When citing from a print source, I use the traditional citation method for newspaper articles that includes author (or publication if author is unavailable) and date. I also identified print journalists in the text by the terms "author" or "writer." When citing from a television broadcast, I use a citation that includes

the word “transcript,” the commentators name, and the game designation. In addition, I identify television journalists by the terms “announcer” or “broadcaster.”

Description of Teams in Sample

I placed each team appearing in the 2002 and 2006 World Cup into a regional or sub-regional category based on the literature on national sporting styles in European media reviewed in Chapter 2. This allowed for intra- and inter-regional comparisons of teams to determine if any patterns of media representation applied to larger spatial units. Due to oversampling of the television broadcasts as well as newspaper coverage patterns, some national teams received far more commentary than others. In the following, I identify the teams that made up each region and give a brief description of each team’s presence in this sample.

I) EUROPE [19 teams]

- a) CENTRAL EUROPE: The Central European group was made up of three teams (England, France, and Germany) all of whom participated in both the 2002 and 2006 tournament. All three received extensive coverage in the print media. England appeared in one televised game in this sample, the 2002 quarterfinal against Brazil, and received a total of 323 comments (207 from print). France, one of the countries for whom every televised games was transcribed, received 1239 total comments (267 from print). Germany appeared in two games transcribed from 2002 (versus the USA and Brazil, respectively), for a total of 683 comments (471 from print).
- b) SCANDANAVIA: Scandinavia included Sweden, who appeared in both 2002 and 2006, and Denmark, who failed to qualify for the 2006 tournament. Sweden did not appear in the television sample, but registered 46 comments in newspapers.

Denmark appeared in the television sample once, as a final first round opponent of France in 2002 resulting in 28 comments to go with the 29 from print sources.

- c) **EASTERN EUROPE:** Eastern Europe consisted of Croatia and Poland (both the 2002 and 2006 tournament), Slovenia and Russia (2002 only), and the Czech Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, and Ukraine (2006 only). Despite having seven teams present in the sample, teams from this region received relatively little coverage. Several teams (Slovenia, Serbia, Ukraine, and Russia) received fewer than 20 print comments. The Czech Republic and Poland received the most coverage (162 and 99 comments, respectively), primarily because they played against the USA, generating articles to introduce the teams to an American readership. As a consequence, both of these teams also appeared in the television sample: Poland in 2002 and the Czech Republic in 2006. Croatia, the only other Eastern European team to appear in the television sample, played Brazil in their first game of the 2006 tournament, receiving 88 comments.
- d) **SOUTHERN EUROPE:** Southern Europe included Italy, Spain, and Portugal, all of whom participated in both tournaments analyzed here and received extensive coverage. Italy, who appeared in the 2006 television sample against USA and France, registered 489 comments (344 from print), Portugal, who appeared in the 2002 television sample against the USA and in 2006 against France, registered 317 comments (144 from print), and Spain, who appeared in the 2006 television sample versus France, registered 130 comments (81 from print).
- e) **OTHER EUROPEAN TEAMS:** Four teams were not able to be classified in any sub-regional categories suggested by the previous literature: Belgium, Holland,

Ireland, and Switzerland. Both Belgium and Ireland qualified for the 2002 World Cup, while Holland and Switzerland appeared in 2006 only. None of the teams received extensive coverage. Belgium, who also appeared in the television sample against Brazil, received 94 comments (29 from print), while Switzerland, who appeared in the television sample against France, registered 85 comments (19 from print). Ireland received 32 comments from newspapers and Holland, 53.

II) LATIN AMERICA: The Latin American region in this sample was made up of five countries from South America (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay) and two from Central America (Mexico and Costa Rica). All but Uruguay qualified for both the 2002 and 2006 World Cup. Argentina and Brazil received extensive print coverage, with Brazil receiving more comments (412) than any other team in the sample other than the USA. In addition, the 12 games Brazil appeared in the television sample supplied an additional 1264 comments. Although Argentina did not appear in the television sample, they received an impressive 199 comments. U.S.-based papers, especially the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, included a fair amount of coverage regarding Mexico's national team, who also appeared in the 2002 television sample against the USA. In total, Mexico registered 367 remarks (293 from print). Uruguay, who appeared against France in a televised game in 2002, received 78 comments total (20 from print). Despite qualifying for both tournaments Ecuador (41 remarks in print), Paraguay (44 comments in print, and Costa Rica (115 total comments; 69 from broadcast of their 2002 match against Brazil) were fairly anonymous.

III) AFRICA: Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa, and Senegal (appearing in 2002 only) and Angola, Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Togo (appearing in 2006 only) made up the African category. Although Tunisia also qualified for both tournaments out of CAF (Confederation of African Football), I placed them within the North Africa and Southwestern Asia region. Coverage of Togo (78 comments; 58 from their 2006 appearance in the television sample against France), Angola (15), Cameroon (29), Ivory Coast (25), Nigeria (31), and South Africa (17) was slim. Ghana and Senegal, the only two African nations to advance past the group-based first round generated more extensive interest. Senegal registered 163 comments (71 from the broadcast of the opening game of the 2002 cup against France) and Ghana 265 (157 from two televised games in 2006 versus USA and Brazil).

IV) EAST ASIA: China, Japan, and South Korea made up the East Asian region in this sample. China, who appeared in just 2002, registered little interest in print media, but appeared in the television sample through a first round match against Brazil for a total of 98 comments (26 from print). Japan and Korea appeared in both tournaments and received extensive coverage in 2002 as tournament co-hosts. Japan, who also appeared in the 2006 television sample against Brazil, received 122 comments (72 from print), while Korea, who appeared in the television sample against USA in 2002 and France in 2006, received 499 comments (351 from print).

V) NORTH AFRICA AND SOUTHWEST ASIA: The North Africa and Southwest Asia category in this sample included four teams: Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Iran, and Turkey. I constructed this category strictly for analytic purposes as it is not based upon any suggested or empirically tested category from previous research, nor does it reflect

the categorization scheme used by soccer's world governing body, FIFA, to classify national teams.¹³ Each could have been placed within a different regional category, however, I placed them within this region on the basis that each represented the only countries in the sample with majority Muslim populations and my interest in how these countries would be represented in U.S. papers given strained international relations with the Muslim world. Tunisia and Saudi Arabia appeared in both the 2002 and 2006 World Cup, but were never covered much, garnering 26 and 27 remarks, respectively. Turkey qualified for the 2002 Cup only, but surprisingly advanced to the semifinals generating some extended commentary in the print media. In addition, Turkey appeared in two televised games in this sample, both against Brazil (1st round and semifinals). In total, Turkey received 256 comments, 91 of them from newspapers. Iran qualified for the 2006 tournament alone, yet received 58 comments.

VI) THE REST: Australia, Trinidad and Tobago, and the USA did not fit into any of the aforementioned categories and were thus considered singularly as nations. The USA appeared in both tournaments and received the majority of the coverage in U.S.-based papers, a total of 945 remarks. In addition, the supplementary analysis of overseas Anglophone newspapers generated a further 294 comments. The eight television games the added an additional 772 remarks. Australia qualified for the 2006 tournament alone, and received 38 subsequent comments in print along with 57 comments in their one appearance in the television sample, against Brazil. Trinidad and Tobago qualified for their first World Cup in 2006 and received almost no coverage, just 28 remarks in U.S. papers.

¹³ Saudi Arabia and Iran are members of the Asian football confederation, Tunisia qualified from Africa, and Turkey is placed within Europe by FIFA.

Method of Analysis: Print and Television Sources

Electronic copies of the print articles and game transcriptions were entered into the qualitative software program, MAX Qualitative Data Assistant (2007 version), which helped greatly in terms of storage, organization of coding, and retrieval. These texts were analyzed using a mixed-method style of content analyses developed by Altheide (1987), Berg (2001), and Hall (1975) that I have used in previous studies of sports media (Buffington, 2002 2005). In contrast to the more traditional, quantitative form of content analysis (e.g. Berelson, 1966) that focuses strictly on counting the most observable patterns – namely the recurrence of particular words, phrases, or themes - the mixed method style encourages the collection of both numeric-type data found in quantitative research and the narrative type of data found in qualitative studies (Berg, 2001). This mixed method approach overcomes several shortcomings associated with traditional content analysis, namely the loss of meaning supplied by context, the inability to decode latent meanings, and the incapacity to show what is absent.

Although sports reporters often show a nationalistic bias in favor of the home nation of the broadcast company (Billings and Eastman, 2002; Eastman and Billings, 1999; Larson and Riverburgh, 1991), publicly they are called upon to present a more objective front. This means that discussions of nationality, like those involving race and sport, are likely to be subtle and nuanced, rather than blatant and overt (for examples focused on race, see Davis and Harris, 1998; Buffington 2005) Not only is the mixed method style of content analysis employed here uniquely suited for capturing and coding this latent meaning, it also has certain advantages in forming a coding scheme as well. Whereas the traditional style of content analysis requires a deductive strategy in which texts are scanned for pre-set content, the mixed method style is amendable to both deductive and inductive coding schemes. I began this analysis with the specific national

sporting tendencies and habits described in previous research and outlined in Chapter 2. However, given that national playing styles regarding soccer have not been studied in United States-based media, I felt it important to maintain an open coding scheme capable of capturing potentially novel patterns. In addition, several of the countries that appeared in either the 2002 or 2006 World Cup (including the USMNT) had no well-established pattern of representation from which to form expectations of coverage. Like grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), I began with a relatively open coding scheme and moved towards a more selective and refined one as determined by the patterns prevalent in the content (for a discussion of the applicability of mixed method content analysis to inductive coding schemes, see Berg [2001, 245]).

Overall, the codes used for this project can be divided into three macro-level categories. First, journalists engaged in general level discussions about teams and their typical or overall style of play (“Brazil's best defense was its offense”) that I placed under the general heading of *team tendencies*. I focus on analyzing comments of this type in Chapter 4 in order to understand the representation of the entire national team. At another level, journalists centered discussion on skills specific to the sport. Although these could be assigned to whole teams, more frequently they involved individual players (“Donovan is quick and has a lethal finish”). I placed this type of discussion under the general heading of *skills* and focused on these type comments in Chapter 5 in order to understand how players of different racial or ethnic identities were cast within the overall framework of their team. Finally, some comments described fans of the national team as well as reactions in the home country (“All of South Korea comes together in emotion of first World Cup victory”) to happenings in the World Cup. I placed statements of this type within the general category of *fan tendencies* and analyzed them in Chapter 6 in attempt to understand how stories about fandom communicated ideas about nationality.

I parsed these macro-level comments into several codes and sub-codes listed and described below. The application of the coding scheme was made somewhat difficult due to the frequent use of soccer-specific jargon. For example, in conversing with fellow television broadcaster Jack Edwards, Ty Keough made passing reference to “the legendary number 10” jersey. While to the uninitiated this may appear as a simple reference to a jersey number worn by several of the sports most recognized players (notably Maradona and Pele), in an emic sense the term has come to symbolize creativity, flair, and playmaking and is typically used to designate the player with the most prowess on offense. Thus, even this seemingly innocuous statement has meaning pertinent to the coding scheme used here. As a longtime fan of the sport, who follows domestic and international competitions regularly, I was able to call upon some of my insider’s knowledge to decipher this field-specific jargon.

I. TEAM TENDENCIES

- (1) WATCHABILITY: Journalists often made claims about how aesthetically pleasing a particular national team was to watch, with teams considered to be uneventful classified as *boring* (“they [Germany] offered little to excite the football purist”) and those considered of interested classified as *entertaining* (“Senegal will surely put on an entertaining show”).
- (2) REPUTATION: National teams came into the tournament with reputations based on previous World Cup Qualification campaigns and tournament appearances. Journalists labeled those teams with a long history of success (especially having won a World Cup in the past) as *superpowers* (“Argentina, the oddsmakers' pick to win it all”) and those with less history as *minnows* (“World soccer minnow Tunisia rounds out this group”). Stories that connected poor performance by the national team on

the field to infrastructure problems within the national soccer federation responsible for running the national team and professional domestic leagues were coded as *unorganized* (“... the talented Nigerians seem to have lapsed into dysfunction”).

- (3) **RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT:** Against the backdrop of reputations, journalists assesses the current national team’s achievement against their expected level of talent. Teams that exceeded expectations, caused upsets, and advanced farther than expected were categorized as *overachievers* (“For them [Turkey], reaching the semifinals is history”), whereas teams that failed to reach stated or anticipated goals were coded as *underachievers* (“Russia rarely plays up to its potential at World Cups”).
- (4) **TEAM STRENGTH:** Journalists often indicated that national team’s possessed proclivities and tendencies towards attacking or defending. Teams emphasized for the former were placed in the *strength in attack* (“The team [Costa Rica] is built on attack rather than defence [sic]”) sub-category, while those that emphasized the latter were labeled as *strength in defense* (“Italy has played defense first for decades”).
- (5) **TEAM WEAKNESS:** In a similar manner, journalists made the case for teams having certain weakness, failings, or faults that could be exploited by opponents. Offensive and defensive proclivity provided the primary criteria of distinction with teams either described as *weak in attack* (“The Saudis... failed to produce any serious scoring chances”) or as *weak in defense* (“Splendid at putting the ball in the net, the Portuguese were clumsily unable to keep it out”).

- (6) COLLECTIVE VERSUS INDIVIDUAL: Several comments claimed that some national team and/or coaching styles encouraged more team versus individually-oriented play. Teams that were said to depend more upon the efforts of the entire squad were coded as playing a *collective over individual* style (“Dutch coach Guus Hiddink... has put together a team whose whole is better than the individual parts”), whereas teams that were said to depend more on the efforts of individual players to succeed were coded as playing an *individual over collective* style (“No side is more likely to win games because of the contribution of an individual”).

II. SKILLS

- (1) PASSING: Statements about a team’s overall passing ability as well as specific commentary on individual players ability to pass fell into this category. Praise for this ability were coded as *good pass* (“Alex Aguinaga... passed well in the midfield), whereas critical statements on the same phenomena were coded as *poor pass* (“Martin Laursen's terrible pass to keeper Thomas Sorensen sailed 15 yards wide of the net”). I also classified comments about a cross (typically an aerial pass from the sideline into the penalty box) as either a *good* or *poor cross* (“... Bernd Schneider's perfect cross”). Finally, some players were identified as *playmakers* for their team, meaning they held primary responsibility for distributing the ball and directing the team offensively (“The focal point is Michael Ballack, the only true playmaker on Rudi Voeller's roster”).
- (2) CREATIVITY: Journalists also assessed whole teams and individual players for their creativity, flair, and willingness to improvise. Affirmative remarks were coded as *creative* (“unpredictable striker Clint Mathis”) and critical remarks as *lacks*

creativity (“... not enough creativity in the attack with those key midfielders missing”).

- (3) TALENT LEVEL: Commentary often discussed the talent levels of individual players and entire teams. When affirmative they were coded as *talented* (“they have a team of talent who on their day could match the very best”), whereas more critical statements I coded as *lacking talent* (“Coach Srecko Katanec might not have a wealth of talent to draw on...”).
- (4) TECHNICAL SKILLS: References to a player having good touch, trapping the ball well, juggling, or dribbling by opponents were coded as *good technique* (“The Costa Ricans showed evidence of their ball skills, doing some neat little tricks with their feet”). Comments about a player having poor touch, losing the ball to a defender, or lacking technique were coded as *poor technique* (“... could not seem to control the ball”).
- (5) SHOT: This category captured comments about the ability to place accurate and dangerous shots on goal. Affirmative remarks I coded as *good shot* (“...sent a 27-yard laser into the upper right corner”). This included many comments that fetishized players’ feet (“Walem has that wicked left foot”). Critical remarks about this skill set I labeled *poor shot* (“the Russians took long shots that went over or wide of the net”).
- (6) SPEED: Journalists commented about the speed of entire teams or individual players, with comments placed into either the *fast* (“The United States made early progress by using their swiftness...”) or *slow* (“... they are a little bit slow”) sub-category.

- (7) **PHYSICAL**: Commentary that indicated toughness, strength, or a physical fortitude I coded as *strong* (“the rugged Germans, who bullied their way through the American defense”) while opposing claims I classied as *weak* (“They were pushed around all night”).
- (8) **POSITIONING**: This category captured remarks about how well an individual player positioned himself on the field as well as an overall team’s positioning in open play or on set pieces. If the remark related to positioning in attack, such as a good run by a player without the ball, this was coded as *run off ball* (“Ronaldo's movement... is exceptional”). If the remark regarded defensive positioning when an opponent had the ball, the comment was either placed in the *organized* (“... seldom did anyone stray out of position”) or *unorganized* (“Baia was caught out of position again”) sub-code.
- (9) **EFFORT**: Commentary also touched on the effort given by individual players or even entire teams. Praise for hard work, hustle, determination, resolve, bravery, persistence, or relentlessness I coded as *good effort* (“...snapping tirelessly at Portuguese heels”) with critical comments about listlessness placed within the *poor effort* (“He was a study in lumbering immobility”) sub-code.
- (10) **EMOTION**: Commentary about the emotional mindset of the entire team or individual players fell into this category. Indications that emotional states positively influenced performance, such as having confidence, calm, concentration, or intensity I coded as *good emotions* (“Metsu's achievement has been to imbue his squad with a strong cadre spirit”), while emotional states considered more of a hindrance to

performance or that overwhelmed a player I coded as *poor emotions* (“Mexico were frenetic and inaccurate”).

(11) INTELLIGENCE: This category captures remarks about a coach or players’ intelligence, decision-making, or tactical changes, with complimentary statements coded as *positive* (“U.S. coach has made all the right moves to help team advance”) and critical ones as *negative intelligence* (“... has been prone to costly indecisiveness”).

(12) LEADERSHIP: Comments about players performing well in the role of team captain or inspiring teammates I coded as *good leadership* (“Team captain and emotional centre Claudio Reyna...”), while inverse comments I placed within the *poor leadership* (“...lacking the individual assertiveness required of a leader”) sub-code.

III) FAN TENDENCIES

(1) SOCIETAL IMPACT: A number of remarks or even entire stories attempted to capture the impact of the World Cup or national team performances on fans, and, ultimately, a range of important societal institutions. Claims that the World Cup impacted cultural norms within society I coded as *cultural impact* (“Japanese business schools are invoking the soccer team as a model...”), those that discussed the impact on the economy I classified as *economic impact* (“In Brazil, Brahma beer sales rose by 20 percent during the last World Cup”), and those that dealt with the tournament’s ability to impact government and elections I coded as *political impact* (“soccer fever has forced the campaigns of the three leading candidates to switch gears”).

- (2) DEDICATION: Stories of this type often made critical assessments about the level of dedication of a fan base or a nation to its national team. Those that professed little interest on the part of fans I classified as *reserved/uninterested* (“Stunning World Cup win fails to raise cheers in U.S. “) with *passionate* used for those that claimed a strong interest in tournament outcomes (“no nation quivers quite like Italy at the selection of 23 players”). Particularly strong claims of the latter type that I coded as *obsessed* (“... in hysterically passionate Daegu Stadium, in front of some 60,000 Korean supporters all in red as though at some Soviet rally...”).
- (3) VIOLENT/RACIST: Several comments and articles discussed fan reactions that involved riots (“100 Are Hurt As Soccer Loss Leads to Riot In Moscow”), hooliganism (“Poland's ‘hooligans’ can be some of Europe's nastiest”), or racist behavior (“In Germany and several other European nations, crowds shower minority players with racial insults”) that I coded as *violent/racist*.

ETHNOGRAPHY

In order to supplement the analysis of media content, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in public spaces where soccer fans gathered to watch broadcasts of the games in 2006. This involved two distinctive fieldwork settings: one in the USA, the other in Germany. I spent the first week of the tournament (June 9-15) at a local sports bar in the United States that caters specifically to fans of soccer and rugby. During this period of the tournament (first round group stage) all 32 teams are still participating and the schedule involves a hectic three matches per day. Because attending every match was not a possibility, during this period I focused on those matches involving teams well-known in international soccer and for whom I anticipated large audiences (e.g. Brazil, Germany, England, France, etc.). The next week-and-a-half (June 17-26)

were spent in Dresden, Germany attending an academic conference. Although Dresden did not host any matches, I used this opportunity to conduct fieldwork in the host country, making general observations throughout the trip, observing 10 games in a centrally located biergarten in Dresden, and attending one live match between Iran and Angola in Leipzig. Upon returning to the USA, I spent the remaining week-and-a-half (June 30-July 9) at the same soccer pub as previously. At this point, with several teams eliminated, the number of games per day declined. Therefore, from the quarterfinals on, I attended every match. In total, this ethnography amounted to just over 100 hours of fieldwork.

I based my account of both field sites primarily upon unobstrusive observations from afar with a focus on behavior in public space. The constant action of the sport coupled with most everyone's intense interest meant attention was more regularly directed at the broadcast than surrounding patrons. As I explain in Chapter 7, however, before a game the interactions in the sports bar approximate those moments of playful association Simmel (1949) dubbed sociability, making brief conversations about the match in progress or the sport in general a usual part of conversational script. Therefore, while I relied on observation to systematically document how behavior in this space proceeded in reaction to the reception of the broadcast, in the U.S. I was able to both engage in some interpersonal conversations with patrons as well as overhear public banter about the game that made up good portion of interaction in this setting. In Germany, my language limitations forced me to depend more upon what I could gather visually. Over the course of the month, there were a handful of individuals at the U.S. soccer pub who became aware of my research intention and who shared their thoughts about the tournament with me, but to most patrons I appeared as a casual fan wearing (purposefully-chosen) neutral colors.

Fieldwork Site 1: A SoccerPub in the USA

The first fieldwork setting, located in an urban setting in the Southeastern United States, was a sports bar that catered to soccer and rugby fans. I refer to this fieldsite hereafter as the *Soccer Pub*. As a fan looking for a public setting in which to watch games, I discovered this setting years before conceptualizing this project upon moving to a town nearby for graduate school. The venue is well-known to fans because of its location at a busy, well-known intersection of the city, the oft-updated website, and was even a recent finalist for the annual “best soccer bar” award given by the U.S. Soccer Federation. The exterior immediately reveals its affiliation with international sport, and soccer in particular. The top of the building is lined with poles from which the flags of the 32 nations competing in the 2006 cup hung. The sign outside, positioned prominently on a busy thoroughfare, declared the establishment to be “World Cup headquarters” a full month before the tournament began.

The seating (see diagram 1) included an indoor and outdoor section designated to hold (based upon the displayed fire code) a maximum of 244 patrons. The interior was divided into three unequally sized rooms. The largest, lined with 6 banks of long tables on both the left and right of the main pathway leading to the small backroom, was adorned with six television screens at various angles, with the centerpiece a very large letterbox style flat screen monitor. Like all of the televisions throughout the establishment, these monitors were all tuned in to the same game. The exterior, in a manner similar to the interior, signified this venue’s predilections towards international sport. From the ceiling hung several sport jerseys framed inside glass encasings, including replicas from famous soccer and rugby club teams. In the far corner, next to the large screen television is an illuminated glass case that houses several rugby trophies won by a local team which the pub sponsors. The medium-sized room was set up in the tradition of an English tavern with a large, dark-polished wooden bar lined with stools the centerpiece. This room, lined

with three box style televisions mounted in the corners and one large flat screen mounted on the shared wall, was, like the main room, adorned with sports memorabilia such as framed jerseys and supporters' banners. The memorabilia in this room, however, was limited strictly to English clubs. Adding to this theme were several flags, including one St. George's Cross and two Union Jacks. At the far end of the building opposite this "pub room" was the smallest of the rooms. Although this room primarily served as a place where people queue for the restroom, it also contained one small elevated circular table and several chairs in addition to one box style television so that no part of the game was missed, even when waiting to use the facilities. A shed roof divided the outdoor seating into two sections. The first, located just outside the main entrance to the largest interior room, contained four mounted box-style television sets. Although containing no sports memorabilia, triangular shaped flags from all the countries participating in the 2006 World Cup hung from the exterior of the shed roof. The uncovered portion of the outdoor seating forms an "L" shape around the shed roof and, like the shaded portion, contained black metal patio furniture. The uncovered section normally offers limited views of the television monitors under the shed roof, however, for the World Cup two large flat screen TVs were placed at each end of the "L."

The Soccer Pub consistently attracted large crowds, especially for games played on the weekends or holidays, involving popular teams (Brazil, England, United States, etc), and games of great importance (e.g. semifinals and finals). Games I attended, even those involving nations with exceedingly small local ethnic communities, always included at least a handful of individuals dressed in ways that displayed public support for a particular national team (indicated through brightly colored jersey or shirt, flags or other props with national symbols, painted faces, etc). Linguistically, in Chapter 7 I refer to those fans dressed in national colors or symbols as

“supporters” or “fans” of a particular national team to distinguish them from “spectators,” who although riveted by the action displayed no open national allegiances. Finally, I use the term “patron” to refer to these two groups collectively. Crowds were typically young adult men. I estimated that over the course of the tournament approximately two-thirds of the patrons were male and more than half between the ages of 18 and 30.

Fans in this setting focused intensely on the game displayed on the monitor, with significant events on the field (red cards, penalties, goals, etc) often driving interactions both between and amongst tables. During the semifinals and final, as the stakes of the games became intense, interaction between opposing fan bases increased. Alcohol consumption also made up a significant portion of the activity in this setting, with most having drinks visible on their table. Fans were also quite boisterous, although it was difficult to discern if this behavior derived from the loosened inhibitions of alcohol consumption, the excitement generated by the games, the excitement generated by being in such a large crowd, or a combination of all three.

Fieldwork Site 2: A classic German Biergarten

More amorphous than the first, the second fieldwork includes observations throughout my time in Germany. Unlike the Soccer Pub where I was able to purposely choose a distinct fieldwork setting based upon previous experience and desired characteristics, while in Germany I was an unfamiliar tourist, one who was at least to some degree moored to the site of the academic conference I was attending in Dresden. Furthermore, because I was traveling with colleagues and friends I was not able to make logistic decisions solely based upon my own whims and needs. Still, I was able to use the time spent in the host country of the 2006 World Cup to perform systematic observations.

The majority come from a popular *biergarten* (“beer garden”) located in the center of Dresden that always attracted large crowds. A friend and I happened upon this site our first night in Dresden as we searched for a place to eat within our (graduate student) budget that would also be showing World Cup games. Centrally located at the junction of the famous Altstadt (old town) and the new post-Communist buildings of the Altmarkt, this venue served cheap and quick food and beverage items out of two trailers. The seating – all outdoors – consisted of approximately 100 black, wrought iron patio tables placed on an expansive, gravel base ringed entirely by four foot high aluminum barricades. For the World Cup, another trailer housing a large projection screen, satellite hook ups, speakers, and audio equipment was set up to provide coverage of the games. This site became the favored viewing venue for my friends and I over the next week because of the central location, the large crowds, and the open air setup that allowed for unobstructed observations. Throughout this project I refer to this setting as the *biergarten*.

When the German national team played, the biergarten ran over its holding capacity some 45 minutes to an hour before the game started, but also attracted large crowds for games involving popular teams (e.g. Brazil) and on weekends. Even when Germany was not playing the majority of the crowd spoke German or wore emblems that included German national symbols, with only a handful of individuals wearing emblems of other nations. Compared to the U.S. fieldwork setting, the crowd in Germany was more diverse with regards to age. This included far more people I identified as over the age of 30 as well as a good number who appeared under 18. As with the sports bar in the United States, men outnumbered women approximately 2 to 1. Patrons of the beer garden devoted most of their attention to the game displayed and, as in the U.S., consumed alcohol ubiquitously without displaying overt signs of drunkenness.

In addition to this more formal research setting, I took fieldnotes during a live match I attended between Angola and Iran in Leipzig, Germany. I also made observations throughout my period of travel including conversations on the plane ride, interactions during a long layover in the Frankfurt airport, and observations of the streets of Dresden that were recorded in numerous research diary entries.

Fieldworker Role

Using Raymond Gold's (1958) classic typology, my fieldworker role undulated between "observer as participant" and "participant as observer." I approximated the latter in that as a dedicated fan of international soccer I had an interest in the games that extended far beyond research concerns. At times, I had highly personal emotional reactions to action of the field or the outcome of games and, rather than ignoring or compartmentalizing these reactions, I attempted to observe and record them. In addition, my insider's knowledge of the teams, the players, their rivalries, and histories were a handy analytic tool for understanding some of the more subtle meanings surrounding international soccer, such as identifying fan loyalties by insignia. At the same time, I approximated the role of an "observer as participant" in that my foray into the field was short (one intense month of fieldwork) and was conducted in communities to which I had few personal or long-standing contacts. Many of the observations made were unobtrusive and from afar with most unaware of the fact they were being observed for research purposes. Those conversations that did occur, excepting those with my friends in Germany, were largely brief, casual, and of the type one would expect among encounters in public space. In these instances it was rare that we even exchanged first names. In this sense, my presence was not as significant as that found in a more pure "participant-as-observer" role.

Construction of Field Notes

For all the games observed I brought a small, pocket sized notebook with me in which to jot down key information. Although taking notes throughout the game would have been ideal, the constant motion of play unique to soccer made this an unsound strategy. Instead, I focused my attention on observing and making mental notes regarding phenomena of interest. I only jotted down notes during breaks in the game such as injuries, substitutions, halftime, as well as after the game. Later in the day in a more private setting, I would use these jotted notes, unrecorded observations, and the memories jarred by this process to form written field notes. With some later games this process was continued the following morning until the notes for each day's observation were complete. In addition, I kept a research diary of my experiences surrounding the World Cup that I used to capture more personal feelings and reflections as well as conversations, interactions, and experiences that did not occur in the predetermined research settings. When referring to the fieldnotes in Chapter 7, I cite the date on which the fieldnotes were taken.

SUMMARY

In sum, through the several forms of qualitative methods used I am able to address several of the interrelated concerns of sociology regarding the symbolic content of mass media-produced texts and their reception in the public sphere. Qualitative content analysis allows for the systematic documentation of symbols, themes, and narratives that undergird the cultural code that organizes talk about soccer in coverage of the 2002 and 2006 World Cup. This addresses the issue of mediated representations of the social world that forms the first concern of the sociological perspective on media. Ethnographic observation and some informal, in-situ conversations allowed me to extend and compliment this primary analysis of media by researching the process of media consumption at the point of reception in one possible, but

increasingly popular (Wenner, 1997, 86; Weed, 2006, 77-79), viewing context. This addressed both the second and third concern of the sociological perspective on media, namely how the form and context of media consumption impacts the potential for media content to serve as a resource of knowledge used in everyday life. Collectively, these two primary methods not only shed light on the way coverage of the World Cup communicates information about social groups, but also how media becomes bound up in social relations that impact our daily lives.

Table 3.1 – Distribution of Newspaper Articles by Publication, Year, and Location

Publication	Number of Articles, 2002	Number of Articles, 2006	Number of Articles, Total
Non-U.S. Based	56	30	86
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	11	4	15
<i>London Times</i>	26	10	36
<i>London Guardian</i>	9	11	20
<i>Toronto Star</i>	10	5	15
U.S.-Based	404	282	686
<i>Atlanta Journal-Constitution</i>	43	60	103
<i>Chicago Sun-Times</i>	33	8	41
<i>New York Times</i>	124	103	227
<i>San Diego Union-Tribune</i>	139	52	191
<i>USA Today</i>	65	59	124
Total	460	312	772

TABLE 3.2 Distribution of Authors for Overseas Print, by Publication and Year

Publication and Author ^a	Number of Articles, 2002	Number of Articles, 2006
<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	11	4
Graham Spears	2 (18%)	4(100%)
Paul Walker	2 (18%)	
<i>London Times</i>	26	10
Andrew Ward	7 (27%)	
Kevin McCarra	3 (11.5%)	
<i>London Guardian</i>	9	11
Dominic Fifield	2 (22.2%)	
Jon Brodtkin		3 (27.2%)
Paul Kelso		2 (18%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	10	5
Chris Young	8 (80%)	

^a Only authors contributing more than ten percent to that year's number of articles, per publication are displayed

TABLE 3.3 – Distribution of Authors for U.S.-based, by Publication and Year

Publication and Author ^b	Number of Articles, 2002	Number of Articles, 2006
<i>Atlanta Journal-Constitution</i>	43	60
Wendy Parker	24 (55.8%)	
Mike Knobler		43 (71.7%)
<i>Chicago Sun-Times</i>	33	8
Mike Mulligan	9 (27.3%)	
Len Ziehm	5 (15.1%)	
Pele	4 (12.1%)	
<i>New York Times</i>	124	103
Jere Longman	39 (31.5%)	32 (31.4%)
George Vescey	27 (21.8%)	18 (17.6%)
<i>San Diego Union-Tribune</i>	139	52
Mark Zeigler	67 (47.9%)	43 (82.7%)
Luis Bueno	23 (16.4%)	
<i>USA Today</i>	65	59
Kelly Whiteside	27 (41.5%)	11 (18.3%)
Steve Woodward	18 (27.7%)	
Andy Gardiner		22 (36.7%)
Ridge Mahoney		7 (11.7%)

^b Only authors contributing more than ten percent of that year's number of articles, by newspaper, are displayed.

TABLE 3.4 – List of Televised Games and Halves Transcribed by Announcing Team

Match and Half Transcribed	Announcing team
2002	
Brazil v Turkey, 1 st round, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
Brazil v China, 1 st round, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
Brazil v Costa Rica, 1 st round, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
France v Senegal, 1 st round, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
France v Uruguay, 1 st round, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
France v Denmark, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
USA v Portugal, 1 st round, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
USA v Korea, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
USA v Poland, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
Brazil v Belgium, Round of 16, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
USA v Mexico, Round of 16, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
USA v Germany, Quarterfinals, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
Brazil v England, Quarterfinals, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
Brazil v Turkey, Semifinals, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and Tommy Smyth
Brazil v Germany, Finals, 1 st half	Jack Edwards and Ty Keough
2006	
Brazil v Croatia, 1 st round, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and JohnHarkes
Brazil v Australia, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
Brazil v Japan, 1 st round, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and John Harkes
France v Switzerland, 1 st round, 1 st half	Glenn Davis and Shep Messing
France v Korea, 1 st round, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and John Harkes
France v Togo, 1 st round, 1 st half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
USA v Czech Republic, 1 st round, 1 st half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
USA v Italy, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
USA v Ghana, 1 st round, 2 nd half	Dave. O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
Brazil v Ghana, Round of 16, 1 st half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa
France v Spain, Round of 16, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and John Harkes
France v Brazil, Quarterfinals, 2 nd half	JP Delecamera and John Harkes
France v Portugal, Semifinals, 1 st half	JP Delecamera and John Harkes
France v Italy, Finals, 2 nd half	Dave O'Brien and Marcelo Balboa

- Chapter 4 -

Soccer Style as Cultural Representation:

Representing the National Team; Imagining the Nation

If style makes the man, then style also makes the team. Years go by, generations of players, but the teams play the same, true to a style that was established, no one knows why, dozens of years ago and inevitably repeats itself... as though there were some genetic reason for players of each of the great football nations of the world to interpret the game in the same way throughout history.

- *El Pais* (Madrid), Spanish daily paper (June 18, 1986; quoted in Crolley and Hand, 2006:11-12)

As I established in the introduction and literature review, the sociological perspective approaches symbolic content of mass media as an avenue for exploring prominent concerns, themes, and ideas operating in society. This requires unpacking the cultural meaning of these texts in order to expose the underlying cultural codes that structure textual reproductions. Thus, I approach media coverage of the World Cup analyzed here as important for communicating information about group identity and the imaginary boundaries created between them.

The vast majority of this coverage revolved around the on-field performances of teams and players. Whereas Chapter 5 analyzes the portrayal of individual players, in this chapter I document the patterned ways of characterizing entire national teams. Much of this coverage stressed that teams possessed unchanging, historical styles of play that outlasted individual players in a manner similar to the quote from *El Pais* above. I approach these claims regarding

soccer style as a form of cultural representation (Cricther, 1991) through which the nation is imagined via the representation of the national team by reducing both to a series of expected cognitive states and behavioral tendencies.

Theoretically, this chapter establishes media coverage of the World Cup as an important site for the symbolic formation of national identity. Importantly, this symbolic work drew upon the racial demography and economic history of the nation to frame the boundaries of the imaginary national community as represented by its all-male players, showing how all three coalesce to form a nation's imaginary core. Although this involved investigating how U.S.-based media represented those outside its borders, this coverage also revealed important information about how sport contributes to the construction of a specifically American form of national identity. In this way, I contribute to the theoretical literature on media's role in symbolically representing society.

REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL TEAM; IMAGINING THE NATION

Both newspaper and television coverage of the World Cup in this sample took the on-field performances of national teams as their primary subject matter. In order to establish the general patterns and parameters of these accounts, I constructed several Tables (4.1-6) to assess the overall distribution and frequency of comments by region and country within the coded categories. This allowed me to assess the strength of each theme. In addition, I constructed a descriptive summary (Appendix 1) focused on the qualitative character of these coded themes.

There were some minor differences by format. Whereas the constant action of soccer mostly limited television announcers to spontaneous description of the game at hand, newspaper articles came in multiple forms (tournament or game previews; match reports; player or coach profiles; tournament post-scripts) that allowed writers to draw upon a wider range of contexts

and circumstances. In particular, newspaper articles tended to assess current performances within the broader historical context of previous national team performances in tournaments past. Although announcers occasionally also made these same-type historical assessments, their commentary mostly involved describing the performance unfolding live within the match. In addition, some variation existed by game context, with more favorable accounts likely after a win and more critical ones after a loss. However, across formats and contexts a remarkably similar pattern of talking about national teams, their performances, and players appeared, suggesting the presence of a shared discourse among media sources and personnel.

Two Levels of Conversation: Moving From the National to the Supra-national

Media coverage of national teams operated at two “levels of conversation”: one micro in focus, the other macro. In the micro-level conversations, journalists described *national* teams in discrete terms, with distinct habits, histories, and skills. Teams with local interest (U.S., Mexico) or prominent international reputations (e.g. Brazil) often received extensive coverage of this type, but most World Cup participants failed to generate enough coverage to allow this level of distinctiveness to develop. In the macro-level conversations, styles, tendencies, and skills – even those established in micro-level conversations as specific to individual nations – were understood within a *supra-national* or *regional* framework that incorporated geographically, and, at times, culturally contiguous nations. Although less frequent than micro level conversations, macro level descriptions appeared in regards to Africa, East Asia, Latin America, and Europe claiming each had a unique style of play held in common by the individual nations in each category.

Macro-level conversations often depended upon apparent oppositions between regional playing styles in order to clarify the uniqueness of each. The vast majority of comparisons involved teams from Latin America and Europe. For example, a preview of the 2002 tournament

speculated about the impact of expected weather patterns on game play allowing the journalist to become a (somewhat inept) social geographer drawing links between performance on the soccer field and cultures as a whole. As a course of this speculation the reporter went on to specify the oft-repeated differences between these two regions:

What's the weather like? This time of year, there are three basic types: really nice, really hot and really wet... If it stays mild, that favors the European teams because it allows them to play their preferred "fast" game that requires endless running. If it gets hot and humid, the advantage goes to the South Americans because they can hold the ball and make their opponents run. And if skies open and it starts raining, all bets are off. (Zeigler, May 31, 2002).

As indicated by the supposition that different weather patterns (mild versus humid) would be advantageous for one region over the other, juxtaposing Europe against South America (elsewhere referred to as "Latin America") presented these styles as in opposition to one another.

Although micro level conversations often proceeded by listing or describing the isolated characteristics of a particular team, at times these too depended on the act of comparison to others. This was made particularly clear in coverage surrounding the 2002 final, which pitted Germany against Brazil. Similar to Brazil's earlier match with England, this game was presented as "a match of attackers against defense, as Brazil has the best scorers and Germany has the best defenders" (Zeigler, June 29, 2002c). Columnists described the two teams as "polar opposites in temperament" (Longman, June 29, 2002), of "sharply different approaches" making for a "fascinating battle of opposites" (Parker, June 29, 2002), and the announcer commented "we are seeing interesting, attacking soccer in two completely different styles" (Edwards, transcript, BRA-GER, 2002). Individual players also came in for similar type comparisons. *A New York*

Times writer differentiated the leading German and Brazilian goal-scorers through their (apparently) different skill sets: “[Klose] does it with doggedness whereas Ronaldo does it with bursts of artistry” (Vescey, June 28, 2002).

As the preceding example shows, even attempts to articulate the style of a single nation depended upon opposition as a general manner of rendering playing styles intelligible. These moments helped to clarify the distinctiveness of each individual team or region by contrasting it with what it was not. I proceed by showing how binary opposition, organized as three overlapping playing style antinomies, set the isolated national (micro) and supra-national (macro) characterizations described in Appendix 1 and displayed graphically in Tables 4.1-6 in relation to each other creating an even denser interrelated field of meaning.

Three Antinomies: Towards a field of Representation

The primary opposition made over and over again (especially between Latin American and European teams) involved general disposition towards an offensive or defensive style of play. This forms the *first antinomy* regarding playing style (Figure 4.1). At one end of the continuum, teams possessed a natural proclivity or general disposition towards attacking opponents, attempting to score, and breaking down defenses. The characterization of teams from Latin America and, to a lesser degree, Southern Europe epitomized the attacking pole. Teams from these regions frequently received commentary indicating offense as their greatest strength (Table 4.1 and 4.2). Journalists described their systems as “attack-oriented” (USA Today, May 31, 2002), reliant upon “scoring prowess” (*Chicago Sun-Times*, June 4, 2006) and a “powerful, unrelenting attack” (Brooke, June 13, 2002) wherein “everyone is willing and eager to add to the offense” (Edwards, transcript, BRA-TUR, 2002). Teams for these regions possessed reputations such as “one of the world's most ravenous and elegant attacks” (Longman, June 6, 2002) and

“one of the planet's most potent offenses” (Zeigler, June 23, 2002b). Because this style was often associated with individual talent, players on Latin American and Southern European teams frequently received comments complimentary to their offensive skills such as creativity, technique, dribbling, passing, and shooting that augmented this attacking disposition (Table 4.3 and 4.4). Metaphors emphasized that members of these teams not only possessed these skills, but excelled at them. For example, journalists used “magical” and its derivatives to indicate the supernatural quality of skill and fetishized players feet as “gifted” (Vescey, June 25, 2002) and “lethal” (Dellacamera, transcript, FRA-URU, 2002).

At the other end of the spectrum, teams excelled in defensive roles, keeping opponents at bay, and giving up few quality scoring chances. European teams, especially the more northern countries, epitomized this form of play. These teams received the most comments indicating defense as a primary strength (Table 4.1 and 4.2). For example, a game preview characterized Croatia’s playing style as “defense, defense, defense. Croatia has only one thing on its mind” (Bueno June 2, 2002b). In addition, England, Germany, Sweden, France, and Italy were labeled as having among the best defenses in the world several times. As with the offensive orientation, related skills such as hard work, determination, and organization aided this style of play (Table 4.3 and 4.4). Although at times this meant journalists praised individual players for their “yeoman’s work” (Keough, transcript, FRA-DEN, 2002) and “workhorse aggression” (USA Today, July 7, 2006), more commonly these compliments came as team wide descriptions that emphasized the collective nature of these skills. Thus, journalists described entire teams as “vigorous” (Belson, June 2, 2002a), “stubborn” (French, June 5, 2002), and prone to “cohesive, physical defensive play” (Parker, May 26, 2002). A particularly salient skill involved the ability of these teams to stay “very disciplined, very organized” (Messing, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006).

In the case of Germany, organization on the field became connected to ability to organize off it, as when two *New York Times* writers credited the ability to host the 2006 tournament well to a “characteristic display of Teutonic planning” (Landler and Longman, June 9, 2006).

Although reports primarily constructed style through affirmation, it could also be confirmed through comments that questioned or critiqued team abilities in opposing facets of the game. Thus, the frequent criticism of the defensive play of Latin American and Southern European squads (Table 4.1 and 4.2) complemented the characterization of their style as revolving around attack. Brazil, in particular, carried a “reputation for leaky defense” (French, June 18, 2002). In addition, commentary suggested teams from these two regions lacked the requisite skill set to succeed defensively (Table 4.3 and 4.4). Rather than effort and determination, they appeared “undisciplined” (Parker, May 26, 2002), “sluggish” (Bueno, June 18, 2002), and “lackluster” (Knobler, June 27, 2006a). Rather than organized, their defenses were, using the British idiom, “at sixes and sevens out there” (Smyth, transcript, BRA-CRI, 2002). This theme of disorganization also manifested in claims that the administrative bodies governing soccer in Latin American countries were chaotic, poorly run, and corrupt. In a similar but inverse pattern, despite receiving a fair number of comments characterizing them as talented, European teams often carried the reputation of being “offenseless” (Woodward, June 12, 2002).

As a result of these different proclivities and skill sets, a sub-theme emerged within this first antinomy that classified styles as either boring or entertaining, with the attack-oriented style of play praised as approximating the former. Descriptions of this type often used language from the world of art, music, and dance to indicate that these performances were considered more enjoyable and pleasurable to watch. Entire teams were “dazzling” (Hughes, June 17, 2006) and their individual players “exciting” (Bueno, May 29, 2002b), known to “electrify fans” (Rother,

June 7, 2006), and “create highlights on the field” (Knobler, July 4, 2006). Conversely, the defensive orientation was classified as boring because rather than providing “elegance” it relied on “toil and exertion to provide an austere beauty and grim satisfaction” (Longman, June 25, 2006a). Although teams with a defensive style could be successful, their performances were not met with the same degree of anticipation as those associated with an offensive style.

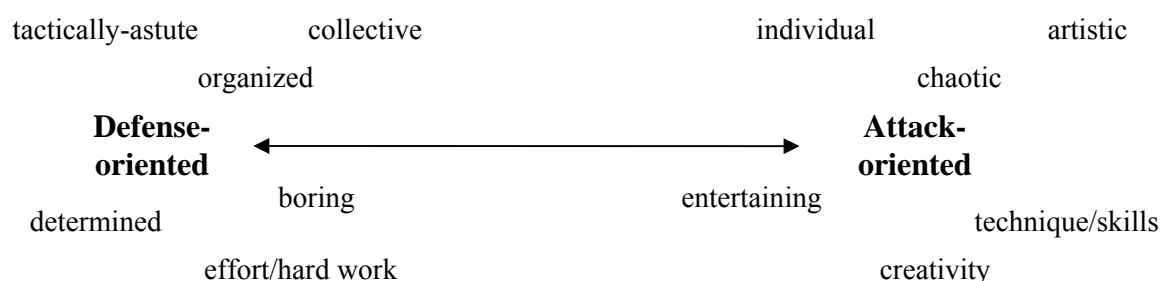


Figure 4.1.: Offensive-Defensive Antinomy and Related Skills

Although epitomized by the contrast made between teams from Europe and Latin America, this first antinomy operated more generally, albeit with less specificity. African teams, like their Latin American counterparts, received frequent praise for their offense (Table 4.1), including a high number of positive comments about talent (Table 4.3). In addition, African teams received frequent criticism for their defense, including many comments characterizing these teams as chaotic and disorganized, a sentiment that also manifested off-field in stories of administrative inefficiency and corruption. Teams from East Asia as well as USA and Australia more closely approximated the characterization of European teams as defensively oriented, especially through their superior effort, although none received as frequent praise for talent or offense as European teams.

Differing physical abilities, namely speed and strength, characterized the *second antinomy* (Figure 4.2). At one end of the continuum, national teams were physically powerful and athletic in ways that supplemented their playing style leading to greater success. Fast teams pressured opponents, beat them to the ball, and counterattacked quickly, while physically strong teams intimidated the opposition through hard tackles and outmuscled them for balls in the air. The U.S., as well as teams from Africa and Europe, received a great number of comments praising them for their speed (Table 4.3). In addition, journalists used adjectives such as “dizzying” (Landman, June 2, 2002), “frightening” (USA Today, May 31, 2006), and “tremendous” (USA Today, July 5, 2006) that enhanced the assignment of speed as a salient skill. These same teams received the majority of positive comments regarding strength (Table 4.3) and were described as “physically imposing” (Brewington, June 20, 2002), “tough” (Brooke, June 16, 2002), and “rugged” (Parker, June 5, 2002a).

The opposite pole encompassed teams whose lack of athleticism, physical weakness or lack of pace served as a primary barrier to greater achievement. This most readily applied to teams from East Asia and Latin America, who on several occasions journalists intimated struggled against more physically-able opponents. Thus, these teams were presented as being “dominated” (Bueno, June 19, 2002), “bulldozed” (Brooke, June 10, 2002), and “outmuscled” (Zeigler, June 9, 2006a) by bigger opponents as well as “lack[ing] poise against physical teams” (USA Today, May 29, 2002). For mighty Brazil, this was identified as a primary weakness.

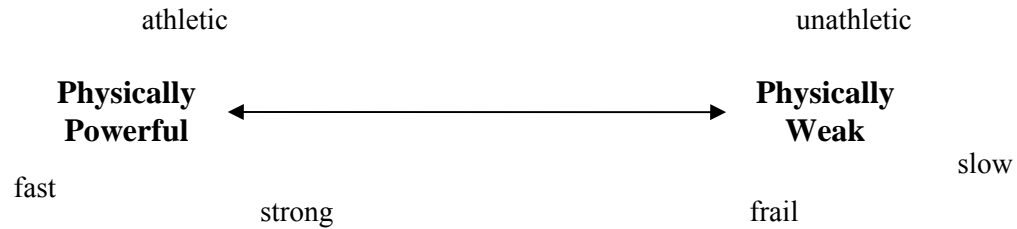


Figure 4.2.: Physical Antinomy and Related Skills

The *third antinomy* revolved around emotional displays (Figure 4.3). At one end of the continuum, commentary suggested that teams and players controlled and harnessed emotions for superior displays. In this sense, emotions were used for instrumental, goal-oriented purposes. This included possession of a “team spirit” that united players together, the confidence to thrive under pressure, patience to wait for opponents to make mistakes, and an ability to remain calm no matter how pressing the context. Teams from the more northern reaches of Europe, especially Germany, as well as USA, Australia, and East Asian teams received the bulk of comments indicating emotional control. Journalists described these teams as “composed” (Messing, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006), “plucky” (Whiteside, June 9, 2006), with a “winning mentality” (USA Today, May 29, 2002) and the “resolve to rescue victory from disheartenment” (Longman, June 23, 2002). Additionally, these teams received few comments claiming emotional capitulation (Table 4.3 and 4.4).

At the other end of the spectrum, teams and players were emotionally overwhelmed, diminishing their performance on the field. That is, their emotional tendencies revolved more around expressive behavior. This included nervousness in pressure situations, anxiety about performance, loss of temper leading to volatility on the field, disunity among team members, and a willingness to bend or break rules to gain an advantage. The most frequent recipients of

comments indicating a loss of emotional control included teams from the Latin American region and Southern European sub-region (Table 4.3 and 4.4). Teams and players not only suffered from “performance anxieties” (Vescey, June 16, 2002), they also struggled to keep their emotions in control. In this mode, journalists described them as “late-tackling thugs” (Whiteside, June 18, 2002b) who “often mistake an opponent's legs for the ball” (Hirschey, June 4, 2006) and engage in “clattering tackles and heated arguments” (USA Today, May 31, 2006). Although teams, such as Germany and Croatia, could also be characterized as physically rough, this differed from that assigned to Latin American and Southern European teams in that the origin of this roughness was physical strength, rather than uncontained emotions, suggesting a controllable physicality more praiseworthy than villainous. Commentary also indicated a penchant for bending the rules to gain advantage, in particular the willingness to fake being fouled or injured. In this mode journalists characterized players on these teams as “drama queens” (Hirschey, June 4, 2006) who often engage in “whiny appeal[s] to the referee” (Mahoney, July 10, 2006). Interestingly, most of those comments wherein Southern European and Latin American teams received praise for emotions occurred in an attacking context. The same teams that were “nervy in the back third” (Edwards, transcript, USA-POR, 2002) had “supreme confidence on the ball and in the dribble” (Keough, transcript, BRA-CHI, 2002). Delimiting beneficial emotional displays to offensive play contrasts with the more general positive influence of emotions on European team play, especially defense.

Thus, these antinomies reveal the cultural codes underlying coverage of national teams during the World Cup. Each organized the discourse about soccer by placing sport-specific skills, habits, and tendencies into a set of binary relations (Alexander and Smith, 1993 2003; Smith, 1991). Although each antinomy operated as an independent continuum, each also

overlapped with the other forming an overall field of talk about soccer composed of oppositional symbolic sets. With this field of talk about soccer established, I was then able to delineate six major archetypes (Figure 4.4) that correspond to idealized forms of performance associated with various regional or supra-national groupings. This field of talk about soccer was, in this sense, descriptive. However, these codes also performed an evaluative task by setting various archetypes against one another in terms of their worth or merit as general forms of performance.

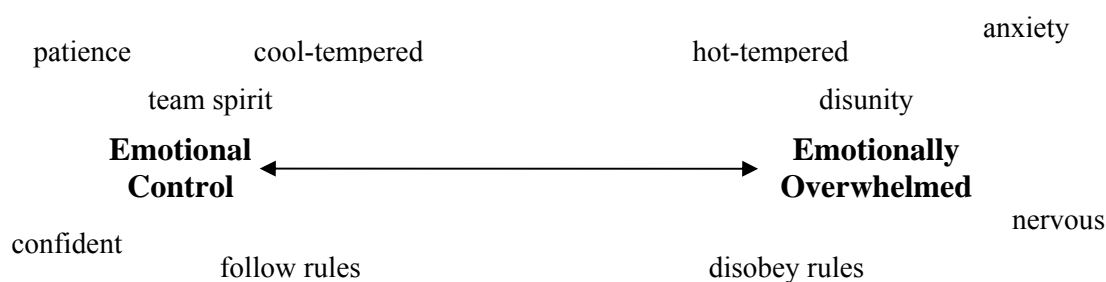


Figure 4.3.: Emotional Antinomy and Related Skills

The *Latin archetype* emphasized an offensive style and complimentary skills such as flair, creativity, dribbling, technique, passing, and shooting. Generally, but especially when applied to Argentina and Brazil, journalists considered this skill set to be spectacular and unique, clearly set apart from the more mundane skills found in other areas. Despite the prolific nature of praise for this ability in attack, comments hinted that teams and players from this region suffered from several shortcomings. They were not particularly adept at or comfortable with defensive roles, nor the effort, organization, and collective emphasis seen as necessary for enacting these roles successfully. At times, this manifested off the field in the form of stories about administrative disorganization, inefficiency, and corruption. In addition, because their players were not considered particularly athletic (especially in regards to strength), the Latin style could

be upset by tough, physically strong teams and their common propensity towards emotional turbulence led primarily to negative outcomes

In contrast, the *European archetype*, despite some recognition of attack relevant skills, emphasized a more defensive style and associated abilities such as hard work, determination, tactical acumen, and organization. Stories that emphasized organizational efficiency off-the-field, such as those surrounding Germany's hosting of the 2006 cup, augmented this sentiment by presenting these qualities as more than sport-specific. Reports characterized teams approximating this standard as athletic, excelling in regards to physical strength, as well as emotionally in control and determined. In contrast to the individual entertainment provided by the Latin archetype, the European version centered around collective play involving the entire team, a style usually interpreted as boring.

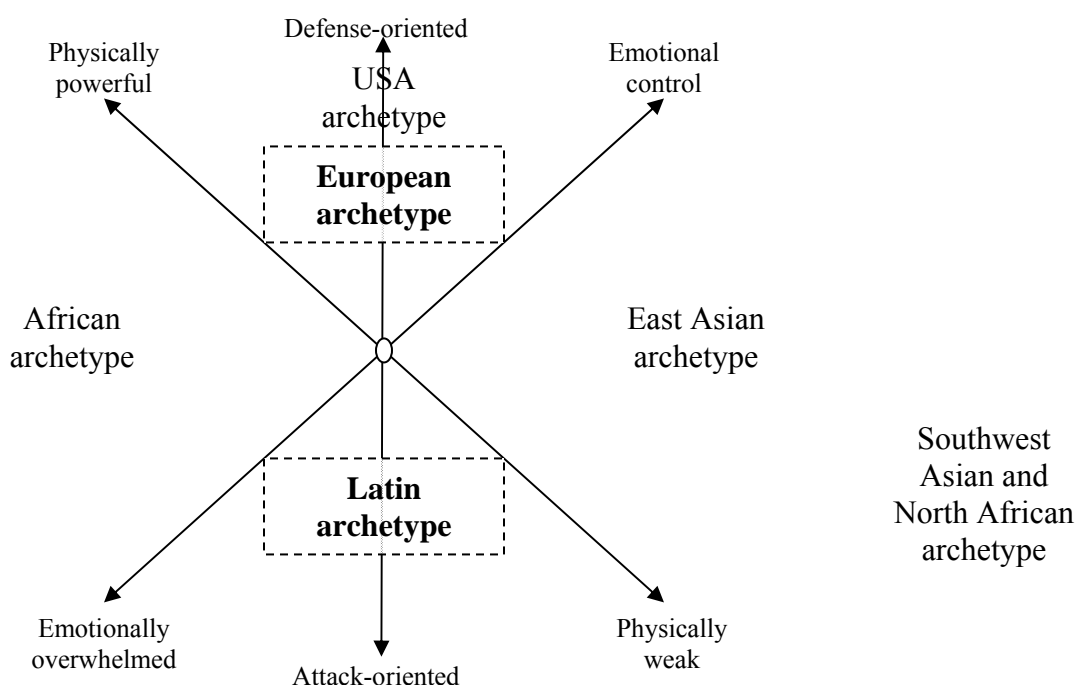


Figure 4.4.: Field of Soccer Representation

I refer to the former category as ‘Latin’ rather than ‘South American’ because the designation applied to teams from the “Latin” nations of North America as well as the more southern regions of Europe. The characterization of the Mexican and Costa Rican teams largely coincided with the Latin archetype, while Portugal and Spain were distinguished from their northern neighbors by an attacking style based on talented, but defensively and emotionally vulnerable players. France and Italy occupied a liminal space somewhere between the Latin and European poles. The offensive skill and artistic style associated with France mimicked that found in the Latin type, while strong affiliation with overwhelming emotions linked Italy to the Latin pole despite its overwhelmingly defensive characterization.

Teams from Latin America and Europe supplied over half of the overall competitors for both tournaments combined (26 of the 44 teams) and quantitatively received the bulk of the media attention and the majority of the comments. In addition, teams from these two regions with the longest history of competing in the World Cup (often designated as “superpowers”) offered announcers and writers a wealth of past events from which to draw. As a result of this more extensive treatment, the descriptions of these teams were more profuse and detailed, forming a dense, widely-recognized figure (represented graphically in figure 4.4 by both the bold type and boxed outline). In comparison, the styles of the remaining regions and nations emerged in relation to the Latin and European types, and in this sense appeared (relatively) indistinct, vague, and faint (represented graphically in figure 4.4 by both the normal type and lack of outline).

The *African archetype* borrows from the Latin type’s emphasis on an offensive style built around talented and skilled individual players, who failed to reach their full potential because of a lack of organization and discipline both on and off the field. However, the emphasis

on physical strength, athleticism, and especially speed places the African type nearer the European standard in regards to the second antinomy, physical abilities. The *East Asian archetype* suggested these teams suffered from an apparent lack of physical abilities, especially size and physical strength in a manner similar to the Latin archetype. However, they made up for this through determination, discipline, nearly inhuman effort, and virtually inexhaustible stamina. In this way, the East Asian archetype mimicked the European archetype's ideal of emotional control. Despite all of their faults in the sport, both the U.S. and foreign press agreed that the USMNT fielded a team capable of matching or even exceeding others athletically and mentally. In this sense, the *U.S. archetype* borrows from the physical abilities and generally positive mental disposition of the European type that encouraged collective effort and organization, team spirit, and intense exertion of energy. However, the U.S. was differentiated from both Europe, but especially Latin America, through the characterization of the team as virtually devoid of attacking talent and skills (although U.S.-based sources tended to present the gap in talent level as closing over time). This implied that although they were novices, the USMNT had a strong foundation upon which to grow and improve in the future.

Interestingly, the nations of North Africa and the Southwest Asia were almost entirely unfamiliar to American journalists and were apparently of little interest in terms of on-field accomplishments given the lack of focus on this aspect. For this reason, it is difficult to classify the *Southwest Asian and North African archetype* according to playing style. Rather, this type revolved primarily around the apparent political and cultural controversies caused by the incongruent demands of sport and religion. In this sense, teams from this region were excluded from the more general discourse surrounding playing styles (represented visually in figure 4.4. as “off the map”).

Although operating at a supra-national level, these archetypes did not so much subsume the national within the regional as activate these characterizations by co-joining them in a larger set of relationships. When considered within the overall field of talk about soccer, these national and regional characterizations appear as a broader form of cultural representation through which the nation is imagined via the representation of the national team. Thus, these antinomies form the underlying foundation of signs, symbols, and meaning that organize talk about soccer in media reports and show that the discrete descriptions of singular national teams are placed within a larger web of meanings generated by their relation to each other.

SOCCER STYLE AS CULTURAL REPRESENTATION

Given the correspondence between nations/regions and certain habits of play, it is tempting to interpret these archetypes as merely markers of the geographical distribution of nations. Like O'Donnell (1994), I argue that such a conclusion is not sufficient. First, the archetypes actually cross over spatial groupings (regions and continents) that share cultural or ancestral affinities. Teams associated with the Southwest Asian and North African as well as Latin archetype straddled three continents, yet were fused together through certain shared qualities (primarily religious in the former and ancestral and linguistic in the latter) that impacted the interpretation of their performance in the World Cup. Second, the archetypal playing styles were, at times, transposable. For example, in 2006 when Brazil failed to live up to the expectations of their attacking style an announcer equated their display of “good fundamental soccer” with a “European” style of play (Balboa, transcript, BRA-GHA, 2006). Equally, journalists labeled teams and individuals as surrogate “Brazilians” when they displayed ample attacking abilities, and “Italian” or “Scandinavian” when they performed capable enough defensively.

Thus, these designations signified not so much a place on a map or even a nation's unique style as a general manner of performing the sport (offensively or defensively; individually or collectively; entertainingly or boringly, etc.), that, while more readily applied to some groups than others, could potentially be applied to any that performed up to the categorical standards. Yet, the use of the categorical labels ("European," "Brazilian," "Scandinavian," and so on) clearly indicates that certain styles of play coalesced with particular nations or regions so that the spatial designation became synonymous for the style of play and could be evoked in its place. The key question then is why the peculiar alignment outlined here? Why did "Brazilian" and "Latin" come to stand in for a more creative, attack-oriented style of play built around individually entertaining players, while "German" and "European" stood in for "good fundamental soccer" that stressed collective defensive organization?

Surely part of the answer lies in real differences in the ways teams play. Several historical and ethnographic analyses reviewed in Chapter 2 provide a sociological framework for understanding how the local cultural and socio-environmental milieu impacts athletic performance through the development of habitus (Archetti, 1999, Dyck and Archetti, 2003). In this sense, players raised in the same national collective would be expected to develop similar kinetic dispositions that may appear when performing together as a unified national team playing style. Interestingly, many of the same qualifiers and phrases used to describe playing styles from this socio-environmental perspective overlapped with the descriptions analyzed in the media here (although the more negative underside is clearly absent in the socio-environmental literature). Thus, it is possible that the previously analyzed discourse may be an attempt on the part of journalists to describe actual differences in team play on the field.

Needless to say, where the reality of performance ends and journalistic interpretation begins depends upon one's epistemological framework. Following Lutz and Collins (1993: 2), I forgo the assumptions of realism that an entirely accurate phenomenological description of these performances could ever be produced. Instead, I begin with the assumption that all accounts are – at least in part – cultural. As such they are inscribed by and embedded within a system of signs and symbols that make up the web of meaning. For this reason I approach the soccer styles reported in the media as a form of cultural representation, a social lens that refocuses minor variations in actual on-field accomplishment into huge gulfs of expected difference that shape how performances are forecast and interpreted. This can most clearly be seen through the inability for the interrelated system of archetypes to adapt to unexpected circumstances. When teams failed to display the expected characteristics of their publicly acknowledged and exchanged style it was the performance itself, not the ideal, which came into question, so that teams were described as 'un-like' themselves. Reality was bent to fit the ideal in a way that suggests these playing styles were seen as essential, and difficult (if not impossible) to change through the efforts of coaches and players. They were, to return to the quote from *El Pais* at the beginning of this chapter, apparently permanent and deterministic, like a lay understanding of genetics.

I propose that the nation itself, more specifically the nation's international reputation within the global sphere, renders this social lens of soccer style as cultural representation intelligible. Qualities assigned to the national team on the field became "indexical" (Blain and Boyle, 1998: 369) for the idealized behavior expected from all members of the national community off it. The way in which degree of organization on the pitch became equated with the ability to organize more generally off it denotes the most obvious occurrence. That is, rather than

merely describing the behavior seen on the field, journalists tried to understand these performances and explain them to readers via a set of expected behaviors, attitudes, and predilections suggested by the characteristics of the nation. Studies in social psychology have shown that groups stabilize their own identity by way of comparison to other groups (Hogg and Abrams, 1988) and that this process of comparison involves representing the group as reducible to a series of essential characteristics, cognitive states, and behaviors (Rice and Mullen, 2005). As O'Donnell (1994) usefully pointed out, a major component of this reduction within sport media involves a “mythologizing of collective fitness for *work*” (p. 356, italics in original). This involves assigning the national collective qualities thought to be related to their performance in the field of global economics, with certain collectives more suited for certain economic activities than others. While fitness for work based on international economic success denotes one prominent component of national reputation, imagining nationality always involves gendered and racially-coded components. Thus, talk about the nation via the national team involves not just national identity, but *racialized* representations of nationality that are simultaneously *gendered*. This point can be brought into focus through a discussion of race, nation, and gender within international economic development.

The Color of Playing Style Archetypes

The modern concept of race as innate and unchangeable emerged from the social relations created by a global system of capitalist international trade and colonial expansion that linked Europe to the rest of the world (American Anthropological Association, 1998; Cox, 1945; Hoberman, 1997; Omi and Winant, 1994; Wallerstein, 1991). Interestingly, the triangular trade between Africa, Europe, and the Americas involving slaves, one of the earliest patterns of international exchange to develop within this world-system, emerged from the need for labor

during European expansion into the Americas, not crude theories of difference. Yet, because these encounters, like most during the colonial period, involved fundamentally exploitative and unequal exchanges a system of thought rooted in superiority and inferiority of racial groups developed (Gould, 1981/1996: 63-70; Rodney, 1972: 88). As Williams (1944/1994) notes “slavery was not born of racism; rather, racism was the consequence of slavery” (p. 7).

In this sense, ideas about race developed within a system that brought phenotypically and culturally dissimilar groups into contact at both a global and local scale. This occurred globally primarily in the form of political and economic relations between non-contiguous areas of the world (Connolly, 1991). During colonialism, ideas of racial superiority and inferiority, such as the insistence that non-Europeans were incapable of self-rule (regarding India, see Narayan, 1997, 55-7), often justified direct control, establishing the parameters of a system of global trade dominated by Europe and its settler colonies. Indeed, development and underdevelopment “have a dialectical relationship” (Rodney, 1972: 75) so that wealth in one area of the world depended upon the impoverishment of another area (regarding Africa, see Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson, 2002; Nunn, 2008). Even after independence, brought an end to colonialism, these political and economic relations continued to color much global trade (Bello, 1994; Manley, 1987). Over time, racial categories “crystallized” around type of labor input contributed to this world-system (Wallerstein, 1991: 80) with the binary end-points that constitute the ideal poles of racial identity - ‘white’ and ‘black’ - marking the extremes of this spatial distribution of labor processes. In a crude sense this links all areas associated with core production processes, development, and wealth (along with their primarily light-skinned citizens) against those regions with more peripheral contributions (and their more dark-skinned citizens). In this way, the social construction of nationality is racialized based upon a nation’s position in global economic trade,

their developmental trajectory, and the abilities associated with the type of labor performed. Each of the playing style archetypes reflects these racialized ideas of nationality by presenting the nation as prone to particular behaviors and attitudes conducive to the type of work generally performed.

However, race also evolved conceptually as a part of the development of national identity inside state boundaries (Marx, 1998). Because “no nation imagines itself as coterminous with mankind [sic]” (Anderson, 1983/1991: 7) national identity always contains an element of exclusion (Yuval-Davis, 1993, 624). Racial identity has often served as a marker used to delimit ‘authentic’ from ‘inauthentic’ members of the national community (Brodkin, 1998; Marx, 1998; McClintock, 1997; Roediger, 1991). In this way, the social construction of nationality is racialized internally within a single nation-state by imagining nationality through a finite (but constantly challenged and remade) racial group. Each of the playing styles archetypes operates through racialized ideas of nationality that conceive of the national group as a singular racial whole, despite vast diversity within the populations these teams represent.

The European archetype is marked as simultaneously white and well-prepared for economic development within a system of international capitalist exchange. The abilities European teams possess in abundance on the soccer field – the ability to plan and organize; limitless energy and ample physical force for execution; the emotional stability and commitment to task to follow through – collectively assigns them qualities making them well-prepared for competition in a liberal, entrepreneurial economic environment. As Dyer (1997) noted, “whiteness” includes a “Christian embodiment” (p. 17) component centered on qualities such as aspiration, self-denial, self-control, and material achievement, all traits fit for the most rewarded forms of labor in a capitalist system of exchange. Symbolically, this corresponds to the high (but

hardly uniform) levels of economic wealth of the European Union as a whole as well as many individual nations within Europe.

Interestingly, the representation of both the United States and Australia closely mimicked that of Europe, only lacking some of the attacking talent and skill. Thus, Australia and the United States became linked with Europe through shared possession of qualities with wide utility for achieving global economic success when placed in off-field settings, a coupling apparently confirmed in their similar level of economic development (albeit with different levels of international impact). Of course, this similarity between the representations of Australia, Europe, and the U.S. also reiterates how the European, American, and Australian playing style was marked as “white.” Not only does each area possess a playing style imbued with qualities of whiteness and economic success, but each is also associated primarily with light-skinned citizens at both a demographic and imaginary level, with the U.S. and Australia serving as prime examples of European settler colonies. Here the way in which the idealized racial identity and relative wealth of the nation influences the representation of playing style can be clearly seen. Although both the U.S. and Australian men’s national teams have had minimal success in international soccer competitions, their racial and economic similarities to Europe script their playing style as involving similar characteristics.

Conversely, the Latin archetype marks it as relatively dark-skinned and possessing a general behavioral and attitudinal model unsuited for development within the current international economic sphere. Reports characterized these teams as prone to inefficiency and disorganization, emotionally unstable because of immaturity and lack of self control, and disinclined to giving consistent effort. Their most salient qualities - individual creativity, talent, and technique - lend to the performance of dynamic art, making them more suited to

entertainment than productive work in a system of neo-liberal, entrepreneurial capitalism by suggesting an older, pre-capitalist economic philosophy that – unlike the cultural logic of the Protestant ethic (Weber, 1905/1958) - places the immediate pleasures of hedonism above self-denial through re-investment.¹⁶ This appears to be confirmed in the developmental trajectory of the “Latin” areas of the world associated with this type. Much of Latin America is among the most impoverished areas of the world, primarily operating outside of the major international trade circuits (regarding sporting goods, see Harvey and St. Germain, 2001). Until the fall of the Berlin Wall made East-West the most prominent axis of unequal development, the contrast between Northern and more Mediterranean Europe accounted for the primary developmental cleavage there. Therefore this archetype’s application to the Americas and Southern Europe – albeit with different gradations of emphasis - acknowledges this different scale of development between Europe and the rest of the world, within Europe itself, as well as between Southern Europe and Latin America.

The other archetypes follow a similar pattern and in the process establish these regions’ relationship to the international exchange and ideas about race. The African archetype shared its Latin counterpart’s emphasis on talented individual players held back by lack of proper organization. This component features prominently in European media discussions of African soccer (Blain, et al, 1993; O’Donnell, 1994), wherein the underdevelopment of Africa manifests in athletics as disorganization, instability, corruption, irrationality, and even infantilism. This reached its apex in this sample in reports of the use of “sorcery” to assist teams and players (French, June 23, 2002; Zeigler, June 21, 2002). Although animistic religion plays a prominent

¹⁶ It is interesting that the two main soccer archetypes – European and Latin - roughly correspond to the two major waves of European expansion, with Southern Europe’s expansion preceding Northern Europe’s by roughly a decade and leading to a different style of imperialism and economic development most explicitly revealed by the distinction between *encomienda* and plantation systems used in the Americas.

role in African football, just as it does African social life more generally, its primary function is to rationalize the unpredictability of sport (Leseth, 1997), much like praying and other rituals engaged in by North American athletes (Womack, 1992). Yet, when decontextualized for Western audiences, this practice appears like an exotic and irrational practice from an earlier evolutionary stage (Leseth, 1997) that signifies Africa as developmentally retarded. This also links with the identification of physical strength, athleticism, and especially speed as the most salient abilities of the African archetype, a common trope in U.S. sport media (Davis, 1990; Davis and Harris, 1998). As Hoberman (1997) points out, because mental and physical acumen are conceived of as opposites in Western thought, assignment of innate athletic advantages implies mental feebleness.

As the region outside of Europe and its settler colonies that has achieved the highest level of economic success (as measured by the usual indices of capitalism), East Asia sits in a semi-peripheral position between the underdevelopment that generally characterizes Africa and Latin America and the development of Europe (Bello, 1994; Deyo, 1989). Following World War II, the East Asian “miracle” became a key component of the overall discourse about development, often circulating as a defense to critiques of neo-liberal capitalism (Berger, 2004). Interestingly, one common line of thought, produced both within Asia (Berger, 1996) and from abroad (Deyo, 1989: 87-8; Yao, 2002), draws upon valorized characteristics that coupled race, nation, and culture to explain the specifics of Asian development (Berger, 2004: 175-191). In a reversal of Weber’s (1968) thesis¹⁷, this body of work explained that East Asian economic success derived from the congruence between capitalism and certain ‘Asian values’ framed as either ancient or specifically Confucian in origin. These values centered on discipline, hard work, a collective

¹⁷ Interestingly, this body of work applies a similar theoretical frame as Weber by connecting economic practices to religious ones, but unlike Weber do not find Confucianism in conflict with capitalist development.

orientation, and the ability to organize (Berger, 2004; Deyo, 1989: 87-89; Dirlik, 1997; Kwon, 2007; Yao, 2002), all qualities assigned to East Asian teams in this sample. In this way, the East Asian archetype overlapped with research showing Asian nationals represented as “stoic conformists” (p. 13) whose success derived from hard work and self discipline in the Summer Olympics (Sabo, et al., 1996). But this also linked East Asia to Europe via their similar emotional and mental dispositions and, in this way, helped to makes sense of East Asia and especially the three participants in this sample (China, Japan, and South Korea), within the international world-system.

Although American journalists’ unfamiliarity and lack of reporting on national teams from Southwest Asia and North Africa led to difficulties in discerning an on-field style of play, the one well-known and oft-repeated feature in the U.S. press, religious identity, signified these teams’ racial identity and development trajectory. Whereas U.S. film and television relies on phenotypic signifiers to distinguish most groups, religion serves as the primary marker of Arab identity within media (Shaheen, 2001: 2; also see Semmerling, 2006; Shaheen, 1984). Virtually all Arabs are presumed to be devout followers of Islam, which is frequently characterized as antithetical to Western values (Naber, 2000). In the sporting context analyzed here, the selection of off field over on-field events rendered Islam and that important component of modern Western culture - elite, performance-oriented sport (see Elias and Dunning, 1986) - as in conflict (for similar treatment of Iran in the 1998 World Cup, see Delgado, 2003). As a master status, religious identity overwhelmed all other aspects, casting this region, like East Asia, as permanently caught in the static grip of tradition (Narayan, 1997). Visually, I represented this lack of a specific on-field sporting style as outside of the field of soccer representation illustrated in Figure 4.4, but this visualization can also be applied to Western readings of this region’s

development trajectory. Nations in the regions, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, that experienced a rather sudden development “jump” via the increase in oil profits generated by independent ownership do not fit well within the evolutionary-oriented economic theories of development and caused consternation (Semmerling, 2006: 10-11).

The Gender of Playing Style Archetypes

Positing the men’s national team and its performances as indicative of deeper tendencies within the nation exemplifies the way nations are gendered at an imaginary level (McClintock, 1997; Richards, 2004; Walby, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1993). In this case, men stood in for the physical energy, strength, and force of the national collective, becoming representatives on both the sport field and as laborers within global economic relations. In this sense, the gendering of playing styles directly structures men’s relationship to women vis-à-vis their association with different facets of the state. While women are often associated with stereotypically appropriate features, such as nurturer of national culture (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989), here men were associated with directed, forceful activities in the public sphere.

However, because these representations of national masculinity also bisected with racial identity they became set into relation with and against one another through the mechanism of differentially valued masculinities (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2001; Messner, 1992). The international economic force suggested by the “white masculinity” of the European archetype (but also implied within the representation of United States and Australia) juxtaposed against the poverty insinuated by the Latin and African types frames these as differing, if not oppositional, forms of masculinity in terms of economic viability. That is, the latter were marginalized by their inability to consistently secure capital within the “free” market. In addition, the Latin type suffered from emotional capitulation, instability, and immaturity compared to the austere control

of the European ideal. The European type's closer association with a physical style of play suggests an ability (if not the desire) to engage in a physical exchange of pain and, most importantly for approximating hegemonic masculinity, the ability to publicly deny its effects (Maguire, 1999: 119-121; Messner and Sabo 1994), whereas the Latin type's willingness to fake being fouled or injured in order to gain advantage on an opponent breaks this implicit code of toughness through silence and denial (Critchler, 1991: 73).

While the East Asian archetype mimicked the European version's emphasis on fitness for international economic development, its primary flaw - lack of physical size and power – corresponds to the longstanding Western belief that Asian men are “ineffective, effeminate, or wimpy” (Fong, 2008: 194) and mimics the characterization of Asian nationals in other sport settings (Mayeda, 1999). Thus, like the Latino men with whom they share this deficiency, Asian men practice a relatively de-valued form of masculinity that lacks the hegemonic ideal's physical prowess. However, like the “model minority” stereotype (Bascara, 2006; Fong, 2008; Nguyen, 2002; Osajima, 2005) of Asian-Americans, barriers and limitations facing the group are overcome through the possession and application of generally desirable characteristics (see Fong, 2008; Lester, 2005; Kim, 1999, 121; Osajima, 2005; Palumbo-Liu, 1999), articulated within the language of the sports world as mental commitment, boundless effort, and emotional control.¹⁸

The emphasis on physical strength, athleticism, and especially speed implied the African archetype possessed some masculine qualities graded as desirable and shared in common with Europe, USA, and Australia. However, the strong emphasis on athleticism also borrows from ideas about innate athletic ability prominent in both European and American stereotypical portrayals of Blackness, especially in a sporting context (Davis and Harris, 1998; Hoberman,

¹⁸ Yao (2002) remarks on the similarity between the model minority stereotype and notions of Confucian capitalism (18).

1997). Furthermore, because Black masculinity in sport settings is characterized as hyper-physical (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Majors 1998; Majors and Mancini 1992), this association “marginalizes” (Connell, 1995) this identity.

It must be noted that, the *devaluation of masculinity* apparent for certain national and racial identities depended upon *feminization*. That is, despite referring to relationships between men, the cultural codes invoked an implicit acknowledgement and acceptance of men’s domination over women. This is perhaps most clear regarding the characterization of the Latin archetype as afflicted by out-of-control, expressive (e.g. non-productive) emotional disposition contrastable with the more goal-oriented temperament of the European ideal. In addition, archetypes that did not imply ample economic force were marginalized. Thus, the gendering of team-wide playing styles examined in this chapter reveal how even unequal relationships created between men figure into the larger field of gender relations by symbolic devaluing femininity.

CHAPTER DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have shown that journalists covering the World Cup dedicated a significant portion of coverage to describing national teams and that these descriptions frequently characterized teams as possessing a peculiar style of play that caused them to excel at or struggle with specific aspects of the game. The three playing style antinomies that organized this field of talk about soccer revealed that particular skills sets or habits of playing became more readily assigned to some groups than others so that regional or national designations came to stand in for a particular manner of performing sport. I offered an interpretation of this discourse about playing style as a form of cultural representation through which the nation is imagined via the representation of the national team. This representation depended in part upon the history of nation, especially its internal race relations and external economic fortunes in global trade, that

rendered a team of all-male players as representative of larger cultural tendencies of the nation itself.

Thus, this chapter contributes to the overall project by showing the way that media coverage of international sport contributes to the construction of nations by imagining the national team as representing the nation, not just formally within competitions nor emblematically as a symbolic substitute, but as a material expression of the nation's culture and history expressed through a simplified notion of on-field performance. As we shall see in the next chapter, this type of characterization also extends to individual players on these teams.

Table 4.1 – Distribution of Team Tendencies, by Region

Regions & Sub-Regions	<u>Watchability</u>		<u>Reputation</u>		<u>Relative Achievement</u>		<u>Team Strength</u>		<u>Team Weakness</u>		<u>Collective or Individual</u>	
	Bore	Entertain	Super-power	Minnow	Overachieve	Underachieve	Attack	Defense	Attack	Defense	Collective style	Individual style
Africa (n=392)		4		9	9	4	12	4	3	1		
Asia (n=508)		3		8			9	3			6	4
Latin America (n=1553)	7	68	92	10	10	18	67	33	13	32	2	5
Europe (n=2572)	23	14	71	1		4	41	86	18	12	8	1
Central Europe (n=1375)	9	6	45				20	28	13	7	6	
Eastern Europe (n=281)	5		2					5	4	1		
Scandinavia (n= 85)	1			1	1	1		5				
Southern Europe (n= 671)	8	7	34			3	19	37	1	3		
Other Europe (n=160)		1	4				2	11		1	2	1
North Africa & Southwest Asia (n=223)					8	1	5	8	7	1	2	
USA (n=1423)	4	1	1	13	6		17	17	22		5	2

Table 4.2 – Distribution of Team Tendencies, by Country

Nations	<u>Watchability</u>		<u>Reputation</u>		<u>Relative Achievement</u>		<u>Team Strength</u>		<u>Team Weakness</u>		<u>Collective or Individual</u>	
	Bore	Entertain	Superpower	Minnow	Overachieve	Underachieve	Attack	Defense	Attack	Defense	Collective style	Individual style
Argentina (n=181)	1	16	42		1	4	8	3		1		
Brazil (n=882)	3	43	50		0	0	52	15	7	28	2	2
Czech Republic (n=116)			2								6	
England (n=231)	3		7					10	3			1
France (n= 622)	1	4	11				16	13	10	7		1
German (n= 522)	5	2	14				3	5	1			1
Ghana (n=167)		2			5		2		1		2	
Italy (n=342)	7	1	15				7	37		2	2	
Korea (n=388)		3		2			11					5
Mexico (n=316)	2	3			1	13	2	2	2	1		
Portugal (n=204)	1	1	12				9			1		
Senegal (n=109)		2	1	2	1		2	2				
Turkey (n=146)				1	8		4	6				2
USA (n=1423)	5	1	5	10	7	3	18	18	23		5	5

Table 4.3 – Distribution of Offensive-Defensive Skills, by Region

Regions & Sub-Regions	<u>Passing</u>			<u>Creativity</u>		<u>Talent Level</u>		<u>Technical Skills</u>		<u>Positioning</u>		
	Good Pass	Poor Pass	Play-maker	Creative	Lacks creativity	Talented	Untalented	Good Technique	Poor Technique	Run Off Ball	Good Positioning	Poor Positioning
Africa (n=392)	7			14	1	60	1	26	6	3	12	35
Asia (n=508)	7	3	1	10		10	6	16	3	1	15	12
Latin America (n=1553)	76	12	22	80	6	236	8	211	7	31	29	53
Europe (n=2572)	110	21	48	74	22	386	43	179	25	38	202	44
Central Europe (n=1375)	64	14	24	39	17	191	33	122	20	20	73	17
Eastern Europe (n=281)	14	1	5	13		30	6	14	3	4	28	6
Scandinavia (n= 85)	2	1				4		3		1	21	5
Southern Europe (n= 671)	23	5	17	20	4	132		46	2	7	57	13
Other Europe (n=160)	7		2	2	1	19	4	4		6	23	3
North Africa & Southwest Asia (n=223)	4	4	3	2	1	17	2	7		1	14	6
USA (n=1423)	54	15	14	35	14	81	32	84	16	13	78	46

Table 4.4 – Distribution of Offensive-Defensive Skills, by Country

Nations	<u>Passing</u>		<u>Creativity</u>			<u>Talent Level</u>		<u>Technical Skills</u>			<u>Positioning</u>	
	Good Pass	Poor Pass	Playmaker	Creative	Lacks creativity	Talented	Untalented	Good Technique	Poor Technique	Run Off Ball	Good Positioning	Poor Positioning
Argentina (n=181)	9	9	9	8		1	4	8	3	1	1	3
Brazil (n=882)	56	11	8	59	2	149	3	162	5	24	12	40
Czech Republic (n=116)	10	1	4	10		22		11		2	11	3
England (n=231)	7		1	3	3	27	1	11	2	1	14	5
France (n= 622)	49	12	15	32	5	118		92	12	18	15	8
German (n= 522)	8	2	8	4	9	41	33	19	6	1	44	4
Ghana (n=167)	5			2		25		13	1	1	5	23
Italy (n=342)	11	2	13	9		42		13	1	3	49	1
Korea (n=388)	7	1	1	5		4	3	7	2	1	7	5
Mexico (n=316)	9		5	8	2	24	2	13	8	3	4	5
Portugal (n=204)	5	3	3	6	3	62		24		2	3	12
Senegal (n=109)				6		10	2	10	4	1	6	9
Turkey (n=146)	3	3	3	3	2	10	2	6	0	2	13	3
USA (n=1423)	58	15	15	35	14	83	33	848	16	13	78	46

Table 4.5 – Distribution of Physical and Mental Skills, by Country

Regions & Sub-Regions	<u>Speed</u>		<u>Strength</u>		<u>Effort</u>		<u>Emotion</u>		<u>Intelligence</u>		<u>Leadership</u>	
	Fast	Slow	Strong	Weak	Good Effort	Poor Effort	Good emotions	Poor emotions	Good Decision	Poor Decision	Good Leader	Poor Leader
Africa (n=392)	39		22		27	8	18	23	5	5	6	5
Asia (n=508)	32	3	7	7	90		27	17	4	1	4	
Latin America (n=1553)	67	15	80	8	79	51	94	180	35	28	7	1
Europe (n=2572)	109	30	212	2	192	49	163	252	76	32	28	4
Central Europe (n=1375)	73	17	120	1	114	24	97	98	35	12	19	4
Eastern Europe (n=281)	17	7	38		17	4	9	15	17	11	4	
Scandinavia (n= 85)		1	8		10		6	8	6	1	1	
Southern Europe (n= 671)	13	5	39	1	37	20	36	110	23	14	2	
Other Europe (n=160)	3		7		21	1	13	15	4		1	
North Africa & Southwest Asia (n=223)	6	2	28		19		14	17	5	4		1
USA (n=1423)	181	24	93	12	192	48	157	63	62	31	23	2

Table 4.6 – Distribution of Physical and Mental Skills, by Country

Nations	<u>Speed</u>		<u>Strength</u>		<u>Effort</u>		<u>Emotion</u>		<u>Intelligence</u>		<u>Leadership</u>	
	Fast	Slow	Strong	Weak	Good Effort	Poor Effort	Good emotions	Poor emotions	Good Decision	Poor Decision	Good Leader	Poor Leader
Argentina (n=181)	5	2	8	2	8	2	12	32	5	5		
Brazil (n=882)	52	9	45	3	36	40	44	49	22	16	4	1
Czech Republic (n=116)	9	4	19		11	1	5	3	7	4	4	
England (n=231)	11		13		11	1	10	17	2	2	1	
France (n= 622)	49	12	26	1	51	18	35	61	20	8	11	2
German (n= 522)	22	2	81	1	45	2	52	19	13	2	7	2
Ghana (n=167)	18		9		13	4	5	11	2	4	6	5
Italy (n=342)	6	1	31		25	6	20	38	15	7	1	
Korea (n=388)	26	2	5		80		19	5	3			
Mexico (n=316)	6	4	10	1	16	7	30	83	3	6	2	
Portugal (n=204)	5	3	5	1	6	13	7	44	4	6		
Senegal (n=109)	10		7		6	3	9	6	2			
Turkey (n=146)	8		28		18		12	16	5	2		1
USA (n=1423)	181	24	94	12	192	48	157	64	62	31	23	2

- CHAPTER 5 -

Individual Points of Intersection:

Race, Gender, and Ethnicity through the Prism of Nationality

In Chapter 4 I established that World Cup coverage operated at a general level by assigning the entire national team an archetypal playing style and corresponding skill set. Thus, part of the representation of on-field performance involved placing individual players within this team-wide framework. However, because national teams, especially in the contemporary era, reflect the increasingly diverse populations of the geographical areas they represent, it is quite common in international sport for national teams to employ athletes affiliated with multiple national communities, of varying skin tones, or from differing ancestral backgrounds (Bale and Maguire, 1994; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001; Maguire, 1999). Many teams that appeared in the two tournaments examined here exemplified this diversity. In this chapter, I analyze how these differences between individual players are articulated within the overarching framework of the national team and the associated playing style established in the preceding chapter. That is, I explore the internal stratification of individual members of teams within the system of stratification and stereotypical portrayals of national teams as a whole.

All nations practice some form of exclusion (Yuval-Davis, 1993, 624), with race, ethnicity, gender, and class the most common criteria used to internally stratify national communities. Historically race served as an especially potent criterion for limiting the imagined national collective (Marx, 1998; McClintock, 1997; Roediger, 1991), in part because skin tone – frequently interpreted as signaling racial difference - provides such a highly visible marker

(Bhabha 1999, 166). Furthermore, in the American context racial identity impacts how men and their masculinity are represented publicly (Connell, 1995), especially in the field of sport where Black males are strongly associated with superior athleticism but insufficient mental skills (Buffington, 2005; Davis and Harris, 1998). To explore how race intersected with nationality in this context I analyzed the portrayal of individual players across three national teams with racially and ethnically diverse squads: Brazil, France, and USA. Using an “intercategorical” (McCall, 2005) approach to researching intersectionality allowed me to investigate variation in the portrayal of different racial categories within three distinct national settings. Analyses revealed that although race clearly intersected with national identity, it did so in locally divergent ways that drew on nationally- specific circumstances from both within and outside the world of soccer.

I also performed a detailed case study of a single player, U.S. forward Clint Mathis. This “intracategorical” (McCall, 2005) approach limited analysis to the singular point at which Mathis’ multiple strands of identity met. While recognized as a White American male, Mathis’ strong association with a devalued and marginalized American South undercut these more privileged and advantaged statuses, marking him (and the South) as an internal other to the United States. Although, like differentiation of Black players on the U.S. team, the characterization of Mathis involved a process of “othering” similar to that suggested by Said (1978), it occurred within the boundary of a single state, among a singular national community (Jansson, 2003; Schein, 1997). The importance of Mathis’ regional affiliation to his overall characterization raises both social class and space as important, but often neglected, elements of intersectional analysis (McCall, 2005, 1788; Valentine, 2007).

Collectively these two approaches reveal the complex, non-formulaic manner in which racial, ethnic, masculine, class, and regional identities intersect within the context of international soccer. In addition, using both social psychology and Durkheimian functionalism, I show how even in those situations wherein the characterization of individual players differed greatly from that of the national team, this opposition strengthened the national by using the estranged party as a foil against which to imagine a group-based standard.

RACIALIZING NATIONALITY: COMPARING COVERAGE OF BRAZIL, FRANCE, AND USA

As a development of the modern era, international sport has always been impacted by global migration networks. For some time national teams have employed athletes of diverse backgrounds. For example, the Italian team that won the 1934 World Cup included four players of Italian descent born and raised in Argentina (Archetti, 1999, 169), and Brazilian soccer since the 1950s has been representative of the several ancestries that populate that country (Leite Lopes, 1997). Still, the increasing pace and volume of the world-wide movement of human beings has exacerbated this tendency within sport as well as our awareness of and interest in it (Bale and Maguire, 1994; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001; Maguire, 1999). As nations diversify, so do their national teams. Even countries with relatively little immigration have been impacted. The Polish squad in 2002 included a player born in Nigeria, Japan utilized a naturalized Brazilian in 2002 and 2006, and in 2006 Germany employed two Polish-born players. In order to examine how players of the same nationality but different skin tones or ancestral backgrounds were presented, I focused on the newspaper and television coverage surrounding three national teams (Brazil, France, and the USA).

The silence on race

In a pattern reminiscent of talk about race both within (see Buffington and Fraley, 2008) and outside the sports world (see Bonilla-Silva, 2003), journalists in this sample rarely mentioned the racial identity of an athlete or discussed race in a direct or overt manner. Those rare moments when race did come to fore either celebrated players having broken down racial or ethnic barriers or strongly condemned behaviors identified as racist. In an example of the former, the commentator in a television broadcast of France's game with Switzerland identified Vikash Dhorasoo, a French-born player of Mauritian descent, as the first player of Indian (e.g. South Asian) ancestry to ever play in a World Cup. This comment was made by the announcer in a single sentence and appeared as a typed graphic on screen as the player entered the match as a substitute (Messing, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006). More lengthy newspaper stories did appear that openly condemned the treatment of players of African descent by coaches (Zeigler, June 28, 2006), fans (Melvin, June 5, 2006; Whiteside, June 2, 2006), and others in countries with little historical immigration (Longman, May 28, 2002).

Because of this general silence surrounding race I focused in those more subtle moments when racial differences were implied. Specifically, I compared the assignment of soccer-specific skills to players of different skin tones within the same national team. To make this comparison, I had to designate players by racial identity. First, I relied on information about racial identity gathered from comments within this data set and secondarily on my background knowledge of the sport. If a racial identity could not be discerned by these means, I sought out additional biographical information on specific players from common public resources (wikipedia.com and FIFA.com). If still not able to determine racial identity from these sources I used pictures of the players themselves, following a procedure similar to that used in studies of stacking (see

Margolis and Piliavin, 1999). For Brazil, I followed Liete Lopez (1997) in classifying Brazilian players as “Black,” “Mestizo (mixed),” or “White.” French players with no identified ethnic background, or those identified with a European ethnicity, I classified as “White.” Players identified as being from sub-Saharan Africa or the Caribbean I assigned as “Black,” while those identified as coming from North Africa I classified as “North African.” U.S. players identified as Black or African-American I categorized as “Black,” those identified as Hispanic or with ancestry from Latin America I classified as “Hispanic,” while those not ancestrally identified or whose ancestry was identified as European I categorized as “White.”

Brazil: The Predominance of the ‘Samba’ Style

Despite a great deal of diversity within the squad there was little differentiation of Brazilian players by skin tone or ancestral background. Journalists made no mention of the varying racial identities of players, although a Rio-based writer for the *New York Times* did pen an article focused on the working-class background of most members of the 2006 squad (Rother, June 25, 2006). As documented in Chapter 4, when journalists talked about the Brazilian national team, they did so with awe, lavishing immense praise on the team as a whole, as well as on individual players, for their offensive capabilities. It was this revered ‘samba’ style that came to predominate the mediated representation of individual Brazilian players.

Journalists assigned talent and technique, the two most commonly cited skills associated with the Brazilian team as a whole, evenly amongst individual players on the squad (Table 5.1). Relatively light-skinned players (such as Juninho Paulista, Juninho Pernambucano, and Kaka) were assigned these skills with the same frequency as darker skinned players, such as Robinho, Ronaldinho, Ronaldo, and Rivaldo. Reputation and familiarity upon entering the tournament impacted player representation to some degree. For example, Ronaldo, Rivaldo, and Ronaldinho

entered the 2002 tournament with already well-established reputations and, as a result, received the bulk of the comments quantitatively, but also the most lavish praise qualitatively.

Comparatively, Kaka (at the time a promising, young player) received little attention, but when he did it was for a similar skill set. In 2006, with Rivaldo retired from international play and Ronaldo past his prime, Ronaldinho assumed the mantle of “the best player in the world” (Cohen, June 14, 2006), followed closely by Kaka’s reputation as an “emerging star” (Rother, June 1, 2006) worthy of inclusion within the pantheon of Brazil’s other “one-named stars” (Knobler, June 20, 2006). The darker-skinned Robinho, like Kaka in 2002, was the youngest player in the 2006 squad, meaning he received less commentary. However, when he did, commentators described him as “a fantastic dribbler” (Rother, June 1, 2006) who added “speed, inventiveness and firepower to the attack” (Cohen, June 19, 2006). Thus, even though some players received more effusive praise than others, the patterns were more reflective of the players’ fame prior to the tournament than skin tone. Both relatively light and dark-skinned players received praise of this type, and all Brazilian players – even defenders - were strongly associated with the offensive proclivity and related skill sets that epitomized the Latin archetype.

This pattern also manifested regarding individuals born in Brazil, but who played for national teams other than their country of birth. Five players over the course of both tournaments I examined fit this profile (Alex, Japan; Marco Senna, Spain; Santos, Tunisia; Zinha, Mexico; Deco, Portugal). Like their counterparts on the Brazilian national team, characterization of these players centered on creativity, technical skill, and success in attack. Journalists invoked comments such as “skill player” (Vescey, July 6, 2006), “playmaker” (USA Today, July 5, 2006; Zeigler, June 25, 2006), “sublime foot skills” (Zeigler, May 6, 2006), “fantastic feat [and] great vision as well” (Harkes, transcript, FRA-POR, 2006). When these players performed well

offensively, commentators brought their Brazilian ancestry to the fore. When Marcos Senna scored for Spain, he was described as “taking a page from the book of Brazil's Kaka” (Cohen, June 15, 2006). Similarly, when Alex (Alessandro Santos) of Japan dribbled past an opponent, the television announcer commented that it was a “nice cut inside, Brazilian style” (Dellacamera, transcript, BRA-JAP, 2006). Thus, even when playing for national teams other than Brazil these players’ skill sets and playing tendencies were articulated in terms typically used for players on the Brazilian national team. Thus, it appears that in this context the lack of differentiation among Brazilian players, as well as the persistence of a Brazilian identity for naturalized citizens of other countries, points to the prominence of the overarching team archetype (samba style) when portraying individual players.

France: A Politicized Diversity

In contrast to Brazil, the diverse racial identities of France’s national team were acknowledged and discussed, at least in print.¹⁹ Following France’s first World Cup title in 1998, leader of the National Front party and then-Prime Minister candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen made statements indicating that the national team “was not French” (Vescey, July 9, 2006) because it included many players of varying ethnic and immigrant statuses. Critics countered that the diversity of the team represented the new demographic reality of France. Subsequently, the team and its players became contentious symbols in the political arena for varying interpretations of ethnic immigration within French society. As many articles pointed out, the 2002 and 2006 French national teams continued this trend towards diversity. Of the 35 players selected for both or either tournament, six (17.1%) were born outside France. An additional 15 (42.6%) were identified with varying immigrant or ethnic communities. Combined with Le Pen’s continued presence in the French political arena and the significance of ethnic status in the civil unrest of

¹⁹ The televised broadcast’s more focused commentary prevented straying to off-field topics such as this.

2005 across several large French cities, the team's demography became particularly prominent in 2006. Journalists often used quotes from players representing different ethnic, immigrant, or racial groups to criticize Le Pen by calling for a more civic definition of the nation (Clarey, May 26, 2002; Landler, July 6, 2006; Longman, July 2, 2006). In this way, the diversity of the French national team became part of the contested terrain around issues of race and immigration in French society. The overt reference to racial and ethnic identity became a moment to celebrate sport's ability to overcome racial barriers in society and to identify and strongly condemn those identified as racist.

Despite this heightened awareness of diversity within the French national team, commentary did not differentiate players by skill with one exception: Zinadine Zidane. Although his teammates were also characterized as talented (see Chapter 4), Zidane garnered special praise. He accounted for over one-quarter (178 of 634 [28.1%]) of the total comments about France, by far the most of any player on the French squad (Table 5.2). Often marked as "the son of Algerian immigrants" (for example, in Clarey, May 26, 2002), he was "one of the greatest stars of his generation" (O'Brien, transcript, FRA-TOG, 2006) who could "change a game with the mere flick of his boot" (Zeigler, July 9, 2006) and cause announcers to laugh or chuckle (transcript, FRA-DEN, 2002) at his "mesmerizing play" (Landler, July 6, 2006). In this way, Zidane's characterization mimicked key features of the Latin archetype. Indeed, after playing a significant part in France's defeat of Brazil in 2006 one journalist described Zidane as "more Brazilian than the Brazilians themselves" (Longman, July 9, 2006). This extended to Zidane's temperament as well. When in an attacking context, announcers praised his emotions. For example, he developed a reputation as "the coolest man on the planet" (Vescey, July 6, 2006) with "nerves of steel" (Balboa, transcript, FRA-ITA, 2006) because he converted high-pressure

penalty kicks. However, descriptions also characterized his emotional state as seriously flawed and subject to consistent turbulence as when a journalist depicted his dismissal from the 2006 final as “a sickening recurrence of the dark temper that has haunted him throughout his career” (Smith, July 10, 2006).

In chapter 4, I described the French national team as occupying a liminal space somewhere between the Latin and European poles. On the one hand, their offensive skill, artistic style, and emotional instability associated them with the Latin archetype. On the other hand, physical abilities, effort, and defensive acumen also associated France with the European archetype. In this sense, Zidane was not so much an anomaly within the overall characterization of the French style as the primary signifier of its ‘Latin half.’ He more than any other player on the French squad fit the oft-repeated characterization of France as “artful and stylish” (Clarey, May 26, 2002). In this sense, immigrant status cross-cut racial/ethnic identity, a practice derived from immigrations highly contested status in contemporary French society.

USA: Skill in Black and White or Red, White, and Blue?

The racial, ethnic, or immigrant status of U.S. players did not receive the same attention devoted to France’s, although journalists recognized that several players were born overseas or to parents who had immigrated to the U.S.. In addition, several articles mentioned the historical paucity, but changing presence, of African American players on the U.S. national team (Knobler, June 4, 2006; Longman, June 19, 2002; Parker, June 5, 2002a; Vescey, May 13, 2002; Woodward, May, 24, 2002). However, these acknowledgements were brief and infrequent.

Overseas, characterization of the U.S. national team as relatively untalented, anonymous, and lacking stars prevented writers from much discussion of or differentiation of individual players. Rather, they presented the effort, emotional control, and physical ability that

accompanied the American archetype as team-wide qualities not specific to any one racial group. Interestingly, the U.S. press also assigned effort, determination, and emotional control as abilities shared by all players (Table 5.3). However, analysis of skill assignment by skin color in U.S.-based media showed a more subtle form of racial differentiation involving physical skills.

Seventy-five of the 260 comments (28.8%) about Black players on the U.S. team characterized them as fast. Comparatively, White (62 of 488, 12.7%) and especially (4 of 113, 3.5%) Hispanic players received affirmative comments about speed at less frequent rates (Table 5.3). Choice of words used to indicate speed augmented the distinction made between Black and White players by suggesting *varying degrees of speed*. On occasion commentary praised white players for extraordinary speed. For example, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* described a striker as “one of the fastest attacking players the Americans have produced” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 2, 2002). However, most descriptions involving the speed of lighter skinned players described them more simply, without the embellishment or enhancement of descriptions for darker skinned players. Descriptions praising the speed of White players included phrases such as “a quick first step” (Longman, May 26, 2002), “a great change of pace” (Edwards, transcript, USA-GER, 2002), “some speed” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 2, 2002), and “good speed” (Mahoney, May 3, 2006). Comparatively, comments about the speed of darker-skinned players went further, making claims such as “the fastest player from Point A to Point B that anybody has seen in a red, white and blue uniform” (Vescey, May 13, 2002) and “the fastest player on the team” (Whiteside, May 30, 2006). Thus, qualitative emphasis augmented the higher rate at which Black players received praise for speed.

To some degree a similar, though less distinct, pattern emerged in regards to physical strength. Black players received almost twice as many comments assigning strength as a salient

skill compared to Whites (30 out of 260 [11.5%] for Blacks; 29 out of 488 [5.9%] for Whites). Hispanic players received 10 comments (out of 115; 8.7%) citing physical strength as a salient skill. Qualitatively, journalists described lighter skinned players as “terrific in the air” (O’Brien, transcript, USA-CZE, 2006), “very strong in the air” (Keough, transcript, USA-GER, 2002), and “tough with his back to the goal” (Mahoney, May 3, 2006), all phrases that only indirectly implied physical strength and toughness through more emic terminology describing what they did on the field. Conversely, terminology used to describe Black player’s strength more often involved direct references to physical stature and size. This involved descriptions such as “good size and strength” (Whiteside, May 21, 2002b), “sturdy” (Longman, June 12, 2006), “a sculpted specimen (6-4, 210)” (Mahoney, May 3, 2006), “built like a middle linebacker” (Whiteside, June 1, 2006), and “a formidable mix of speed and power never before seen in a U.S. uniform” (Mahoney, May 3, 2006). Thus, despite sharing association with hard work and emotional control, Black U.S. players were differentiated both qualitatively and quantitatively for their physical abilities and athleticism, similar to racial characterizations found in commentary about U.S. domestic sports.

Summing up Racializing Nationality

Together, these three cases provide insight into the complex ways national and racial identity interacted at the level of individual player descriptions. Racial and ethnic identities did influence commentary despite the common archetypes applied to national teams as a whole, but in different ways for each of the three national teams examined here. Both contexts inside and outside of soccer affected how national and racial identity combined. In the case of France, because the national team became an explicit symbol of the larger political debate about immigration and ethnicity in French society, the racial and ethnic identity of players became a

subject of media interest. Still, this differentiation operated largely at an abstract level, which failed to starkly differentiate individual players from the overall French style. Even the extraordinary attention given to Zidane and his unique skill set fit within the overall framework of the French style of play by epitomizing its association with attacking soccer. In the case of Brazil, however, the “samba style” characterization applied to all Brazilian-born players, even those not on the Brazilian national team, overriding differentiation of individual players by skin color or ethnic origin. Nations, especially those outside the usual channels of political and military power, often use successes in international sport to promoting positive images of themselves (Sack and Zuster, 2000; Waddington, 2000). As several authors have noted (Leite Lopes, 1997; Lever 1983; Page, 2002), the success of the national soccer team as well as individual players has become both a source of internal pride and external international recognition for Brazil. This heightened awareness of soccer success as part of the Brazilian international reputation might have contributed to this stronger national, than racial, representation.

Although journalists rarely overtly mentioned the racial or ethnic origin of players on the U.S. team, subtle differences in presentation appeared. Both overseas and U.S. press assigned the entire team several shared characteristics of the American archetype: effort, determination, emotional control, and physical abilities. However, within the U.S. press Black players received far more emphasis on physical skills and athleticism, marking their manner of play as distinct from their White, and especially Hispanic teammates. This links with the well-established pattern in U.S. domestic sports wherein journalists characterize Black players as succeeding based on superior physical skills (Buffington, 2005; Davis and Harris, 1998; Jackson, 1989) as well as the characterization of the African archetype (Chapter 4). However, in this context the usually strong

association between White players and mental skills (Hoose, 1989; Murrell and Curtis, 1994; Wonsek, 1992) was absent. Thus, compared to France and Brazil, the U.S. squad received more comments suggesting racially distinct playing styles (albeit, at a subtle level) from U.S.-based journalists. The use of internal distinctions within the U.S. squad can be made even clearer through an in-depth case study of an individual player who journalists routinely presented as an anomaly to the American archetype.

A SOUTH IN THE NORTH: THE AMERICAN SOUTH AND U.S. NATIONALISM

Prior to the 2002 World Cup, most soccer pundits expected the U.S. national team, which had finished last in 1998, to struggle mightily. The primary fault of the team identified in the press involved a lack of highly talented attacking players who could score or create goals (see Chapter 4). Within this context of pessimism, the strong offensive play of U.S. player Clint Mathis during World Cup qualifying provided a possible ray of hope, leading to his portrayal as the potential savior for the national team in the U.S.-based media. He became the first male American soccer player to grace the cover of *Sports Illustrated* since the USA hosted the 1994 World Cup and only the tenth soccer player of any gender. A unique skill set for a U.S.-born player (high technical skill, the ability to score, creativity), one more reminiscent of players who develop in countries with a rich and dense culture of soccer, became the primary harbinger of this savior status. Of particular interest for this project was the way Mathis' Southern upbringing in Conyers, Georgia, most specifically the apparent backwardness of the South, became the writer's and commentator's primary explanation for his unusual style of play.

Making Mathis

Coverage of the USMNT in the build-up to the 2002 tournament was dominated by Mathis. In addition to his feature story in *Sports Illustrated*, he also appeared as one of three U.S.

players pictured on the cover of *ESPN Magazine* and became the subject of a lengthy write-up in the *New York Times Magazine*. Seven articles in this sample (from all U.S. papers except the *Chicago Sun-Times*) dedicated articles solely to him, the most of any U.S. player. Five of these ran prior to the start of the tournament and thus served as previews to prime audiences as to what to expect. His presence became so ubiquitous that print journalists in this sample began to refer to him as “the cover boy” (Rapaport, June 6, 2002) and “the emerging face of United States soccer” (Longman, June 7, 2002).

For these pundits, Mathis stood out because of a unique skill set and playing style. Journalists described him as “gifted” (Bradley, June 22, 2002), “prolific” (Woodward, June 6, 2002), with “dexterous feet” (Longman, May 12, 2002), possessing “artistry” (Whiteside, June 13, 2002b) and the “charismatic ability to entertain the crowd” (Klein, May 26, 2002). Because the qualities cited were often those thought to be missing from the U.S. team as a whole, many of these descriptions emphasized how he stood out as an anomaly in U.S. soccer. Articles described him as “the most reliable American scorer” (Longman, June 6, 2002), “America's most exciting goal scorer” (Whiteside, May 16, 2002), “the most opportunistic scorer ever to wear a U.S. uniform” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 2, 2002), “the first bona fide male American soccer phenom” (Klein, May 26, 2002), and “easily the most explosive player the United States has ever had” (Vescey, June 4, 2002).

Recognizing him as the “team's free spirit on and off the field” (Whiteside, June 13, 2002b) writers often told stories that emphasized the correlation between Mathis' playing style and personality. He brought “a refreshing eccentricity” (Longman, May 12) that manifested in stories of dressing in ruffled tuxedo and top hat for an awards ceremony, barbecuing for friends without his clothes on, a penchant for gaudy interior design, a love of riding motorcycles, and his

“Mohawk” style haircut. Although this willingness to bend or break rules often made for humorous tales, it also included a downside. As an “unpredictable risk-taker” (Whitside, May 16) he could be an “inconsistent force” (Vescey, June 6, 2002). The aforementioned *Sports Illustrated* article began with the line: “For Clint Mathis, the next party is never far away” (Bamberger, May 27, 2002: 61). Newspaper articles also identified him as a “party-boy” (Mulligan, May 26, 2002) who lived a “rock-star lifestyle” (Zeigler, June 6, 2002) and ate a “fast-food diet” (Longman, June 6, 2002). This led U.S. coach Bruce Arena to publicly question his work ethic, diligence and fitness (Longman, May 12, 2002; Longman, June 6, 2002; Longman June 11, 2002; Rapaport, June 6, 2002; Zeigler, May 12, 2002). In addition, writers commented that Mathis’ “temper sometimes gets the better of him” (Parker, June 2, 2002), meaning “his relationship with referees is only slightly better than that of Rasheed Wallace’s²⁰” (Reid, June 2, 2002).

Overseas papers recognized Mathis as one of the more talented players in the squad, although they never differentiated or praised his skill set as much as in the U.S. press. International writers described him as “unpredictable” (Walker, June 21), “as close to a star as the United States squad have” (McCarra, June 18, 2002b), and an “emerging talent” (Dart, June 14, 2002) who “show[ed] promise” (London Times, May 29, 2002). The foreign press was either unaware or unconcerned about his origins in the American South. Rather, a *London Times* writer identified him as “he of the cowboy name and the Mohican haircut” (Glanville, June 11, 2002).

Just Call Me Cleatus

Equally prominent to discussions in the U.S.-based press of his unique style were comments about Mathis’ upbringing in Conyers, Georgia. Historically, most national team

²⁰ Rasheed Wallace, an African American player for the Detroit Pistons of the NBA, has a reputation for contentious relationships with referees. He has led the league in technical fouls for several seasons including a record-setting 41 in 2000-2001.

players have come from the East coast, Midwest and California, with the South providing few players. Thus, part of this interest in Mathis' origins arose from the unique situation of having not just a player, but a potential star, from a region not known for producing them (see Longman, May 12, 2002). However, locale proved interesting for more than just this.

Writers for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* often penned stories on Mathis, as well as those about childhood friend, Stone Mountain resident and World Cup teammate Josh Wolff, from a community perspective by emphasizing a "local boy does good" narrative. These writers connected Conyers, a small town about 30 miles east of Atlanta, with the city itself, calling it a suburb and even identifying Mathis and Wolff as "Atlantans" (Parker, June 13, 2002). Success and recognition for these "locals" meant success and recognition for the area. However, for the other U.S.-based papers Mathis' origins proved an oddity because Conyers signified "rural Georgia" (Graber, June 30). A *San Diego Union-Tribune* story indicated the town was notable for being the site of filming for *In the Heat of the Night* (Reed, June 2, 2002), a television series that emphasized a rural Southern community. Every story of length included at least one comment about Mathis' accent, described variably as a "soft, nasal Georgia accent" (Reid, June 2, 2002), "an antebellum voice" (Longman, May 12, 2002), a "Southern twang" (Whiteside, May 16, 2002), and a "reedy Georgia accent" (Klein, May 26, 2002). The aforementioned *Sports Illustrated* article was peppered with comments on habits and mannerisms that marked him as Southern, as well: his "awe-shucks grin," a love of his mother's "traditional Southern breakfast," and the habit of saying grace before every meal (Bamberger, May 27, 2002). A picture within the article captioned "Truckin'" showed Mathis sitting in the bed of a pickup truck in blue jeans, with no shoes, an unbuttoned shirt, and a soccer ball. Southern identity also loomed when introducing his family. Journalists described his mother as having a "warm Southern drawl and a

habit of making strangers feel like longtime friends” (Parker, June 2, 2002) and identified his father as having once been a “fire and brimstone preacher in a rural Mississippi Pentecostal church” (Bamberger, May 27, 2002). Amongst his teammates he became known as “Cleatus” (Longman, May 12, 2002; Whiteside, May 16, 2002).

Collectively, these stories did not just mention Mathis’ origins; they made it a *central component* of his identity. But in making Southern identity a primary component, representations of Mathis flirted with the more negative connotations associated with the American South: poverty, lack of education, zealous fundamentalist religion, and general cultural backwardness (Griffin, 2000; Woodward, 1993). His created persona approximated that of the “redneck,” “good ol’ boy,” or Southern outlaw – that peculiar alignment of regional, racial, gender, and class identity that affixes poverty and underdevelopment to the Southern white male (Griffin, 1995, 20; Kryikoudes and Coclanis, 1997).

To some degree Mathis seemed to embrace this identity, playing with it in public. For example, he publicly declared himself to be “the team redneck” (Reid, June 2, 2002). He drove a pickup truck while playing in Los Angeles, developed an “urban cowboy” goal celebration during a stint in New York (Longman, May 12, 2002), and once apologized for not bringing his “Redneck-to-English translator” to assist at a bi-lingual award ceremony (Klein, May 26, 2002). In this sense, Mathis seemed to be expressing agency, using Southern identity as a form of self-expression much the same way many Black athletes engage in the “cool pose” (Majors, 1998) as a part of their sports performance. Mathis’ mother, in criticizing the aforementioned picture within the *Sports Illustrated* article, expressed her feelings that much of his persona involved a purposeful act: “He doesn't even know what a redneck is, but he likes to play it for all

it's worth" (Parker, June 2, 2002). However, for journalists, a Southern redneck identity was more than self-expression or playful act; it explained his peculiar style and skill set.

Where'd You Learn Your Game? The Streets Versus the Fields

As a *New York Times* correspondent opined "theories abound on the subject of American paucity in scoring on the international level" (Longman, May 12, 2002). One line of thought emphasizes the lack of soccer culture in the U.S. and points out that many of the most successful players were either raised overseas or were first or second-generation immigrants raised in communities that fully embraced the sport, such as Kearney, New Jersey. Thus, much like in Chapter 6, where mentioning a U.S.-based fan's ethnic origins served to legitimate their fandom, invoking a players' connections outside the U.S. functioned to legitimate their skill. For example, in an editorial MLS commissioner Don Graber stated Pablo Mastroeni's "artful defensive skill reflects his Argentine roots" (Graber, June 20, 2002). Equally, after identifying Claudio Reyna's parents as Argentinean and Portuguese, a *USA Today* article espoused that "soccer is in Reyna's blood" (Whiteside, June 1, 2006).

However, such a line of thought runs into difficulties in attempting to explain the Mathis phenomenon. Mathis had never lived overseas or in an immigrant community. In fact, through all of the articles examined journalists never specified an ethnic identity or ancestral origin. Instead he was described as "first-generation soccer... the all-American boy... the son of a decidedly American woman" (Klein, May 26, 2002). In this sense, his lack of ethnicity clearly associated him with one of the central tendencies of "whiteness" – the apparent absence of identified racial or ethnic identity (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993 1997; Johnson, 1999; Lipsitz, 2006). He was, to use Mary Waters (1990) terminology, an "unhyphenated American." His whiteness meant his playing style could not be explained as the product of a separate immigrant

community value system or social milieu. Rather, his situation raised another line of thought used to explain the lack of high caliber attacking players produced by the U.S.: the relationship between economic development and the manner through which athletes learn and develop their sporting habitus.

Following along with this theme, the lack of American soccer players derives from the United States being *too developed*. Accordingly, a high level of economic development creates a context in which most players learn the sport through formalized, adult-run programs (recreation/youth leagues, school sponsored, AAU teams, Olympic Development Program) that place an emphasis on physical fitness, teamwork, tactical knowledge, and discipline. Conversely, economic underdevelopment limits opportunities for training and learning to unsupervised, informal settings that foster individualized creativity, technique, and flair. This line of thought sets up an opposition between the structured, rule-bound environment of organized soccer played on well-kempt fields and the unstructured, apparently rule-less (but actually informally-ruled) environment of “the street” or “sandlot.”

In this context, comments such as “they do not play enough sandlot soccer” (Longman, May 12, 2002) and “Ronaldo wasn't driven to practice every day in a minivan, and he didn't eat orange slices at halftime” (Zeigler, May 29, 2002g) became commonplace explanations of the void of U.S. attacking talent. However, journalists informed readers that Mathis learned “on the street of his boyhood home” (Whiteside, May 16, 2002) within the “insouciance of unorganized soccer” (Longman, May 12, 2002). Octavio Zambrano, at the time Mathis' head coach at New York Metrostars, was quoted as identifying with Mathis' youth: “Clint grew up playing the game in a different environment than most Americans, in one that resembled much more my own youth in Ecuador” (Klein, May 26, 2002). In another article, the same coach explained in more

detail what he perceived to be the difference between the environment in South and North America:

People wonder about the technical proficiency of the South American players, and it's because typically a kid will grow up playing with brothers, cousins, uncles (who) are 200 pounds. So a 7-year-old, 50-pound kid learns how to shield the ball, how to use his body. These are the subtleties that take place in an environment that is completely devoid of structure... The typical American player never truly refines the subtleties of the game. Players get stifled at too early an age. (Whiteside, May 16, 2002)

Thus, Zambrano, echoing a common sentiment within this sample, identifies an environment “completely devoid of structure” as most conducive to the development of attacking skills such as technique, passing, and close control, the skill set most explicitly connected to the Latin archetype.

Not surprisingly, this idea is even more developed in the European context, where it often provides explanation for the differences between soccer played in Europe and elsewhere in the world. Although it comes from outside this sample, a quote from German observer Karl-Heinz Heimann following Cameroon’s impressive performance in the 1990 World Cup illuminates several important features useful for considering interpretations of Mathis:

The catlike suppleness of the Africans is innate, not achieved by training. They have grown up with the ball. They are sadly lacking in what can be learned by training... The things which make them stand out, their surprising passes, moves which cannot be rehearsed, arise from the inspiration of the moment. Informally put, it is ‘pure nature’... Kicking the ball around gives them fun and pleasure. It is, in the proper sense of the term, ‘child’s play’ for them to learn how to control the ball... That is the decisive difference

from our highly civilized West: in Cameroon, everywhere in Africa and Asia the ball is the favorite toy of millions of children, they know no other... There is no longer any 'street football' here in our country. Should children join a club... the first thing the trainer has to do is apply his efforts to teaching them ball control... and tactics are already given too much importance in the youth work of our clubs. This is not a complaint, just the description of a situation. We cannot play football like the Cameroonians. Shame. (quoted in Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell, 1993: 74)

Heimann's comments reveal the multiple, sometimes contradictory layers of meaning that undergird this lay theory of skill development. On the one hand he expresses a great deal of admiration for the Cameroonian style of play. He finds it entertaining. He longs to see something more like it in Germany and openly laments the loss of "street football" that apparently accounts for its absence. On the other hand there is a devaluing of the Cameroonian style as infantile. It is "child's play" and "pure nature." Because the ball is a "toy" that "gives them fun and pleasure" they are incapable of more serious, goal-oriented play. It was a style of football that "had not yet grown up" (Blain, et al, 1993: 76).

Heimann's comments also reveal a contradiction over the origins of such different skills and styles. Although he never makes a genetic argument per se, Heimann does present these styles as permanent and unchanging. His first sentence indicates that the style and skill of African players is "innate" and could not be learned through training (by which he means formalized training), while his last suggests that Germans could not play like Cameroonians even if they wanted to and made the effort to do so. Still, his explanation for the differences in style of play (learning in the street versus through a club team) implies these skills depend on opportunities for early childhood socialization into sport, opportunities that vary by space. For

this reason, the “highly civilized West” with its highly formalized training becomes opposable to an environment “completely devoid of structure” found in much of the rest of the world where learning takes place more informally. Given that level of international economic development supplies the primary cleavage between these two spaces and the opportunities they provide, the opposition created between the street and the fields signifies more than just where a player learned their game.

A similar discourse surrounding basketball operates in the United States (Cole and Andrews, 1996; Cole and King, 1998), although one dependent on “racially and economically coded knowledges” (Cole, 1996, 370) drawn from within the American sphere. The iconic poor urban black male athlete, one of the commonest portrayals of black youth, gains its resonance in popular culture from an apparent willingness to use upward social mobility opportunities derived from sports participation to escape the chaos, disorder, and crime of the ghetto. In this sense, class cleavage, rather than level of national economic development, marks the spatial difference between the informally-ruled “playground” or “blacktop” and the more formally ruled school gym with desire for upward mobility the primary mode of transport between the two.

Interestingly, one writer in this sample felt that unlike their Brazilian counterparts, young American players “don't view soccer as a ticket to electricity and running water” (Zeigler, June 24, 2006a). However, this same writer saw similarities between the development of Brazilian soccer players and African American basketball players: “His [Ronaldo's] is not unlike the story of Allen Iverson or other NBA players from hard-luck backgrounds in America's inner cities, players fiercely driven to end the cycle of poverty” (Zeigler, May 29, 2002a). Here the favelas of Rio de Janeiro are linked to the inner city streets of America's post-industrial urban centers. Yet, because Mathis learned in an environment imagined as being more similar to Ecuador than

“middle America” the American South became a part of this spatial distinction as well. Its impoverished environment provides both motivation for escape and limits opportunities to learn to informal settings.

A Southerner in the North: Internal Orientalism and American Nationality

Returning to Mathis, comments such as Zambrano’s characterized Mathis as an anomaly within the U.S. soccer landscape because his style of play and skill set approximated what I previously have dubbed the Latin archetype (see Chapter 4). He had a proclivity for attack and entertaining the crowd augmented by flair, creativity, close control, vision, and the ability to score. This on-field style was closely connected to an overall personality that, while leading to certain humorous quirks, also came with an expansive negative underside. The very same unpredictability and nonchalance that made him a dangerous attacker could also render him inconsistent, ineffective, and volatile. Mathis’ association within the Latin type can also be confirmed by his contrast with the European archetype. His growing reputation during 2002 led to rumors about a potential move to Europe, with Germany the favored destination. Speculating on this potential transfer, a writer for *USA Today* asked “would his free-spirited play and personality fit in the structured German philosophy?” (Whitside, May 16). Another writer suggested that playing in Germany “would do wonders for his game [because]... Germans run organized, disciplined practices in which everyone goes full speed or they don't play” (Mulligan, June 23). Placing Mathis’ style and skill in opposition to the European ideal by questioning his ability to adapt to the “structure” and “discipline” of German club football further reveals his association with the Latin archetype.

How can the anomaly of Mathis be explained? How is it that this white American male became associated with the Latin style of play? Why did Mathis’ Southern identity appeal to

U.S.-based journalists given that the international context seemingly providing every opportunity for identification as American?

In previous chapters, I applied Orientalism (1979) to understand the characterization of one national group by another. In Said's model, the othering of 'the Orient' by European intellectuals took place from afar. Separated not only by vast distance but also cultural and linguistic differences, 'the Orient' had little impact on how it would be represented. The identities produced were national, if not supranational. More recently, several scholars have explored the "operation of Orientalist discourses *within* states" (Jansson, 2003a: 296, italics in original), what Schein (1997) dubbed "internal Orientalism" (also see Gladney, 1994; Bakić-Hayden, 1995; Piterberg, 1996).²¹ Occurring within the territorial boundaries of a single state, internal orientalism takes place over a smaller spatial scale. The identities compared overlap, sharing at the very least national citizenship. As in Orientalism, the subordinate group is distinguished through the assignment of undesirable qualities that can be contrasted against the "exalted national identity" (Jansson, 2003b) represented by the dominant group. Thus, internal Orientalism, despite presenting an image of a fractured nation, works to avow and affirm national identity through internal difference. Unlike Orientalism however, the overlap between groups means the representational process is inherently contested, as both subordinate and dominant group vie – often using similar institutional channels, albeit with different degrees of access – to impact how their public identity will be construed.

In Schein's (1997) study, as in most taking this inter-state approach, internal Orientalism occurs "interethnically" (p. 73) between a minority and dominant ethnic group. However, internal Orientalism can also operate on a spatial level in which a relatively weak region is

²¹ A similar sentiment can be found within James Baldwin's thinking about race in America: "The country's image of the Negro, which hasn't much to do with the Negro, has never failed to reflect with a frightening accuracy the state of mind of the country" (quoted in Cole and King, 1998).

assigned unflattering or undesirable characteristics that are contrasted with the highly valued qualities of a dominant region or the nation as a whole (Jansson, 2003a: 296). This insight highlights the need to consider the way geographical space, conceived through regional difference, forms a component of identity used to distinguish within national collectives.

Within the United States, no region is more noted for its distinctiveness than the South (Griffin, 2000). Although many of the features that marked the region as unique have been waning since the end of WWII, Southern distinctiveness retains its powerful mythic significance (Griffin and Doyle, 1995: 8) and frequently permeates texts produced by both “insiders” (Cash, 1954; Grantham, 1994; Reed, 1992; Wilson, 1997; Woodward, 1993) and “outsiders” (Winders, 2005) to the region. The former are more likely to point out the redeeming qualities of this distinctiveness, however all texts acknowledge the significant presence of negative characterizations as a part of this region’s legacy. Poverty, racism, intolerance, and economic underdevelopment – in a word, backwardness, - form the usual litany of critical descriptors, leading to the South being seen as a problem to be studied and fixed through rational inquiry (Griffin, 1995). Thus, there is a shared discourse about the American South that, in comparing it to the rest of the United States, constructs it as not just different, but contradictory. As an “American counterpoint” (Woodward, 1993) or “mythic opposite” (Griffin, 1995: 20), images of the South contribute to the imagining of America as a whole. Because the imagined South so often contains highly undesirable characteristics, America becomes associated with its opposite: justice, tolerance, modernity, efficiency, and racial harmony (Jansson, 2003a 2003b 2005).²² In

²² Given that a critique of the devaluation of the South in comparison to the United States could be interpreted as a celebration of Southern culture, including its injustices, I wish to state my claim that, although the South clearly had, among other insidious practices, its own uniquely brutal form of racism (see Tolnay and Beck, 1995), racial intolerance clearly pervades the entire country. The danger in assigning the South as the only region as racially intolerant, unfriendly to working-class movements, and so on is that it ignores the clear presence of these injustices across space, meaning we “blind ourselves to their very real presence” (Jansson, 2003a, 313) in other areas.

this sense, “America still needs the South” (Griffin, 2000) because “the degenerate South and virtuous America [operate] as mirror images” (Jansson, 2003a, 295), each helping to confirm the other.

A particularly important component of Southern distinctiveness is its frequent representation as an economic problem for the rest of the country (Margo, 1995). Accordingly, the South, in comparison to the rest of the nation, is underdeveloped, prone to using archaic labor practices, and often dependent on investment from other regions. This links the American South to the Global South. Although the latter term is partially geographical, indicating that many of the countries in this group are located in the southern hemisphere, it also incorporates an economic aspect, capturing a shared level of underdevelopment and dependent relations with the developed areas of the world. That is, just as the Global South is relatively underdeveloped compared to the Global North, the imaginary American South is relatively underdeveloped compared to the rest of the country²³, and the relationship between the two regions has often been interpreted, especially by those in the South, as exploitative.

With this established we can fully unravel the mystery of both Mathis’ unique style of play and overwhelming identification as Southern. Because the American South is coded as economically backward and underdeveloped, journalists presented Mathis’ childhood as congruent to the experience of other children from impoverished areas. His opportunities for early training were limited to more informal lessons gained in unsupervised settings such as sandlots and streets. In this sense, Mathis became as a Southerner in the (global) North with a playing style more reminiscent of players who grew up in the Global South, most explicitly represented by the Latin archetype.

²³ I say “imagined” American South because there have been at least two distinct waves of “New South” industrialization (Reconstruction and post-Civil Rights). Still, in popular imagination the South maintains an association with poverty and underdevelopment.

However, the claim that Mathis learned soccer “on the streets” or, at the very least, outside of the confines of organized soccer is highly dubious. The very same sample of articles reported that he began playing organized soccer at age three, joined the Olympic Development Program shortly after the age of nine, and played with U.S. teammate Josh Wolff on a Georgia-based AAU team since the age of 14 before moving directly on to college and professional soccer (Klein, May 26, 2002; Longman, May 12; Parker, June 2, 2002; Whiteside, May 16, 2002). It is this gap between the reality of Mathis’ experiences and its mediated representation that reminds us that we are dealing with a socially constructed American South, as well, one that – like Mathis himself – provided a foil against which to imagine American national identity and the United States.

Epilogue

To most observers, Mathis failed to live up to the expectations built up before the 2002 tournament. Coach Arena chose to play Mathis in three of the teams five games, starting only two. He scored one goal and provided one assist. In late 2003 he finally moved to Germany but failed to make much impact during a season-and-a-half stint. Upon returning to the United States he played briefly for four different teams over three seasons before signing with unheralded Greek club, Ergotelis, during the spring of 2008. At the time of writing (August 2008), Mathis has returned to MLS with Real Salt Lake. Internationally, he has not played for the national team since March, 2005, failing to make the squad for the 2006 World Cup.

CHAPTER DISCUSSION

This chapter documented the varying ways race, ethnicity, class, and even regional affiliation intersected with national identity creating complex and layered descriptions of individual players and their place within the larger national and regional archetypes. Rather than

formulaic patterns leading to predictable outcomes, these cases indicate the contingent nature of intersections (Hill Collins, 2004: 85; McCall, 2005: 1791; Yuval-Davis, 2006). In each case, journalists drew upon nationally-particular circumstances from both inside and outside the world of soccer to characterize players in ways that poses serious questions for “additive” approaches to intersectionality.

Of course, this unpredictability also makes intersectional analysis inherently complex (Browne and Misra, 2003; McCall, 2005; Pheonix and Pattynama, 2006), a fact made particularly clear in the detailed case study of Clint Mathis. On the one hand, the complete lack of discussion regarding his racial identity, skin color, and ancestral origins points to one of the central privileges of whiteness: the apparent lack of a racial identity (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993 1997; Johnson, 1999; Lipsitz, 2006). This clearly marked him as not just white, but an unhyphenated white. That is, he belonged to those groups who, unlike Italians and Jews, never struggled to be defined as white in the U.S. (Brodkin, 1998; Roediger, 1991). His unmarked/unhyphenated status signified him as “all American” in comparison to his ethnically marked teammates, meaning he could stand in for the imagined nation in a way they could not. In this sense, American national identity was racialized as (unmarked) white masculinity.

On the other hand, Southern regional affiliation clearly took on as great if not greater significance for Mathis’ representation than national identity. This colored his whiteness of a different hue, one where the imaginary space in which he learned to play sport closely approximated the environment of urban inner city ghettos (and its imaginary blackness) and overseas shanty towns (and its imaginary brownness). It meant that his style of play on the field and “character” off it more closely approximated the Latin archetype: as unpredictably frustrating as entertaining to watch. In this sense, “Southernness” cut across and mitigated the

representation of his racial, national, and gendered identity. A subject position (white American male) normally reserved for privilege and advantage became devalued by its intersection with another less desirable identity position (regional affiliation with the American South). However, this devaluation was not counter-hegemonic to the prevailing racial order. Rather than upsetting the system in which whiteness pervades as the standard, it confirmed the present order by making Mathis into a southerner in the north.

The case of Mathis highlights the importance of space and class for research on intersectionality. Although class is a generally recognized category of identity, it is frequently neglected (McCall, 2005, 1788). Space, here constructed through regional identity, remains as problematic subject for sociology and much of the social sciences (Lobao, Hooks, and Tickameyer, 2007; Tickameyer, 2000; Wilton and Cranford, 2002) and has only rarely been used in research on intersectionality (Valentine, 2007). The analysis of Mathis suggests that regional and class identity form important components of the complex and contradictory forms intersections can take.

The importance of class and space can be also seen in the way Mathis' identification as Southern marked his masculinity as a relatively "marginalized" form (Connell, 1995) when compared to the American hegemonic norm. The characteristics he shared with the Latin type marked him as more prepared for performance than productive labor, prone to emotional capitulation, and not willing to abide by hegemonic rules of masculine toughness on the playing field. Similarly, the differentiation of Black U.S. players from their lighter-skinned counterparts associated them with a more marginal form of masculinity, one dependent upon the hyper-physicality associated with blackness (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Majors 1998; Majors and Mancini, 1992). Although the relative lack of individual differentiation by race or ethnicity within

the French and Brazilian team might suggest a lack of racialized masculinity, as shown in Chapter 4 the national archetypes were themselves already racialized and gendered. I speculate this key difference from U.S. professional team sports, wherein individual players are differentiated in subtle ways by skin color (Davis and Harris, 1998), derives from features specific to both soccer and international sporting competitions. Whereas the most popular American sports emphasize role/skill specialization associated with particular positions and individual matchups among players, positions in soccer are more fluid and provide journalists with more opportunities to identify with the team as a whole, rather than with individual athletes. In addition, the international context, unlike domestic competitions, emphasizes awareness of national identity and possible differences among national groups.

On first glance, the type of differentiation within a particular national team appears to weaken the argument made for an interrelated system of archetypes established in Chapter 4. In that chapter, I made the case for media characterizing entire teams as having a collectively-held playing style and skill set, yet as the characterization of Mathis, Zidane, and Black U.S. players shows there can be a great deal of differentiation made amongst players on one team. However, as the case of Mathis made particularly clear, internal differentiation can simultaneously strengthen the bonds of the national collective by way of opposition. Rather than disrupt or fracture what American national identity meant, this affirmed its coherence by contrasting American identity to Southern American identity in much the same way the American contrasted the Latin archetype. The importance of these distinctions internally can be seen through their lack of appearance in overseas papers. Whereas the regional distinction of the South from the nation pervades U.S. thought, such distinctions appear more minor trivialities, especially given

the apparent stark differences between national groups within the context of an international competition.

In sum, this chapter contributes to the overall project by showing how individual differentiation within national teams operated. As with teams, the characterization of individual players depended upon national identity's overlap with other forms of identity (race, class, gender, and region). Although most descriptions of this type confirmed the style assigned to the team as a whole by assigning players similar habits and skills, at times the recognition of different identities on the same national team highlighted the presence of several distinct constituencies within the national community. That is, the differentiation of individual players contributed to the boundary maintenance between groups found within national borders by specifying the lines that divide these groups. However, rather than disrupt or fracture the national imaginary core, differentiation confirmed the presence of national playing styles by characterizing players as anomalies or special carriers of certain unusual qualities that became contrastable to the national norm. In this way, differentiation within the national team functioned much like deviant in-group members in both Durkheimian functionalism and social psychology. Pointing out the deviant individual or sub-group acts as a poignant way to strengthen group bonds by comparing the estranged party against an imagined shared ideal (Rice and Mullen, 2005; also see Cole and King, 1998: 373). Thus, characterization of individual players, like those of entire teams, operated as a form of cultural representation wherein the nation becomes imagined through individual members of the national team. As we shall see, this form of representation applies to fan groups as well.

Table 5.1 – Distribution of Selected Skills for Brazil, by Racial/Ethnic Grouping

Racial or Ethnic Grouping	<u>Creativity</u>		<u>Talent Level</u>		<u>Technical Skills</u>		<u>Speed</u>		<u>Effort</u>		<u>Emotion</u>	
	Creative	Lacks creativity	Talented	Untalented	Good Technique	Poor Technique	Fast	Slow	Good Effort	Poor Effort	In control	Out of Control
Black (n=89)	3	1	26		10		7	1	6	1	2	5
Meztizo/Mixed (n=267)	14		59	1	39	1	11	8	5	25	7	11
White (n=42)	3		11		6		1				2	5

Table 5.2 – Distribution of Selected Skills for France, by Racial/Ethnic Grouping

Racial or Ethnic Grouping	<u>Creativity</u>		<u>Talent Level</u>		<u>Technical Skills</u>		<u>Speed</u>		<u>Strength</u>		<u>Emotion</u>	
	Creative	Lacks creativity	Talented	Untalented	Good Technique	Poor Technique	Fast	Slow	Strong	Weak	In control	Out of Control
Black (n=205)	1		46		23	8	22	4	9		18	9
North African (n=237)	19		67		37	3	2	6	4		3	16
White (n=118)	4		7		20	2	12	7	5	1	3	11

Table 5.3 – Distribution of Selected Skills for USA, by Racial/Ethnic Grouping

Racial or Ethnic Grouping	<u>Creativity</u>		<u>Talent Level</u>		<u>Speed</u>		<u>Strength</u>		<u>Effort</u>		<u>Emotion</u>	
	Creative	Lacks creativity	Talented	Untalented	Fast	Slow	Strong	Weak	Good Effort	Poor Effort	In control	Out of Control
Black (n=260)	2		11		75	1	30	1	30	11	27	6
Hispanic (n=113)	4		12	1	4	3	11		11	3	11	5
White (n=488)	26	1	39	1	62	9	29	1	54	15	51	9

- CHAPTER 6 -

U.S. and Them:

U.S. Ambivalence Towards the World's Sport as American Nationalism

Whereas Chapters 4 and 5 analyzed the descriptions of on-field performance, in this chapter I analyze media coverage of off-field issues. This type of coverage primarily centered on a nation's relationship to the World Cup, especially stories about fan behavior in and around the stadium, reactions within the home country to game outcomes, as well as the economic, political, and cultural ramifications of the tournament. These stories suggested that nations and their citizens develop a unique connection to the World Cup that manifests in a peculiar style of celebrating victories, reacting to losses, and making meaning out of their national team's performances. In a manner similar to descriptions of on-field playing style, journalists explained these peculiar reactions as characteristic of features of that society more generally. Thus, following previous studies (Anderson and Radmann, 1998; Blain, et al, 1993; O'Donnell, 1994) I explore this type of coverage as a form of national cultural representation that conveys ideas about nationality through portrayal of fandom.

The central theme of commentary of this type in this sample involved the distinctly different importance and meaning of the tournament in the United States and abroad. Journalists routinely portrayed fans outside of the U.S., including those with no national team participating in the tournament finals, as knowledgeable, passionate, and zealous about international soccer and the tournament. By invoking the national team as a "metonym" for the nation (Blain, et al 1993; also see Alabarces, Tomlinson, and Young, 2001; O'Donnell, 1994), wherein the entire

national community responds in emotional unison to the international sporting event, journalists projected this intense interest onto all national group members, making soccer fandom a centralizing societal force. Conversely, journalists presented the United States as ambivalent, fragmented between a populace that was unfamiliar, confused, even resentful of the sport and an emergent fan base.

Theoretically, this chapter contributes to the overall project by showing how the characterization of World Cup fandom operates as a form of cultural representation of the national group. Although the distinction created between the U.S. and the rest of the world to some degree reflects the proportionally smaller interest in soccer within the U.S. compared to many other countries (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001), the manner in which media rendered this difference constructed U.S. national identity both externally and internally. Externally, opposition made between the U.S. and other countries constructed American identity by way of its peculiar relationship to soccer. Internally, oppositions made between two competing interpretations of the World Cup in the U.S. revealed the way fandom served to make claims about the boundaries of imagined American national identity by suggesting that, unlike support of other sports, soccer fandom failed to provide support for valorized forms of masculine national identity.

DIFFERENTIATING US FROM THEM: THE U.S. VERSUS THE WORLD

In this section, I establish the distinction made between the social importance of the World Cup for the U.S. and the rest of the world as a central theme within media coverage of off-field issues. I begin by establishing two competing characterizations of U.S. soccer fandom as emergent and absent. Because results on the field heavily impacted these characterizations, I present them in a temporally-ordered manner. Next, I discuss how press based outside the United

States characterized the relationship between the U.S. and the World Cup as primarily one of ignorance or lack of interest. The third sub-section establishes the primary ways American journalists invoked the intense interest and investment in the World Cup by overseas citizens. Finally, I discuss the one fan group located in the U.S. portrayed as knowledgeable and passionate on a level equivalent to citizens of other countries: the ethnically hyphenated American.

In the previous two chapters I was able to rely on both newspapers and television broadcasts. However, the constant action of soccer created few opportunities for broadcasters to stray away from the game at hand, meaning the majority of their commentary addressed on-field action with only sporadic observations about fans in and around the stadiums (see Chapter 3). Conversely, the less immediate production needs of print sources allowed for greater diversity in subject matter covered, including numerous paragraphs and even entire articles devoted to fan behavior and citizen reactions to game and tournament outcomes. As a result, this chapter draws primarily from the print sample.

The United States of Ambivalence

U.S. Fandom in the U.S. media

In a pattern similar to that uncovered by Markovitz and Hellerman (2001) in their analysis of U.S.-based newspaper coverage of the 1994 and 1998 Cup, articles I reviewed often debated the importance soccer and potential for development of the sport within the United States. Most commentary orbited around one of two poles. The first, what I coded as “reserved/indifference,” portrayed a persistent lack of national interest in the sport that could not be overcome, partially because of a clash between soccer and core values of American culture. The second, what I coded as “passionate,” claimed to unearth an emerging proto-fan base in the

U.S. with potential for growth. Articles either centered around one of these themes (the mode for editorial pieces) or presented arguments from both perspectives (the mode for straight news stories). Of the 290 comments regarding national reactions to the U.S. Men's National Team (USMNT), 153 (52.3%) approximated the first position by portraying the U.S. public as largely indifferent or unconcerned with the tournament or the national team's performance. Conversely, 137 (47.2%) reported a growing U.S. support base for the sport that cared intimately about the team's results (Table 6.1). Although proportionally similar, these two themes varied by time, with the indifference theme appearing early in the sample and remaining relatively strong throughout, while the passionate theme began to appear frequently only after the USMNT far exceeded expectations in the 2002 tournament.

At the opening of the 2002 World Cup, the indifference theme predominated. The buildup to the USMNT's first game with Portugal on June 5th included 27 comments citing a lack of interest compared to 7 comments reporting anticipatory excitement (Table 6.1). Articles from this period exemplify the first way indifference towards soccer in the U.S. was established: lack of interest. Articles previewing the tournament presented lack of awareness regarding the tournament, the national team, and the sport as a major barrier to a more deep-seated appreciation of the World Cup. For example, a *Chicago Sun-Times* writer explained that "most of America will be sleeping when the World Cup opens play" (Mulligan, May 26, 2002) and a colleague at the *San Diego Union-Tribune* added "America is one of the few places on Earth that does not have a true 'soccer culture'... evidenced by feeble television ratings and an embarrassing lack of knowledge of the world game" (Zeigler, May 29, 2002g). Even star players, such as Clint Mathis, struggled to gain recognition in the crowded U.S. sport space, as shown in the following *New York Times* story:

The hotel lobby filled with hockey players and soccer players... A woman spotted Clint Mathis and reached into her purse. She had the right person but the wrong sport.

"My future son-in-law is an avid hockey player and fan," the woman said. "Can I have your autograph?" Politely, Mathis signed. As the woman walked away, he did a verbal double take. "Did she say hockey?"

Yes, she did, confusing him with a member of the Montreal Canadiens... Such is the anonymity of the male soccer star in this country... the only American soccer player getting any real face time on television is Mia Hamm in a Gatorade commercial.

(Longman, May 12, 2002)

Interestingly, this last article clarified the lack of interest for its readers by comparing the USMNT to the women's national team and its most popular players claiming the latter were more publicly recognizable. Another writer, after not recognizing a single player on the USMNT, stated, "Brandi Chastain, the U.S. women's soccer player who flashed us her sports bra at the 2000 [sic] World Cup. Her I'd recognize (Brown, June 18, 2002)." Placing the men's team in the position of less popularity inverts the established ways in which women's sports are presented as inferior, unimportant, and derivative in comparison to men's sports within sport media (Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 1996; Duncan and Messner, 2005). This sentiment also surfaced in stories explaining the difficult path some American players faced in choosing soccer as their sport of choice. For example, a *New York Times* article indicated that African American player DaMarcus Beasley "has heard all the knocks on soccer. It's a foreign game. It's a girls' game" (Vescey, May 13, 2002; also see Heistand, June 20, 2002). In this sense, soccer is marked as less appealing to American men because it appeals to non-American men and American women.

On June 5th, the USMNT upset Portugal, a darkhorse favorite to win the cup and over the next two weeks the USMNT would continue this good form, qualifying for the second round of the tournament. During this period, 65 comments cited a growing U.S. fan base and interest in the tournament (Table 6.1). On occasion, a reporter visited a local establishment showing the game in order to assess popularity, with many reporting higher than anticipated interest in the games on the part of fans. For example, one article ran under the headline: “Fever for the Pitch: Soccer (not baseball) fans get together in wee hours to support U.S. team (Graney, June 11, 2002).” The article went on to describe the scene inside one San Diego bar:

A local pub invited passionate American sports fans to its establishment late Sunday evening. They showed in droves, their faces painted, their bodies swallowed by red, white and blue garments, their hearts on display for all to witness...

A standing-room-only throng breathlessly awaited and then intently watched the World Cup match between the United States and South Korea... with the kind of affection and apprehension and animation as only those who appreciate this game can. Here, there was no cultural disconnection. The investment -- by, yes, mostly Americans -- went far beyond sport.

The article went on to describe this “investment” as showing up hours before kickoff in order to get the most desirable seats near the big screen television. Here dedication to soccer is established through its ability to attract a crowd at least on par with the far more recognized sport of baseball. Other articles described a similar turnout in drinking establishments in Atlanta (Clark, June 15, 2002) and Chicago (Newbart, June 15, 2002b), respectively. In these articles, U.S. fans displayed commitment through a willingness to cheer on the national team in public at hours that, due to time differences, were less than ideal for North American viewers.

Interestingly, many also indicated commitment by juxtaposing these passionate fans against an assumed lack of interest by most in the U.S. That Graney's article above needed to stress (however sardonically) that it was soccer (and not baseball) that had stirred up passions and that it was indeed "Americans" – and not those born outside but currently living in the United States – who filled the pub to watch the game described indicates how unexpected this degree of interest was even to the reporters themselves.

Stories that expressed doubt regarding soccer fandom in the U.S. continued to appear during this period. Sixty-six comments coded as indifferent occurred between the Portugal (June 5th) and Germany game (June 20th), including some of the most critical recorded. These more severe comments exemplify a second way in which U.S. indifference in the sport was established: through the expression of an inherent tension between soccer and American culture. Leading this charge was long-time American sports writer and frequently cited critic of soccer Frank Deford, who was quoted as saying:

Soccer in America has had every chance. We reject soccer, that's fair to say... There's not enough scoring, and ties make no sense. There's really a lack of proficiency in the game. God didn't intend for us to use our feet and our heads...

[The offsides rule is] simply un-American. We're all about forward, forward, forward, in sports and in our society. From the 19th century onward, we have not taken to soccer. It's almost as if it's not in our DNA to like it. (M.R. della Cava, July 7, 2006)

In interpreting these comments it should be noted that Deford often reports on sport using a sarcastic sense of humor. However, that Deford could make a joke of the apparent tension between the particular manner in which soccer is played and certain aspects of American culture points to the degree to which the idea of "soccer as un-American" resonates within the American

context. A handful of other articles expressed a similar sentiment, as when a writer for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* stated “soccer is subtle, which is why we Americans distrust it. In this sport, the counterpunch is as viable a tactic as a flurry of jabs (Bradley, June 18, 2002).” These articles not only established lack of interest, but implied that the sport could never gain popularity (even if ignorance was to fade) precisely because the style of play, the rules, and those subtle aspects enjoyed by other nation’s citizens ran counter to certain values considered essential to the American ethos. Interestingly, in a manner similar to that found in Deford’s comments above, Bradley extended the indifference theme to all Americans through the use of the inclusive terms, such as “we,” which placed the author, reader, and even those Americans not having read the article into the same “indifferent” group.

Articles written as previews to the U.S.-Mexico match revealed a third way in which American indifference was expressed. Whereas most teams around the world enjoy a significant home field advantage during World Cup qualification, numerous articles pointed out that when playing regional rivals the USMNT is often an “outsider” within its own borders. For example, in previewing the matchup with Mexico, one journalist commented that “U.S. players who rarely get the chance to play Mexico without being shouted down on either side of the border might avoid that scenario on Monday (Parker, June 16, 2002).” Another article concurred, citing the similarly difficult conditions whether the USMNT plays Mexico at home or away. “Except for the altitude and the pollution, there is often little difference playing Mexico in the United States or at Aztec Stadium in Mexico City (Longman, June 16, 2002a).” These stories contribute to the “indifference” theme by reiterating an implicit point regarding American indifference to soccer: whatever popularity the sport maintains among men in the U.S., it pales in comparison to its popularity in other countries.

Results on the field continued to surprise, however, with a victory over Mexico leading to a quarterfinal match with Germany. Although the USMNT would subsequently lose to the latter, their performance led to increasing praise. Following the loss to Germany, 22 comments appeared that expressed increasing interest in the team and the tournament within the U.S., including greater passion on the part of fans. Many articles expressed this theme quite strongly, foreshadowing in some ways the coverage in 2006. Interestingly, some of the descriptions of victory celebrations closely mimicked how fans of other countries were presented:

Jubilation reigned during and after the U.S. team's 2-0 victory. Fans crowded into the Princess Pub and Grille and other establishments in Little Italy, the epicenter of soccer interest in San Diego County. When the game ended, people spilled out of bars and restaurants to celebrate and chant, "U-S-A," while cars paraded down India Street. (Soto and Simpson, June 18, 2002)

Both the *USA Today* and the *New York Times* surveyed attendance at sport bars across the country (following the Mexico and Germany game, respectively), reporting boisterous crowds in many cities (*New York Times*, June 22, 2002b; Whiteside, June 18, 2002a). In Chicago, reporters compared the turnout to that for Monday night Chicago Bears (American football) games (Newbart, June 22, 2002) and large crowds attended Columbus Crew Stadium (an MLS franchise) to watch broadcasts (Hiestand, June 11, 2002; *New York Times*, June 22, 2002). Television ratings for the Germany game were record-setting (Zeigler, June 25, 2002a). On the day of the 2002 World Cup final, Don Garber, commissioner of MLS, ran an editorial in the *New York Times* under the title "A Foreign Sport Is No Longer Foreign (Garber, June 30, 2002)."

Several writers continued to express doubt regarding claims of a newfound enthusiasm for soccer during this period. As in previously cited articles, sarcasm was a primary way of expressing this concern:

Ah, soccer fever... Now it's Germany for our World Cup upstarts... and in some corners of this soccer-challenged land, you'll be able to cut the tension with a bagel... Some orientation is necessary to get aboard the bandwagon. It might take awhile to understand, for example, that it is a big deal to beat Portugal in anything. And it may be hard to consider the USA as Cinderella in the same quarterfinals as Senegal, where there are 10 television sets per thousand citizens, about the same ratio as one house in Beverly Hills. (Lopresti, June 20, 2002)

Thus, at this point, despite better performances and increasing interest many journalists still presented the “reserved/indifference” theme as representative. Expressing this philosophically, one journalist wrote “The nation that cares nothing for soccer has a soccer team worth caring about, which gives rise to the thorny question: If a World Cup is won in an empty forest, does anyone hear? (Bradley, June 18, 2002).” Writers debated whether the interest generated by the national team’s overachievement was indicative of a permanent change in the American sporting landscape or just a temporary adjustment driven by results. Those expressing the indifference theme often pointed to previous failed attempts to form a professional soccer league (the North American Soccer League) in the U.S. in the 1970s and 80s (Eskanazi, June 11, 2002).

By the end of the 2002 tournament, articles describing reactions in the U.S. to the World Cup had shifted from almost exclusively portraying the populous as uninterested in soccer to an almost even split between articles that reported lack of interest and those that argued for an emergent fan base. In the intervening four years, interest, at least at the commercial level, grew

significantly. Nike, sponsor for the USMNT, ran an aggressive and extensive ad campaign leading up to the 2006 tournament under the title “Don’t Tread on Me” that implored audience members to respect soccer and avoid “treading” upon it. An online document from Nike²⁴ summarized the campaign in a way that challenged claims of indifference, especially those portraying the sport as “un-American”: “This game is now as integral to our country as hot dogs at a barbeque or turkey on Thanksgiving or fireworks on the Fourth of July.” While it must be remembered that as a sporting apparel manufacturer, Nike has an interest in generating interest in sports (leading to subsequent sales), heavy monetary investment in audience building by ABC/ESPN – including a series of commercials featuring a voice-over by Bono from the musical group U2 – indicate the different cultural landscape in which articles about U.S. interest in soccer operated during the 2006 World Cup.

Consistent with patterns from the end of the 2002 tournament, the 2006 Cup generated 52 comments that presented U.S. fans as continuing to be indifferent towards the tournament, while 39 made the case for the existence of a significant fan base (Table 6.1). Unlike in 2002, however, the coverage began much more evenly balanced between indifference and passionate interest. *USA Today*’s preview acknowledged this new landscape by suggesting the pressure to repeat the 2002 performance as a possible stumbling block for the team: “This time around, however, the USA might not be quite so disconnected from the world’s sport. Americans have gobbled up the 17,000 tickets sold here, as well as tickets offered in Germany and over the Internet (*USA Today*, June 9, 2006).” As this last article implies, one major change from the coverage of 2002 was the number of stories describing U.S. fans who were in Germany at the game venues. Whereas in 2002 U.S. fans in and around the stadiums were either not mentioned, or specifically

²⁴ This document was retrieved on 8/14/2008 from a reproduction on the website <http://commercial-archive.com/node/125554>.

referenced as being in small numbers, in 2006, a number of articles mentioned the significant presence of U.S. soccer fans. A writer from the *Chicago Sun-Times* – the U.S. paper with the thinnest coverage - penned an article entirely devoted to describing this newfound presence at and around the stadiums. Under the headline “Call it a futbol foothold: As America emerges, U.S. fans have shown they can stand out in World Cup crowd,” the author described the scene before the U.S.’ opening game with the Czech Republic as follows:

As fans stream toward the exit at the central train station in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, an American dutifully runs among arriving U.S. supporters, saying, “Just make a right at the corner.” A few hundred feet later, goose bumps awaken on anyone who has ever had a patriotic thread in his body. Hundreds, perhaps even a thousand Americans are midway through “The Star-Spangled Banner” outside the Cafe Hibernia. Flags wave, and people test their vocal limits. The anthem concludes, and a popular chant breaks out: “U-S-A, U-S-A, U-S-A.” Then it is on to another song, with some proclaiming, “We’re going to Berlin!” -- site of the World Cup final July 9. They have traveled from places such as Baltimore, Pittsburgh, New York and Los Angeles. (Dron, June 25, 2006)

Along with this increasing presence was the acknowledgement of a genuine understanding and appreciation of more subtle aspects of the game. An article appearing in the *New York Times*, presented U.S. soccer fans as engaging in the normative responses shown by fans of other nations: “American fans seemed to grasp the basic soccer tactic of roaring when your team moves downfield and whistling when your opponent is flopping all over the lawn (Vescey June 23, 2006).” Television announcers for the U.S. games often indicated that the noise levels of U.S. fans equaled or even surpassed those of other nations (transcript, USA-ITA, 2006; USA-GHA, 2006).

Alas, results on the field were much more disappointing in 2006. The team lost two games and tied one, thus failing to qualify for the second round. Even here, though, U.S. fans received comments indicating significant emotional reactions to this performance. During the dying moments of their final game in which elimination was imminent, and a shot of two nail-biting U.S. fans on screen, the announcer stated “The tears and the despair from the U.S. fans here in Nuremberg” (O’Brien, transcript, USA-GHA, 2006).

These disappointments, especially the 3-0 loss to the Czech Republic in their highly anticipated opening match, opened up space for particularly strong claims for indifference. A writer for the *Chicago Sun-Times* implied that the popularity suggested in the audience building for the match was largely a mythic creation of advertising:

We were told to wave our flags, flaunt our patriotism and bask in an American soccer renaissance.... The Americans were going to silence the Czech Republic and prove their transcendent point. Did somebody actually suggest soccer as our new national pastime as the game started? Whoever did was sadly mistaken. National waste-of-time, I'd say.

(Mariotti, June 15, 2006)

Although more explicit and critical in tone than most other articles, Mariotti’s take coincided with that of other U.S.-based writers in suggesting continued tension between the sport and U.S. culture. For example, a writer for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* stated “We Americans continue to see soccer at its highest level as aimless and boring and foreign (Bradley, June 4, 2006).” Once again the use of inclusive terms such as “we” and “our” imply that this indifference extends far beyond a solitary author or a finite set of readers to include the entire nation.

U.S. Fans in the Non-U.S. press

In comparison to the U.S.-based press, papers overseas were much more likely to characterize U.S. residents as indifferent to the World Cup and even its own national team. The buildup to the USMNT's first game in 2002 only contained comments claiming a lack of interest in the tournament by U.S. fans (Table 6.1). *The Herald of Glasgow* summed up their chances as "a quiet but dignified exit at the group stage that will be largely ignored back home" (May 28, 2002). Following the USMNT's upset of Portugal, the overseas press commented on what they saw as a lack of excitement and coverage surrounding a historic victory. The *Herald's* American correspondent published an article that ran under the headline: "U.S. sleeps through a famous victory and wakes up to animal crackers" (Hicklin, June 6, 2002). In a sarcastic tone which would be the leitmotif for the non-U.S. based press when invoking the indifference theme, the author described the stories which ran on the morning news in the U.S., preempting coverage of the victory: "On NBC, the highlight of the morning was a pet psychic talking to a disinterested pony, while Fox struck back with a report on a singing dog, howling along to a karaoke-version of 'I Will Survive' (June 6, 2002)." Articles in other papers highlighted the apparent lack of interest in the World Cup and the U.S. team within the U.S., despite its success (Boer and Ward, June 6, 2002; Kervin, June 6, 2002). Some of the U.S.-based foreign correspondents to the paper sought out public venues in which to watch the games and rate the level of interest. These writers compared their American experiences to memories of previous World Cups in nations with a stronger support base. In an indication of how the atmospheres compared an English reporter titled his piece: "Bored in the USA: Matthew Engel watches the World Cup Washington-style, with his back to the TV screen (Engel, June 14, 2002)."

Although good performances by the team opened up some space for the non-U.S. press to present U.S. fans as caring deeply for the game (see Boer, June 21, 2002), indifference remained the general trend. Following the U.S. victory over Mexico, a journalist for *The London Times* stated:

As for the USA, the American dream is still alive, at least for those Americans who know the World Cup is going on. But it seems a shame that one of the last eight places in the world's most popular sports event is occupied by one of the few countries where most people care little about its outcome. (Ward, June 18, 2002)

Here, the apparent inability for a good performance in a tournament to be appreciated by an American audience in the manner it would be elsewhere in the world established the quintessential difference between U.S. and overseas reactions to the World Cup.

Overseas papers more readily characterized U.S. fans as passionate and interested during the 2006 tournament. For example, a preview of the tournament in *The Times (London)* mentioned the pressure to repeat the 2002 performance as a possible stumbling block for the USMNT (Szczepanik, June 6, 2006) and a game report in *The Guardian (London)* indicated that jeering by U.S. fans “suggests the USA's supporters are more au fait with the laws of the game than once they were” (Kelso, June 23, 2006). Still, indifference continued to be the dominant mode of representation. A writer for the *Toronto Star* suggested in a manner similar to American writer Mariotti (see p.158) that the apparent increasing interest in the sport was largely a myth of advertising:

In one of the TV commercials currently attempting to excite Americans about the World Cup, Bono, the singer from the band U2, expounds on soccer's power. The beautiful game, he says, "closes the schools, closes the shops, closes a city and stops a war."

Maybe that's true somewhere. But in these United States yesterday the schools were open and the shops were booming and the war on terror was very much in full swing.

(Feschuk, June 13, 2006)

The *Guardian*, the paper with the most critical comments, ran an entire article on dedicated U.S. fans in Germany under the headline: "Over-excited, overweight and over here" (Hyde, June 19, 2006). With the tone set, Hyde's article went on to describe the U.S. fans in ways that expressed European animosity towards American tourists and cultural hegemony more generally:

[R]andom annoyances included piles of discarded hamburger wrappers, a rash of FDNY T-shirts, the knowledge that the U.S. keeper Kasey Keller's mobile phone ringtone is the Tarzan roar, and the clinically obese gentleman at Kaiserslautern station loudly informing fellow supporters which bar the U.S. hardcore fans were basing themselves in "so the terrorists had better stay away". Because if al-Qaida fears anything, it's a frat-boy with a keg.

Interestingly, this article, like many throughout this sample, described fans (both U.S. and overseas) in masculine terms or pronouns. In addition, this description mimicked that of the fanfest (an officially sponsored area for fans without tickets to the game) in Gelsenkirchen during the U.S.-Czech Republic game:

There are loud complaints from the visitors... Wedged between the two loudest voices on board, I bite my tongue as they vent their spleen against European air-conditioning, those 'motherfuckers' in Iran and the large number of Czechs in town. (Kessel, June 18, 2006)

Whereas the U.S.-based press portrayed the presence of U.S. fans at the game venues as indicative of growing interest in the U.S.-based press, in the non-U.S. press their presence was

more apt to be portrayed as annoying and reflective of aspects of U.S. culture generally frowned upon internationally.

The Nationalism of Others: Overseas Fans in the U.S.-based Press

Against the backdrop of U.S. ambivalence towards soccer, U.S.-based journalists attempted to explain the tournament's significance elsewhere in the world to an American readership by highlighting the collective sentiments the sport could invoke. Whereas commentary regarding fan support for the USMNT was roughly equal in the "passionate" and "indifferent" categories, virtually every comment (486 of 498; 97.6%) about fans of other nations indicated a deep-seated interest in their national team in particular, but also the tournament as a whole (Table 6.2).

In a manner similar to reporting in Europe (Blain, et al 1993; O'Donnell, 1994), American journalists often presented the national team as a metonym for the nation wherein the team's performance and general issues facing its players contribute to a collective emotional state shared by all members of the national community. For example, a preview of the 2002 Cup summed up the growing expectations over the approaching event:

This is the time when the euphoria and pride of qualifying for the World Cup gives way to downright anxiety, when entire nations become obsessed with a small bone in a midfielder's left foot (see England) or the ligaments of a forward's knee (see Italy) or the fine print of a coach's contract (see Argentina). (Zeigler, May 1, 2002)

As indicated above, developments that appear to be trivialities from an outsider's perspective – injuries, coaching contracts, squad selections, starting lineups – were presented as subjects of intense interest to everyone associated with the national community. Unlike in the U.S. context, there was no distinction between fans and the rest of the populace, for the two were the same.

For example, an injury to star striker Wayne Rooney was said to have “all of England holding its breath” (Bell, June 8, 2006) and “all of England hang[ing] on the latest word” (Knobler, June 9, 2006), while another report commented: “Every Englishman (and woman) knows the date of Wayne Rooney's next CT scan (Bradley, June 4, 2006).”

The use of the metonym was not restricted to the traditional football powers of Europe and South America. Iran, making only its 2nd appearance in a World Cup finals, was described as having “a soccer-crazed nation of 68 million hanging on every bounce” (Zeigler, June 11, 2006b). The team as a metonym for the nation could also be expressed in more geographic terms, as when Senegal’s upset of then-World and European Champions France was reported to have set off “dancing in the streets from the Atlantic Ocean to the Congo River” (Bueno, June 1, 2002) and at times extended to immigrant communities abroad (Carter, June 11, 2002; Clarey, June 1, 2002; Erlanger, June 26, 2002; Knafo, June 18, 2006; Rodriguez, June 16, 2002; Sutcliffe and Sager, June 12, 2006; Vescey, June 27, 2002; Zielbauer, June 23, 2002). For teams hailing from sub-Saharan Africa, the metonym metaphor was extended so that a national team came to represent an entire continent of Africa. For example, in 2006 following Ghana’s advancement into the second round an article appeared under the headline: “11 Men Carrying a Continent (Wilsey, June 25, 2006),” while a preview of the same game stated “now it is Ghana's turn to represent the hopes of a continent (Vescey, June 22, 2006).”

The mode of reporting led to more frequent use of the metonym by print sources, however television announcers utilized it on occasion as well. During France’s second game of the 2002 tourney, the television announcers took time to comment on reactions in France to their upset by Senegal:

[Smythe] Well, France came under a lot of pressure. I mean, that was the first time they've lost their first game of the World Cup since 1982 when Spain beat them. It was a day of mourning in France.

[Delecamera] That'll be topped today if they lose to Uruguay in terms of mourning.

(transcript, FRA v URU, 2002)

Similarly, Jack Edwards, one of the few TV announcers stationed in Korea, described the South Korean fans' reaction to their team's qualification for the 2nd round as follows: "We are in the nation that is beside itself with happiness. Everyone wears red these days, not just in Seoul, a city of 14 million, but all over the country (transcript, USA v POL, 2002)."

Even when not equated with the metonym narrative, citizens of these nations were described as extremely knowledgeable, passionate, and interested in the tournament as a whole and in their national team in particular. Exceeding expectations led to "dancing in the streets of Senegal and composing victory songs in South Korea" (Mulligan, June 6, 2002), while disappointing outcomes resulted in a "pain [that] was rampant in the streets, squares, bars, cantinas, restaurants and living rooms of Mexico City" (Weriner, June 18, 2002). Although more limited in scope than with the metonym, these stories shared an emphasis on the deeply significant collective emotional reactions results on the field could induce. One story even extended this passion to Bangladesh, a country that has never even come close to qualifying for a World Cup, by reporting on a successful protest by university students to have the final exam schedule revised to accommodate World Cup viewing (Zeigler, May 31, 2002).

Journalists also indicated the degree of passion surrounding the World Cup overseas through narratives about the impact of the World Cup on society at large, including prominent social institutions. Several stories commented on the impact of the tournament on politics and

legislation. For example, stories discussed the tournament's ability to change liquor laws in Sweden (Zeigler, May 31, 2002) and England (Borow, May 26, 2002), legislative schedules in Ecuador (Zeigler, May 30, 2002), conscription laws in South Korea (Whiteside, June 21, 2002), as well as elections in Germany (Landler and Longman, June 9, 2006), Mexico (Schwartz, June 11, 2006; Weiner, June 18, 2002), and Brazil (Rohter, June 27, 2006). Stories also made claims regarding the World Cup's impact on the economy, including increased consumption in Brazil (Oppenheimer, May 31, 2002) and worries about detrimental effects of worker fatigue and absenteeism in Argentina and England (Knobler, June 9, 2006), Korea (Longman, June 8, 2002), Portugal (Longman, June 3, 2002b), Ukraine (Vinton, June 14, 2006), and Sweden (Whiteside, June 14, 2002). Lastly, reports indicated the World Cup could change aspects of national culture. For example, reports suggested the successful importation of European coaches by Korea and Japan in 2002 – who brought with them different techniques of training and philosophies of player management - influenced leading business schools in both countries to adopt new management strategies for business (French, June 14, 2002; Whiteside, June 21, 2002). Here, an institution that is normally considered derivative and superfluous (sport) is described as shaping the everyday operation of social institutions (politics, economy, education) generally given primacy. This marked a key difference from the U.S.: overseas soccer could impact aspects of daily life.

At times, reporters presented non-U.S. fans as over-zealous and overwhelmed by the passion soccer could induce. Comments of this type were coded as “obsessed.” For example, some accounts presented soccer as a surrogate religion or at the very least, religious-like in the faith and dedication it could produce. For example, a story in the *San Diego Union-Tribune* indicated that “many faithful from Mexico and Iran spent their morning at the church of football”

(Soto and Rodgers, June 12, 2006).” This narrative reached its most fanciful level in a story regarding English reactions to star player David Beckham’s injury, which threatened to keep him out of the 2002 Cup:

The Sun runs the headline “Beck Us Pray,” enlisting three bishops to lead calls for divine intervention. *The Sun* then joins the archrival *Mirror* in printing a front-page photo of Beckham's left foot for the country to “lay its hands on” while sending healing thoughts, at the stroke of noon on the Saturday after the injury. The next day, *the Sun's* front page shows England manager Sven Goran Eriksson taking part in the rite. (Borow, May 26, 2002)

The use of sarcasm and irony to capture the apparent ridiculousness of this act mimics in important ways the same comedic tone used by many writers, especially outside the U.S., to convey a lack of interest in the tournament by the U.S. public.

The behaviors associated with the “obsessed” category were differentiated from the “passionate” category through the explicit choice of words that indicated lack of emotional control leading to excited, uncontrollable and even irrational acts. I derived the category name itself as an *in vivo* code that was oft-repeated either in its original form or as derivatives and synonyms. For example, a story about Iran stated, “It [qualification for the World Cup] has merely whipped a nation already obsessed with soccer...into a veritable froth (Zeigler, June 11, 2006b).” Holland was described as “a country obsessed with soccer,” (Whiteside, May 8, 2002), while Italy, Argentina (Longman, June 25, 2002a), Germany (Vescey, June 20, 2002a; Whiteside, May 30, 2006), England (Borow, May 26, 2002), and Brazil (Longman, June 21, 2006; Rohter, June 1, 2006) were specifically described as either “soccer-obsessed” or “soccer-mad” countries.

When the word “obsession” was not specifically used, other linguistic choices implied an uncontrollable aspect to soccer-inspired passion. Various reports described Mexican fans as “Cup crazy” (Rodriguez, June 16, 2002) and “frenzied” (Soto, June 14, 2002), Brazilians as “consumed with soccer” (Longman, July 1, 2002), and Germans as “notoriously rabid” (Zeigler, July 4, 2006). This extended to nations without long, dense histories playing the sport as when reports called Japanese fans “clinically mad” (Bueno, June 19, 2002) and Ghana’s supporters “delirious” (Zeigler, June 23, 2006). Korean fans, who came in for some of the most numerous and intensely passionate descriptions (especially as co-hosts in 2002), were described as “crazy” (Whiteside, June 21, 2002), on two occasions “delirious” (Whiteside, June 21, 2002; Zeigler, June 19, 2002), “unconditional and frenzied” in their love of star player Young Hwan-Ahn (Longman, June 25, 2002a), and “ludicrous” (Zeigler, June 24, 2002b) in their “hero worship” of Dutch coach Gus Hiddink (Longman, June 23, 2002).

Sometimes journalists described the passion of non-U.S. fans in more negative terms, as when they acknowledged that absorption with soccer could turn to violence off the field. A story from Brazil reported a near-assault by upset fans on the national team’s coach over an unpopular squad decision (Rother, May 28, 2002). Several other stories recorded riots following matches in Turkey (San Diego U-T, June 23, 2002) and Russia (Brooke, June 10, 2002). Finally, a story from Nigeria reported a violent riot following a power blackout that prevented fans from watching their national team play (Zeigler, May 30, 2002). All these examples serve to highlight that the passionate behavior, which, as seen above, is often described affectionately, can easily slip into a range of more easily condemnable behaviors.

On the few occasions when fans in foreign countries were presented as indifferent in the U.S.-based press (Table 6.2) the majority (9 of 12) came directly following poor results on the

field. For example, fans in France were reported to have reacted to their team's surprise elimination in the first round in 2002 with "Gallic shrugs" (Cowell, June 12, 2002) and "Gallic indifference" (Zeigler, June 13, 2002c). Equally, fans in Brazil and Germany – who elsewhere in the sample were presented as passionate - were said to be lacking in enthusiasm on the eve of the 2002 Cup because of struggles in qualifying. However, this was only a temporary state. Once these teams began advancing deep into the tournament their fans were once again described as passionate (Schmidt, June 20, 2002; Vescey, July 1, 2002). These comments, then, clearly differ from those assigned to the U.S. in that the indifference of non-U.S. fans was a temporary cathartic coping mechanism designed to deal with disappointment, rather than a permanent state of indifference structured into the fabric of national culture.

Ethnically Hyphenated Fandom in the United States

Interestingly, the media identified one group of fans based in the United States who, like those fans overseas, expressed unequivocal enthusiasm for the World Cup: U.S. residents who supported not the USMNT, but a national team based on ancestry. A consistent story-telling device used in all U.S. papers (other than the nationally-based *USA Today*) was to send reporters into restaurants, cafes, and bars in the various ethnic neighborhoods of cities to assess these communities' reactions. For example, an article in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on the first weekend of the 2006 Cup ran under the headline: "A World Cup to shout about: Atlanta shows off its global colors; A fan for every team, from Sweden to Brazil" (Stinson, June 11, 2006). The report, compiled from 7 different journalists at 7 different locations, ended with 2004 census figures estimating the Atlanta-based immigrant communities of 31 nations that competed (excluding the U.S.). The *Chicago Sun-Times*, *New York Times*, and *San Diego Union-Tribune* all sent reporters to areas of town with a large Italian-American population to report on

celebrations following Italy's 4th World Cup title (Canepa, July 10, 2006; Donovan, July 10, 2006; Ramirez, July 10, 2006; Lee and Gordon, July 10, 2006). Similar stories appeared regarding the reactions of American-based fans to important victories for Mexico (Rodriguez, June 16, 2002; Zeigler, June 17, 2002; Moore, June 18, 2002; Knobler, June 12, 2006b; Sutcliffe and Sager, June 12, 2006), Iran (Sotoand Rodgers, June 12, 2006), Korea (Carter, June 11, 2002; Kilgannon, June 24, 2006; Knafo, June 18, 2006), Ecuador (Siguiria, June 10, 2006), Germany (Halbfinger and Zielbauer, June 22, 2002; Klein et al, July 9, 2006), and France (Hummer, July 10, 2006).

Consistently, these reports emphasized two things. First, those who were cheering were supporting a national team other than the U.S. (although some of these fans said that the USMNT was their "second" team). The descriptions of their support mimicked the portrayal of fans overseas. They were intimately aware of the tournament, knowledgeable about subtle aspects of the sport, and emotionally invested in results on the field. These individuals also served as "key informants," providing quotes that helped to translate the more subtle aspects of the game into a form digestible for readers. Second, their ethnic or immigrant identity was clearly specified, becoming a master status that overrode any other potentially competing identities, including their affiliations with the U.S. For example, a description of celebrations on Chicago's Northwest side ran under the headline: "It's a great day to be Italian" (July 10, 2006). Those described subsequently were marked specifically as "Italian," not Americans of Italian descent or Italian-Americans.

Whether describing a recent immigrant, an individual who gained citizenship decades ago, or an American-born person reared in an ethnic enclave or immigrant household in the U.S., writers used fans' ethnic status as an explanation for their surprising passion for soccer (given

the established U.S. context). For example, fan interest in Mexico was credited as coming from familial experiences: “Though he was born in Atlanta, he learned Mexican soccer traditions, from wearing the Mexican flag to chanting ‘Ole!’ , from his family (Sutcliffe and Sager, June 12, 2006).” During interviews, hyphenated fans used the oft-repeated phrase “It’s in our blood” to also indicate its roots in differing domestic experiences. This clearly contrasted with the presentation of the “passionate” U.S.-based fans of the USMNT, whose ethnicity was rarely identified and typically erased by use of the term “American” (see Graney’s article described on page 148), despite U.S.’s status as a settler colony in which a hyphenated ethnic identity could potentially be applied to all.

SPORT FANDOM AS NATIONAL CULTURE

To sum up, talk about fan and citizen reactions to the World Cup created a stark distinction between the United States and the rest of the world. Both the U.S. and overseas press singled out the United States as a unique case, the only country in the world where one could consistently find citizens unconcerned with and unenthusiastic about the results of the tournament. Whereas the few cases of “indifference” applied to citizens of other countries primarily expressed this as a temporary and cathartic reaction to poor results on the field, reports characterized U.S. indifference as omni-present and slow to change even when the national team exceeded expectations. Representationally, this meant that overseas the World Cup operated as a centralizing societal force, one capable of inducing highly unified collective emotional reactions. But in the U.S. context the very same event fragmented citizens into an ambivalent populous divided between those unfamiliar, confused, even resentful of the tournament and an emergent fan base.

Of course, the distinction made between the United States and the rest of the world regarding the importance of soccer and the World Cup is not entirely inaccurate. Soccer in the U.S. does not occupy the prominent cultural place it does in many other countries (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001; Williams and Giulianotti 1994), although the uniqueness of the American case may be overstated given that soccer failed to develop into the national sport in much of the world directly colonized by the British (Sugden, 1994). Still, it is important to ask why - out of all the stories that could have potentially been constructed regarding off-field issues surrounding the World Cup – this narrative could be considered as so significant to journalists and their editors to be selected time and again as a topic worthy of extended comment.

I suggest that this narrative's appeal derives from the way characterization of reactions to the World Cup operated as a form of cultural representation through which American national identity could be rendered both externally and internally. The opposition made between the U.S. and other countries constructed American identity by way of external contrast, suggesting that its peculiar relationship to soccer unveiled unique features of the U.S. as a whole. Internally, the opposition made between U.S. citizens as either passionate about or indifferent towards the World Cup provided opportunities to make claims about the boundaries of imagined American national identity by suggesting that, unlike support of other sports, soccer fandom failed to provide support for valorized forms of masculine national identity.

U.S. and Them: The External Formation of American National Identity

The one point all sources sampled could agree upon was that, compared to the rest of the world, the United States had a unique relationship to the World Cup. According to domestic and overseas papers, newspaper writers and televised announcers, straight news stories as well as editorials, nowhere else in the world could one consistently find such an extensive, indifferent

populous and so few passionate fans. Even those American journalists most sympathetic towards a growing indigenous fan base acknowledged the U.S.' unique relationship to soccer as an obstacle to future growth. In this sense, macro level external comparisons that pitted the United States versus the world provided a primary mode of storytelling that crossed formats and perspectives.

Early symbolic interactionist theorists, such as Cooley (1902 1909/1967) and Mead (1934), recognized the usefulness of comparison to others in the development of individual identity and proper social roles. Accordingly, formation of self-identity depends in part on defining one self in relationship to others. In this case, juxtaposing the relatively small interest in soccer that characterized the U.S. against the expansive passion overseas helped to define what made the American identity unique and exceptional within the global pantheon of nationalities. The peculiar American relationship to soccer became an anchor point for defining the distinctiveness of the American condition.

Although most clearly expressed by those claiming soccer as “un-American,” this sentiment operated more generally throughout the sample as the feeling that something inherent about the United States (even if it could not be agreed upon or clearly articulated) inhibited the sport’s growth in the past, present, and future. At times, this involved the use of language (such as “we,” “our,” “us,” and “them”) that created a “deixis” (Billig, 1995) between producer and audience by suggesting both belong to the same national group through shared taste in sport (also see, Whannel, 1992). Just as the first texts printed in vernacular languages hailed readers as members of the same national community (Anderson, 1983/1991), in these cases journalists invoked common identification through (an assumed) similar relevance of the national team and the World Cup for the nation. Because “we,” the national group, are all the same, “our” reaction

to and interest in international sport is also the same, in part through its opposability to “them” and their reaction. In this sense, external comparison to other nationalities helped to “create a home in a homeless world” (Lechner, 2007: 221; also see Archetti, 1994a: 60-1 1994b: 233-4; Calhoun, 1997: 45; Hopkins and Moore, 2001).

But, as scholars from more critical perspectives have pointed out, the operation of comparing the self against others involves more than a neutral process of auto-development; it involves contentious struggle over how identity will be represented (Hill Collins, 1991; Deschamps, 1982; Said, 1978). For Simone de Beauvoir ([1953]1993), women were the “second sex” not just because the abilities assigned to them were the opposite of men (and thus, generally devalued), but also because women’s identity was constructed as a derivative of the development of male identity. Because inequalities in social power mean not all groups have equal ability to influence how they will be portrayed, comparisons between groups often serve as one basis for inequality by arranging collectives hierarchically through objectification, stereotyping, and ethnocentrism. The sarcasm expressed by both the U.S. and overseas press in this sample hints at an attempt by both parties to classify the other’s reaction to the World Cup as an indication of a fundamental flaw in national character.

For the non-U.S.-based press American ambivalence (especially indifference) became an odd curiosity and the brunt of a collective joke between the writer and reader wherein they could share in saneness of their mutual dedication to soccer and the World Cup through their opposition to “tasteless” Americans and their ambivalence. Stories in U.S. press on World Cup fandom outside its borders focused attention on the extreme passion soccer could produce, with over-zealous, obsessive, out of control, and irrational behaviors garnering particular interest. When juxtaposed to reactions within the U.S., whether of the indifferent variety or the more

controlled excitement of the emergent U.S. fan base, these American responses appeared as sane, logical, and restrained in comparison. Looking overseas and seeing “strange” behaviors induced by an event whose significance could not fully be comprehended helped to confirm the sanity of “our” own ambivalent reaction. “Their” nationalism appears of the hot, flagged variety that is easily recognizable (Billig, 1995). “Our” nationalism (if it is even consciously recognized as such) as expressed through the United States relationship to the World Cup appears sane by comparison. This reminds us that the use of external comparisons to define the national group often involve value judgments about one’s own culture against that of others, with the latter typically defined as deviant or odd.

Stories We Tell Ourselves about Ourselves: The Internal Formation of U.S. National Identity

Within the U.S. press, journalists made an internal distinction between U.S. citizens who were passionate about the World Cup (always recognized as smaller in numbers) and the largely indifferent to hostile public. Although a roughly equal number of comments appeared citing a growing American fan base as those claiming continued indifference, journalists created a deixis between producer and audience only when characterizing the U.S. as indifferent towards the World Cup and soccer. That is, despite the clear presence of an emergent fan base in the U.S., indifference rose to the fore as *the* representation of America’s relationship to soccer, one capable of overriding potentially challenging characterizations. As Anderson (1991) noted, national communities are “always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (p. 7) in which common interest prevails over individual and group variation. This apparent comradeship conceals power differences within the nation, wherein some groups are excluded from ‘authentic’ citizenship on the basis of racial or ethnic identity (Marx, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 1993, 623-4) or connected with different facets of the nation on the basis of gender (McClintock, 1997;

Richards, 2004; Walby, 1996). By sublimating soccer fandom to a secondary position incapable of standing in for the national collective, indifference towards soccer became construed as the idealized expressive form of masculinized American national identity, with passionate fandom for soccer serving as its opposing foil.

In their own way, each of the three major narratives used to express indifference suggested that passion for soccer fell outside of the usually imagined parameters of American national identity. Characterizing indifference as lack of interest often involved juxtaposing the popularity of the men's and women's national team, with the latter presented as more recognizable. Importantly, this inverts the established patterns of presenting men's and women's sport in a U.S. context (see Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 1996; Duncan and Messner, 2005). Compared to the "Big 4," soccer was unpopular (like the usual pattern of relating women's to men's sports) and women's soccer teams and players were more popular and recognizable than their male counterparts. This devalued men's soccer (and the sport as a whole) for its inability to occupy a dominant position in the American sporting landscape like more popular men's sports. Characterizing soccer as in direct conflict with core American values and the national team as an outsider within its own borders constructed the sport as foreign. Those groups who could claim cultural congruence with soccer fandom were either living overseas in other national communities or specifically marked as 'foreign' to the United States because of their ethnic ancestry.

This reveals an important, but as yet unrecognized, aspect of the United States relationship to the World Cup. Explanations for the lack of a soccer culture in the U.S. (Brown, 2005; Collins, 2006; Dreyson, 2006; Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001 2003; Sugden, 1994) mostly rely upon the larger concept of "American exceptionalism" (see Lipset, 1997; Madsen,

1998; Ross, 1995). Accordingly, historical and macro-level structural factors make the United States unique among the developed countries of the world, leading to the rejection of practices (socialism and soccer, for example) commonly found in similarly developed areas. While these explanations contribute to understanding of how the contingent cultural landscape the United States contributes to its sporting preferences, such analyses fail to take into account the way in which specific sports become imbued with social value through their constructed gender and nationality appropriateness.

In Europe and Latin America, soccer fandom forms a quintessential component of adult masculine (Hornby, 1992; King, 2003; Sugden, 1994) and national identity (Archetti, 1994b 1999; Guilianotti, 2005). However, in the United States institutionalization of sport occurred during a historical period in which both immigration and a perceived ‘feminization of society’ undermined contemporaneous power arrangements (Messner, 1992). In this context, administrators sought sports conceived of as purely ‘American’ and that fostered the development of desired masculine qualities. While baseball and American football met these criteria (Kimmel, 1995) soccer did not. More contemporarily, its link to youth (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001), women (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2003; Sugden, 1994), and immigrants (Brown, 2005; Collins, 2006; Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001; Sugden, 1994), all groups that tend to be devalued in American culture relative to native-born, white middle class men, mark it as triply “otherized”: played by youth rather than adults; by females rather than males; and by immigrants and hyphenated Americans rather than ‘natives.’ Indeed, as one of those sports added by colleges in an attempt to comply with the proportionality test associated with Title IX, soccer in the U.S. is incapable of being a centerpoint of homosocial bonding among men because of the significant presence of women.

As a devalued sport (and in particular, as a feminized one) involvement with soccer failed to confirm hegemonic masculinity like so many other sports (see Messner, 1992; Rowe, 1997). Several U.S. players in this sample reported that while growing up participation in soccer brought their masculinity into question amongst male peers. Interestingly, male listeners strongly identify with popular sports talk radio host Jim Rome partially for his willingness to criticize soccer (Nylund, 2007). Male sports fans, who form the primary support base throughout most of North America, find themselves in an unusual dilemma regarding soccer fandom because rather than automatically confirm a valued form of masculinity, support for soccer leads to association with stigmatized or marginalized forms. As a result, soccer was a fragmenting, divisive force within the American context, with interest in the sport marking one as hyphenated ethnically or of dubious masculinity. Thus, part of the story we tell ourselves about ourselves is that American's fail to embrace soccer like other areas of the world because passion for the sport falls outside the usually imagined parameters of masculine American identity.

CHAPTER DISCUSSION

In sum, this chapter revealed how media coverage of fandom surrounding the World Cup worked to construct imagined conceptions of the American national collective. Unlike previous chapters, however, there was no differentiation of the world outside the United States' borders between South Americans, Northern Europeans, and so on. It was literally us versus them; the United States and its ambiguity juxtaposed against the rest of the world's zealous passion. By comparing the U.S. to the rest of the world, American ambivalence became the motif for what made Americans, as a group, different and in this sense contributed to the formation of American identity within a global context. However, this same ambivalence, when expressed internally, created a value-laden contrast between a 'normal' American response (rejection or ignorance)

and a 'suspicious' one (passion) that marked soccer and its fans as devalued in the American sphere. Thus, this chapter contributes to the overall project by showing how even media coverage of off field events constitutes a form of national cultural representation through which the nation is represented via the unique reactions the national populous to the World Cup. In concert with the preceding two chapters, this makes the case for media coverage of the World Cup to be a deep, rich and significant site for the discussion of what constitutes the national in an age of globalization.

TABLE 6.1 – Temporal Distribution of Fan Tendency Comments for USA, by Media Source

	<u>Disinterested</u>			<u>Passionate</u>		
	International Print	U.S.-based Print	Television Broadcast	International Print	U.S.-based Print	Television Broadcast
2002						
Opening through Portugal (5/01-6/05)	5	22			7	
Between Portugal and Germany (6/06-6/20)	19	47		8	52	5
Germany through Closing (6/21-7/31)	4	8			22	
Subtotal	28	77		8	81	5
2006						
Opening through Czech Republic (5/01-6/12)	9	22	2	1	7	1
Czech Republic through Closing (6/13-7/31)	9	10	0	10	13	7
Subtotal	18	32	2	11	20	8
Total	46	105	2	23	101	13

TABLE 6.2 – Temporal Distribution of Fan Tendency Comments Overseas, by Tournament

Year	<u>Societal Impact</u>			Reserved/ uninterested	<u>Dedication</u>		<u>Violent/Racist</u>
	Cultural Impact	Political Impact	Economic Impact		Passionate	Obsessed	
2002	7	56	9	12	243	61	13
2006	9	47	8		150	32	11
Total	16	103	17	12	393	93	24

- CHAPTER 7 -

Virtual Fandom:

Watching the World Cup in Public Space

In previous chapters, I documented how the characterization of national teams, players, and fans acted as a form of cultural representation that drew upon the racial and economic history of the nation to imagine the boundaries of the national community as represented by its all-male players and mostly male fans, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, space, and economic position were bound up in conceptions of national masculine identity. While useful for indicating symbolic structuring of culture, exploration of media content in isolation tells us little about how audiences respond to such commentary. Researching the impact of media on people's everyday understanding of the world requires empirical study of audiences and the act of consumption (Hall, 1980; Jhally and Lewis, 1992; McQuail, 1994).

In order to link the mediated texts analyzed in the previous chapters to their consumption in public space I conducted ethnographies of two venues that attracted spectators to watch televised broadcasts of the 2006 World Cup. In this sense, I follow the lead of Bale (1992) in researching "virtual fandom" in those "third environments" that lie between the live event and domestic home (also see Eastman and Land, 1997; Weed, 2006 2007). Critics of modernity have long worried about the potential for new communication and information technologies to alter human social relations by reducing opportunities for localized interpersonal interaction through increased access to temporally and spatially distant events. However, third environments, such as those I observed, allow for "copresence" (Boden and Molotch, 1994) in the very context of

watching a signal directed from far way. Although the displayed broadcast played a central role in organizing these spaces, setting the temporal pace, and prompting interactions among customers, crowd dynamics also impacted the experience by partially recreating a live game atmosphere (Eastman and Land, 1997) and providing opportunities for sociability (Weed, 2006), especially among the primarily male audience.

It is for this reason that I describe the experience of patrons in the two fieldsites I observed as *dialogical*. On the one hand, they were individual consumers of mediated texts, each bringing their own predispositions, social identities, concerns, and allegiances to the act of consuming the television broadcast much the same way they might approach watching the same broadcast in private at home. On the other hand, upon entering these fieldsites they became members of a temporary community of like-minded persons who engaged in collective reactions and interactions on the basis of their mutual interest in the content of these same broadcasts. Simultaneously experienced, the individual and collective cojoined in ways that impacted reactions to the broadcast. In particular, I highlight the way mediated social events encouraged those present to construct meaning out of the mediated texts collectively and interactionally. This included public remarks and casual conversations about national tendencies in soccer that mimicked those made in the media analyzed in preceding three chapters. However, my observations also pointed to a heightened significance of masculinity in this space not presents in the commentary. One of the more common interactions involved the use of comments, chants, and gestures that emasculated opposing team players and fans. I theoretically frame these insults within the literature on sport as a prominent component of leisure among men (Messner, 1992; Rowe, 1997) and the sports bar as one of the quintessential spaces for its enactment (Wenner, 1997).

This chapter contributes to the overall project by revealing how media texts become bound in human social relations that impact the way we learn within one possible, but increasingly popular (Wenner, 1997, 86; Weed, 2006, 77-79), viewing context. The dialogical nature of the experience reveals that although the broadcasts and the information provided by them were central to subsequent behavior, so too were the surrounding social context and the identities brought to it by patrons. Thus, I contribute to sociological understanding of how media becomes a significant part of the everyday social world by showing how the information contained in the mediated texts became a part of the social relations and conversations among patrons.

VIRTUAL FANDOM: WATCHING SOCCER AS MEDIATED SOCIAL EVENT

I observed virtual fandom in two nationally-distinct sites, providing two different environments for observing fans' interaction with and consumption of mediated representations of the tournament. The *Soccer Pub* offered a chance to observe in the United States at a location that catered to a nationally diverse array of spectators. The *biergarten*, along with the rest of my week in Germany that summer, provided an opportunity to observe these interactions within the host nation itself, in particular the substantial support Germany's national team received. Amongst the multitude of behaviors I observed, three stood out for their consistency across settings, particular fan sets, and tournament context (e.g. first round game versus semifinals). These included showing up early to claim the best seating, using visual iconography to mark team allegiances, and engaging in various collectively-oriented cheers, including those sometimes aimed at opposing fan bases. Even those not stylistically identified as fans²⁵ participated in establishing a hierarchy of space and collective cheers (including myself),

²⁵ Those I identified as supporters on the basis of style I refer to throughout this chapter as "supporters" (e.g. "German supporters," "U.S. supporters"). I use "spectators" when speaking about those not identified stylistically but engaged with the broadcast and I use "patrons" when referring to both groups together. The former group made up any where from one-fifth to nearly of three-quarters depending on the particular match and setting and thus always made a noticeable presence at the two sites.

although those visually marked as fans were more likely to engage with opposing supporters. Collectively, these three aspects structured much of the spatial, temporal, visual, auditorial, and emotional character of both sites.

Time and Space in Virtual Fandom: Searching for the Best Seat in the House

Although largely unspoken, behaviorally fans created a hierarchy of space at both fieldsites wherein patrons claimed positions in an orderly and predictable manner that simultaneously displayed fandom for others and the central importance of the broadcast to their presence. Over time, I was able to construct a series of informal ‘rules’ that governed seating choices. Within this hierarchy of space, certain positions were deemed more valuable and thus taken first, often far in advance of the broadcast itself, while others were passed over until no other positions were available. In this sub-section, I analyze how this search for the best seat in the house expressed important aspects about the act of media consumption in these spaces.

The first tier of positions included any tables or chairs positioned with head-on, direct views of the monitors displaying the game (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2). These unimpeded views allowed the visual and auditory information provided by the broadcast to become a central component of spectator’s sensory experience of the site. The second tier of positions comprised seats and tables that, while having a view of the monitors, were farther away, at poor angles, or with minor obstructions. These inconveniences (straining the eyes, awkwardly twisting the neck, partial views and sound) prevented the more central place of the broadcast of the first tier, but still allowed for a good deal of exposure. Patrons seated in these two tiers, in a behavioral indication of the importance of the broadcast, frequently arranged all chairs at their circular tables to one side, so as to be able to watch the same monitor together even though this led to inconvenient crowding. If none of the seated positions were available and the crowd was large

enough, patrons created a third tier of positions. These included impromptu seats made out of window sills, planter boxes, railing, and the floor, as well as standing positions in the remaining minimal space. Like the second tier, these positions offered poor views but were also physically uncomfortable to maintain for the two-plus hours that a match could last. In the case of standing positions, one also ran the risk of blocking the view of those seated or getting in the way of the busy wait staff.

This search for the best seat in the house occurred almost exclusively as behavior, underscoring the importance of nonverbal negotiations for claiming prime space. However, on occasion this negotiation of space manifested as conversation. One example occurred during the semifinal game between Italy and Germany, watched in the Soccer Pub, wherein patrons were forced to take third tier positions because of overcrowding. Waiting for the match to start, I observed two tables engage in an emotional exchange that made clear the importance that patrons put into their seating, especially the view of the monitors this afforded, and their extensive efforts to obtain such positions:

Just before the game kicks off an older (40ish) white male in a Polo style collared shirt and slacks tries to adjust one of the monitors so that it is turned more towards his table. Immediately a number of people to my left and behind me begin to yell at him. He explains that they have another monitor to watch. They retort that that one is too close and that they had chosen their seat based on viewing the monitor he is adjusting. He yells back for them to change the angle of their seats to get a better view. (fieldnotes, 7.04.06)

Next to some of the interactions between opposing fan groups (described below) this was one of the most heated exchanges I observed. In an even more explicit example of how space becomes valued in the sports bar, upon returning from the restroom during halftime of a crowded game, an

older (50ish) white male at the table behind me joked “*I could have sold your seat for \$50!*” (fieldnotes, 6.09.06).

Because I arrived so early I was able to observe the progressive filling of spaces as kickoff approached. Patrons arrived as both individuals and in groups. However, claims to seating were based upon time of arrival, meaning it was not uncommon for all of the tables, but not all of the chairs, in the first tier to be claimed. This created a choice for the next wave of patrons. If not meeting someone already present with spot reserved, they had two apparent choices: ask to sit in a prime spot with a stranger or claim a table in the second tier of seating. As a general rule, in these situations patrons would typically claim the best available unclaimed table in the second tier. However, as the second tier filled up, sharing a first tier position became a more common tactic. If the crowd was large enough – as it often was on weekends or holidays, for games of great importance (e.g. semifinals and final) or involving teams with large local support networks - similar negotiations occurred for second and third tier spaces. In an indication of just how undesirable the latter positions were, third tier positions only filled once all positions in the first and second group were taken. During the most crowded games several patrons turned and left upon seeing their limited seating options.

Despite the different physical layout of the two fieldsites, the patterns described above manifested in both spaces, albeit with slight divergences specific to each space.²⁶ The Soccer Pub (Figure 7.1), like the modern sports bar in general, contained many television monitors at opposing angles to maximize viewability (see Eastman and Land, 1997) and thus, offered more positions I designated as first tier. However, the different viewing options and rooms also created some sub-distinctions within this first grouping. Those seats nearest the largest monitor (a very

²⁶ Interestingly, although the analysis above was limited to two settings, I also observed similar behavior while waiting to catch a flight in both the Frankfurt and Washington, DC airport, as well as several restaurants while in Germany.

large letterbox style flat screen located in the main interior room) were the most desirable and usually were claimed first. In addition, the medium-sized interior room decorated like an English tavern catered to “regulars” (see Wenner, 1997, 78) and often filled with standing patrons even when some seats were still available. At the biergarten (Figure 7.2), the seating was arranged around a single, large projection screen, but patrons nevertheless followed similar rules. The first positions taken were those nearest the screen, followed by those seats at the back, and finally standing positions and impromptu seats to the side and behind the tables.

Time also formed a central component of gaining the best seat in the house, one that transversed and merged with the spatial valuation of seating. Because the demand for first-tier seating outstripped the supply, a rush was created wherein to secure a valued seat one must show up far in advance of the kickoff and be willing to expend the extra currency (measured in the tab built up over time) to make one’s presence legitimate in the eyes of the establishment. This, in turn, adds a temporal aspect to fandom in mediated spaces. Gaining an ideal seat relates to one’s ability to show up early. The link between time of arrival, seat claimed, and fandom was made explicit in one particular conversation I overheard. Waiting for the final to start at 2PM, I and several hundred others were forced to stand in the least desirable third tier positions. This became a subject of conversation between two males standing in front of me:

The taller one is especially impressed with the crowd. “What do you think of this?” he says leaning his head towards the crowd without spilling his drink. “I thought it would be crowded, but not like this.” His neighbor replies while nodding. “I got here at 12:30 and all the tables were taken,” the taller one continues “I guess you have to be here at 12:00 to be a real fan!” [7.09.06]

Here the logic of showing up early is explicitly connected back to the degree of fan devotion.

The dedicated fan knows what time the game starts, what time they must arrive at to get a desirable seat, and is willing to make sacrifices, whether in the form of suspending other social activities and duties or paying extra money for time spent in the pub, to secure desirable seating.

In sum, although largely unspoken, behaviorally fans created a hierarchy of space at both fieldsites wherein showing up early to claim the best seat in the house became both a symbolic representation and material manifestation of fan dedication. Having possession of a prime seat indicated to other patrons present the depth of one's fandom, the ability to re-arrange the daily schedule in order to accommodate viewing the game, and a willingness to afford the extra expenditures such an incursion cost. In this sense, the choice of seating communicated with other fans. However, the primacy given to positions closest to the displayed broadcast and the value patrons assigned to them suggests the importance of the broadcast to the effort given to showing up. It largely structured when patrons arrived, where they sat, how they arranged themselves, and even influenced some of their interactions with each other.

Visual Iconography in Virtual Fandom: Dressing like a Fan of Somewhere

By far the most overt way of expressing one's status as fan of a particular team involved stylistic displays centered on visual iconography, especially in the form of fashion and dress. At the club team level, fashion-oriented displays have been interpreted by some fans as a sign of inauthenticity and commercialization (King, 2003; Giulianotti, 2002), however in the international context visual iconography remains a primary means of publicly identifying team affiliation and distinguishing one set of supporters from another (Giulianotti, 2005; Hay and Joel, 2007). Through this visual iconography, patrons communicated national allegiances to others, and, during particularly heated moments in the game, identified to whom taunts and banter

should be directed. In this sub-section, I analyze how visual iconography added to the live game-like atmosphere that greatly enhanced the collective portion of the dialogical experience.

All stylistic expressions shared the prominent display of colors found in national flags or on national team uniforms. By far most common was the nationally-colored shirt, which could either come in the form of the more expensive replica jersey (usually with a player name and number on back) or the generic t-shirt occasionally adorned with other nationally relevant symbols (name of country, image of flag, etc.). Other forms of dress included scarves and hats adorned in national colors and symbols. Fans also brought with them flags, ranging from the enormous carried on large poles (more common in Germany) to the hand-held attached to a dowel rod (more common in U.S.). Flags could also be turned into dress by tying them around the neck, allowing them to drape over the back like a cape. Finally, some fans expressed national affiliation stylistically by applying paint to the skin, especially the face. Those using visual iconography made up anywhere from one-fifth to nearly of three-quarters depending on the particular match and setting and thus always made a noticeable presence at the two sites.

Germany provided a particularly interesting encounter with these stylistic displays. Because Dresden did not host any World Cup games, support was more limited to matches involving Germany, although I did observe several individuals dressed in colors suggesting allegiances with Australia, Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, and Sweden throughout the city and at the biergarten. The two matches I observed involving Germany while in that country brought out these stylistic displays from early in the morning on game day, peaking during the game itself. The Round of 16 match against Sweden, observed in the biergarten, contained virtually all of the visual symbols seen over the course of the month in one discrete setting:

Many carried very large German flags (6' by 4') connected to large plastic or metal rods. Also common were hats, some of the baseball style with flags or "Deutschland" written on the front; others of what I call the "jester" style (4 or 5 floppy pointed spikes in red, black, and yellow); elongated top hats; and some in the shape of soccer balls with German colors on top. Also common were scarves with black, red, and yellow running parallel across the long axis. Shirts were the most common. This could include the traditional white German strip with a very thin band of black, red, and yellow trim as well as shirts that simply spelled "Deutschland" across the front. A number of people had used black, red, and yellow paint. Most common was on the cheek, although some also had it on the chest, back, and legs. (fieldnotes, 6.04.06)

Significantly, club oriented colors and insignias (which would have signaled differing allegiances) were completely absent in this context.

Stylistic displays communicated to other patrons present which nation particular fans supported. The arrival of fans dressed in this way often aroused a response from those already present, contributing to a heightened atmosphere. While waiting for the start of the USA-Czech Republic game in the Soccer Pub, four fans dressed even more intricately than most received a particularly positive response:

A group of 4 (20ish) white males show up. All are wearing Uncle Sam-style glittering red, white, and blue top hats, with faces painted in the same colors, and an American flag draped around their necks like a cape. Their entrance brings a short, loud clap and some whistling from those on the outdoor patio as they pass through to the interior. (fieldnotes, 6.12.06)

It was not just the more outrageous stylistic presentations that received recognition. In a particularly fervent example from the Germany-Italy semifinal – also observed in the Soccer Pub -, a fan's rather ordinary (within this setting) stylistic display led to starkly different reactions from opposing fan groups:

A German supporter walks in with a white national team jersey and a flag over his shoulders like a cape. A number of tables made up of German supporters let out a brief cheer and some claps. Another table, where a number of Italian fans are seated, responds with some low and extended boos. The German fan twists his torso and head towards the booing table, frowns, and then heads inside. (fieldnotes, 7.04.06)

This incident not only communicated this fan's allegiances to others. The opposing reactions he received also marked those tables engaged in them as fans of a particular team, as well.

In sum, visual iconography formed a major component of fandom in this context. The externally visible markings of stylistic displays let others present know that one was not just a fan of soccer, but a fan of a specific national team. In this sense, style primarily communicated with other patrons, aligning them with those who supported the same team or separating them from those who wore different colors or insignias. Occasionally the display of iconography elicited responses from others, either in support of, or in opposition to, the displayed allegiance. Collectively such incidents contributed to a heightened atmosphere more like that found within and around the stadiums hosting the game.

Expressive Acts of Virtual Fandom: Singing, Even When You're Not Winning

At both the biergarten and Soccer Pub fans engaged in collective acts of cheering, singing, and chanting that expressed allegiances to a particular national team. These involved collective expressive acts within one's own fan group (most common) as well as those aimed

directly at opposing fans. In this sub-section, I show how expressive acts of fandom, like visual incongruity, contributed to the partial re-creation of live game atmosphere and interactions among patrons that enhanced the collective portion of the experience.

Incidents like these filled my fieldnotes, but three general game situations produced more sustained, collective reactions from the crowd because of their ability to greatly influence the outcome of games: goals, near-misses, and fouls. Goals in particular punctuate the different turning points of the game, wherein a team establishes dominance or stakes a comeback. Goals therefore produce the most vivid celebrations. Whereas passes, dribbles, and tackles could be followed by abrupt, individualized reactions, such as brief claps or a statement such as “nice pass,” goals produce the most sustained, collective reaction of all, often lasting upwards of two minutes and joined in by those who, stylistically and behaviorally, appeared to support no team in particular (including myself). Because the fully initiated fan can see the chance developing during the buildup, the goal is anticipated, creating a kind of collective gulp where the normally loud environment gets suddenly quiet and bodies tense up in preparation to react. For neutrals and supporters of the scoring team, a goal involves a louder, more intense form of clapping and high pitched “hey”s. It was common for individuals to stand during the entire celebration, to raise both hands straight up in the air over the head as if signaling a field goal in American football, or to wave flags briskly back and forth. Supporters of the team scored on react quite differently. Typical behavior included sulking back into their seats, placing the hands on one of several facial regions (the hair, mouth, and chin being most common), taking a cathartic drink, and generally remaining quiet as others celebrated.

The reaction to a near-miss often began with the same moment of anticipation as the goal, but ended with an expression of disappointment, disgust, or despair. The sounds made are deep,

low-pitched “ooh’s” rather than excited “hey’s” and are of shorter duration than cheers following a goal. During Germany’s game against Poland I had a particularly good view of both the monitor and a table of German supporters in front of me:

As the chance starts to open up a German fan in front of me reacts by placing both of his hands on the arms of the chair and squeezing the muscles until tense and taught. As the shot leaves the striker’s foot, he raises himself out of the seat so that he is hovering barely an inch out of the chair (ready to jump up and celebrate in the event of a goal). As the shot rises above and beyond the crossbar, he releases the muscles in his arms, slumps back into the chair, and lets out a slight moan. The two other males at the table shake their heads back and forth. They turn to each other with a slight raise of the eyebrow and engage in an inaudible, brief dialogue. A young female at the table, places her hand over her open mouth and holds it there through the numerous replays. (fieldnotes, 6.14.06)

Interestingly, as with the other expressive acts of fandom I observed, this one appeared to derive as a specific response to the auditory and visual information of the broadcast, yet the broadcast generated not just an isolated reaction, but a social one shared by those at the table. In this way, the mediated text and the representation of the social world contained within it became a part of the interaction within fan groups through the mutual interest it could generate.

Fouls called by referees, especially those that involved a penalty or a card, also produced sustained collective responses from the crowd. However, when compared to the reactions to goals and near-misses, fouls encouraged far more contentious reactions. Whereas most goals are incontrovertible, fouls almost always can be interpreted in starkly different ways. These varying reactions led to some of those moments wherein fans overtly acknowledged each others simultaneous presence in the same space and their differing interests. At times, these interactions

between opposing fan groups involved taunting, as was the case during Italy's semifinal against Germany, which I observed in the Soccer Pub:

Whenever an Italian player falls to ground and the monitors show the replay, German fans let out an extended high-pitched "aaahhh" (the type expressed in earnest for an infant or in sarcasm for someone one behaving in an infantile manner)... This time the German supporter nearest me stands, faces the table of Italian supporters, and rubs his right eye as if crying while the "aaahhh" noises ring out. Some fellow German supporters at the tables around him chuckle lightly... [a few minutes later], after another Italian player has fallen to the ground, the German supporters begin a sarcastic "Italia!" chant. A young (20ish) male with Italian flag draped over the shoulders stands up in his chair, turns towards the German table, and flips two 'birds' which he holds for some time. (fieldnotes, 7.04.06)

Not all interactions among opposing fan groups generated by fouls were as contentious or predicated on taunting as the preceding example. I observed a very playful interaction among a table of neighboring French and Italian supporters following Zidane's infamous headbutt of Materazzi²⁷ in which they exchanged laughs and smiles while watching the replays (fieldnotes, 7.09.06). However, what both contentious and friendly interactions held in common was the ability to heighten the affective feelings of membership in one's own national group and estrangement from other national groups.

In sum, cheering, singing, chanting, and even taunting provided opportunities for those present to interact with each other through the medium of national allegiances as members of a

²⁷ For those unfamiliar with the event, French player Zinedine Zidane made contact with his head in the chest region of Italian player Marco Materazzi. Zidane was ejected for the act and severely criticized after the game. The incident was considered particularly contentious not just because of the violent play but because it came at such a significant point in the World Cup final.

particular group in favor of one team or another. Yet, because the mediated broadcast of the match frequently served as the catalyst for these reactions, media became bound up in the subsequent social relations that impacted the social experience of their consumption of the media text.

Crowd Dynamics and Virtual Fandom

Because both the Soccer Pub and biergarten always drew in a large enough number of patrons to take up all first and some of the second tier, all three aspects of fandom were always in operation to some degree. However, when patrons outnumbered the seats available, all three aspects were greatly heightened. There was, of course, a strictly quantitative aspect to this dynamic. However, a large crowd also brought about a sensual change that encouraged more collectively-oriented behavior, such as the reactions to goals, near-misses, and fouls described above. I experienced this in a very personal way during my time in Dresden when a round of 16 game involving the German national team brought out one of the largest crowds I observed during my time in the field. Despite showing up 45 minutes before kickoff, Kevin (a friend) and I were forced to sit at opposite ends of the *biergarten* in the last remaining seats:

When the German national anthem began, people around me immediately rose to a standing position. I remained seated momentarily thinking to myself that those around me must surely know I'm not German and so not obliged to stand. But everyone around me was standing. The social pressure was too intense. I stood up myself and remained standing and silently reverent throughout. (At halftime, I talked to Kevin about it, mentioning that I had stood up. His answer indicated he felt the social pressure and stood as well: "No sense getting your ass kicked the last day here." Makes perfect sense to me.)
(fieldnotes, 6.24.06)

Still, the qualitative changes to the environment brought on by a large crowd were particularly apparent, not during crowded periods (that, especially as the tournament progressed, became the norm), but during those rare moments when the numbers present were more minimal. This came to light during a Sunday morning (9AM) game involving Netherlands and Serbia-Montenegro for which the Soccer Pub was about half full:

[late in 1st half] People seem lethargic. There are few cheers or claps for play on the pitch like on previous days and even the celebrations for the Dutch goal are short and muted compared to what I've become accustomed to (even by the Dutch supporters scattered throughout)... People are sitting farther apart because of the smaller numbers. Tables are not engaging in conversations with one another but just staring at the screen without moving or reacting much. (fieldnotes, 6.11.06)

As indicated by the last sentence, the different spatial dynamics created by a less dense crowd decreased the likelihood of fans engaging with each other either in conversation. Unlike the environment described in Germany above, there was little incentive to engage in collective reactions to incidents during the game. Interestingly, these lulls in crowd size were the only moments I observed wherein patrons ignored or did not play full attention to the broadcast (e.g. talking on phone, reading the paper, on a laptop/pda).

During most periods, however, patrons not only paid attention to the broadcast, they interacted with each other through their mutual interest in it. In these moments, the auditory and visual information supplied by the broadcast acted as a cue for subsequent behavior. The collective responses to goals, near-misses, and fouls described above denote one example of this interaction. Similarly, during a particularly raucous game involving England and Portugal, one moment in the game brought the usually active bar to a standstill:

35 minutes in Beckham gets a chance for a free kick from a promising position. The bar becomes noticeably quiet to where I can hear a few far off conversations. Even the wait staff, normally constantly buzzing around, stop to watch. The ball sails way over the bar, and the wait staff and noise level returns to its usual state. (fieldnotes, 7.01.06)

Similarly, German Chancellor Angela Merkel's reaction to a German goal received laughs from the mostly male audience of the biergarten as did coach Jürgen Klinsman's run-jump down the sidelines in celebration of the same (fieldnotes, 6.20.06). At times the audio portion of the broadcast induced similar collective reactions. For example, I observed several instances in both the biergarten and the Soccer Pub where bar patrons heard chants from fans inside the stadium through the audio feed and joined in to create a synchronous cheer.

Summing up Fandom in Mediated Spaces

The three aspects of fandom described above inform how behavior in the two mediated spaces I observed impacted the process through which the broadcast became bound up in social relations between patrons. All three, in their own way, showed that *the act of individually consuming the broadcast was intertwined with the social experience surrounding its consumption*. There was a dialogical interplay between the sensorial experience of the mediated sounds and sights of the monitors and collective engagement with a temporary community of fellow sport spectators in public space. The importance of the displayed broadcast within the hierarchy of space suggests the importance of the mediated event to the effort made at showing up in this public venue. Yet, once in this space patrons engaged not just with the mediated event, but with each other verbally and non-verbally through choice of seating, visual iconography, and expressive acts of fandom that communicated to those present national allegiances, depth of fandom, and differing interpretations of the events unfolding on screen. This dialogical interplay

is perhaps most clear regarding expressive acts of fandom. Game incidents routed via the broadcast served as the catalyst for individual and collective reactions that subsequently engaged patrons with or against each other. In this way, both media content and the surrounding social context influenced the immediate reactions of fans in this setting.

TALKING ABOUT NATIONALITY THROUGH SOCCER: INTERESTS AND CLAIMS

Given the analysis of media texts presented in Chapters 4 through 6, I was particularly interested in how patrons perceived the relationship between soccer and nationality, especially the idea of a national playing style as so frequently articulated in the media. However, rather than solicit comments on this subject among those gathered in the Soccer Pub²⁸, I waited for moments when these claims might be expressed as a part of the typical interactions in this setting. As Weed (2006, 80) noted, the sports bar tends to allow for “sociability” (Simmel, 1949) among those present centered around mutual interest in the sporting event (also see, Giulianotti, 2005). In addition, patrons frequently made remarks of this type that were audible to all those in the surrounding area. In this context, solicitation proved unnecessary.

Given the demographics of the pub (roughly two-thirds male), it was not surprising that this sociability took place primarily among men. However, men’s dominance of this space was more thorough and formative. Women in this space I observed wore visual iconography that displayed their allegiances, engaged in expressive acts of celebration with other fans, and otherwise expressed dedication to and interest in the matches in a manner similar to men, but only rarely expressed comments publicly, at a volume specifically intended to be heard by most in the immediate proximity. These public comments and interactions also involved aggressive exchanges (such as shouting, flipping the bird, etc) or insults aimed at devaluing the masculinity,

²⁸ Language limitations prevented a similar analysis in Germany.

a pattern typical among men and boys (Coates, 2003). In this way, men came to dominate the public space of the Soccer Pub setting to a degree that outweighed their numerical presence.

Overview of Nationality Claims

Most comments by patrons about nationality took the form of statements about national playing style similar to those documented in the media in preceding chapters wherein certain behaviors were expected and their lack of manifestation led to surprise. Most comments of this type were very brief, typically no more than one sentence or phrase in length and followed directly from an event on screen. For example, a patron at a table behind me exclaimed “*that guy is fast*” just after an Ivorian player completed a run towards the Argentinean goal (fieldnotes, 6.10.06) and a Brazilian fan directed a compliment about the English national team to one of their supporters standing next to him: “*Their defense was so solid.*” (fieldnotes, 7.01.06).

Commercials also served as a catalyst for claims about both entire teams and individual players. For example, because of the dense early crowd for the USA-Czech Republic game I shared a table with a U.S. supporter, an older (50ish) white male. During the hour wait for the start of the match we conversed about soccer until a commercial featuring Ronaldinho appeared on screen:

The TV is showing a new commercial involving Ronaldinho. Frank states “To root for Brazil is to root for the game at its penultimate.” Referring to another advert, Frank asks me if I have seen the commercial with Eric Cantona and Ronaldinho with the latter playing futsal [an indoor version of soccer popular in Brazil] as a kid. I say I have. He states “Ronaldinho hasn’t grown at all” and smiles. (fieldnotes, 6.12.06)

However, not all examples occurred directly after prompting by the broadcast. For example, an older (50ish) Black male with a Caribbean accent conversed with me about a World Cup pool run by the Soccer Pub in which he had entered. This contest allowed patrons to not only pick the

winning team, but – for extra points – the scoreline as well. With the halftime score locked at 2-1 in favor of Germany he explained his logic for choosing Germany as 3-0 winners: *“I thought Germany would be scoring with head balls all game long.”* (fieldnotes, 6.09.06).

The majority of the time, as in the examples above, supporters directed comments at teams or players with whom they did not share national affiliation. On occasion some claims did specifically address one’s own national team. For example, when Germany used David Odonkor (only the second player of African descent to represent the national team) as a substitute one German fan said to another at his table *“He’s very fast and skillful. A lot like Messi²⁹”* (fieldnotes, 6.30.06). Similarly, a U.S. supporter behind me complained about his team’s athletic performance against the Czech Republic: *“They’re beating us to every ball. I thought we would at least outpace ‘em”* (fieldnotes, 6.12.06).

Talk about nationality at the Soccer Pub articulated claims largely in concurrence with the general discourse surrounding soccer articulated in the media and established in the preceding chapters. German players were expected to be physically strong, African players fast, and those from “Latin regions” exciting to watch but immature. Perhaps most tellingly, *none* of the claims made by patrons directly contradicted any of the stylistic archetypes developed through the media analysis. Although as a portion of the total time spent in the field this type of talk was minimal, it made up the bulk of the public conversations that took place in this context. That is, claims about nationality via the national team were a part of the collective conversational realm in public space, and closely mimicked talk about nationality in media coverage. In this way, the talk about nationality through soccer appears to have much in common with the media texts studied previously.

²⁹ Lionel Messi was a member of the 2006 Argentine national team despite being only 18 years old at the time. Journalists in this sample described him “the 18-year-old wunderkind” (Hughes, June 17, 2006) and the “teenage phenomenon” (Hirshey, June 4, 2006) who “hurts defenses with speed and dribbling” (Bell, June 8, 2006).

Yanks and football: A sport too far?

This also applied to a very specific form of discourse that surrounded the United States and its relationship to soccer and the World Cup. Outside of the one remark within the previous sub-section, all remarks about the United States involved the off-field issue of American awkwardness with soccer, in particular the quality of the television broadcast. Such claims touched upon the ambivalent relationship to soccer discussed in the preceding chapter.

Although ESPN/ABC used one crew of announcers not U.S.-born (Adrian Healey [England] and Tommy Smyth [Ireland]) during 2006, patrons commenting on this phenomenon always specified “*American* announcers” or “*American* coverage.” For example, while waiting for the England-Portugal quarterfinal I overheard a conversation among five male patrons there to support England. With the match about to begin, the sound, which up to that point had been too low to hear, was turned up. Following the first audible sentence from the announcers, a young (early 30s) Black male in an Arsenal replica turned to the group and said, in a heavy English accent, “*I can’t stand the American announcers, especially Balboa*” (fieldnotes, 7.01.06). This comment was particularly interesting because the group of five he addressed included two Americans. His statement expressed no trepidation in making this statement despite their presence, and they offered no challenge to this claim. American awkwardness with broadcasting soccer became the primary subject of an extensive, 30 minute long conversation with Shane, who, although born in Germany to Norwegian and American parents, grew up in the U.S. and held American citizenship. Drawing upon his experiences from overseas, Shane commented on the American mode of announcing while waiting for a game to start:

He explains that that American coverage of soccer is “too individualistic.” Coverage in Europe tends to emphasize the team so that when star players are mentioned, they are

talked about within the framework of the team. In American soccer coverage, he complains, “they announce it like an individual sport” with lots of individual statistics that are ultimately meaningless in such a team sport... [1st half] Shane leans to me and says: “That’s another difference: U.S. announcers never shut up. There’s no dead space. And there’s always a lot of stuff on the screen too.” Just as the conversation seems to be dieing out, the television announcer (O’Brien) states “In soccer, you can’t touch the ball with your hands.” We turn to each other, share a brief glance, and smile. He says “See?!?” and we both laugh. (fieldnotes, 6.10.06)

In a mode similar to other comments of this type, Shane’s criticism of the American announcers centered on their perceived inability to articulate the sport in a linguistic format pleasing to the viewer. However, Shane’s comments also indicated problems with the production itself, specifically the claim that there was “a lot of stuff on the screen.” Advertisements, statistics, demographic information about the country’s playing, and a rolling “ticker” providing scores from other sports all appeared as graphics at various times and could – like comments about the most basic rules of play – constitute ‘unnecessary information’ that detracted from the viewing experience.

Thus, for many of the patrons of the Soccer Pub, American coverage of the sport (linguistically and visually in terms of graphics) expressed an unfamiliarity and awkwardness that marked the U.S.’s relationship to soccer as unique and different from the much of the rest of the world. In addition, this reiterates the point developed in previous chapters that the primary idea mitigating the United States relationship to soccer is one of discomfort, awkwardness, and ambiguity.

Symbolic Castration: Emasculating the Opponent

Although much of the talk about nationality through soccer, like that described above, involved rather brief, isolated comments, at times this talk became more intense, collective, and extended. During these moments, the talk shifted from making claims about team or individual abilities to talk aimed at the *emasculation of opponents*, whether fans or players. Although female patrons made up a portion of each national fan base present, I only observed this type of banter among male patrons. A particularly fervent example occurred over the course of England's quarterfinal match with Portugal. Watching the game in the Soccer Pub with mostly England supporters (a handful of fans in Brazilian yellow cheered lightly for Portugal throughout), I observed a collectively-driven interpretation of and response to the performance of Portuguese players as displayed within the television broadcast:

The England supporters throughout the interior, but especially in my immediate vicinity, are jeering the Portuguese players and the referee for what they perceive to be "simulation" (FIFA's term for when a player dives, or simulates being fouled). In one example, Figo, the Portuguese captain, falls down and boos and whistles erupt throughout the bar. When Figo's face is shown again on screen someone behind me yells "wanker." The South Asian England supporter next to me expresses his agreement "He's a tosser"... [2nd half] Once again Figo and especially Ronaldo are singled out for harsh treatment. Every time they fall down or are shown in close-up fans boo, whistle, and jeer, often adding in insults like "wanker," "poof," or "tosser." A picture of Ronaldo on screen induces a "Sell him!" from my right and "Pretty boy!" from behind... [Later in half] A replay that shows Maniche falling to ground, clutching his face when contact was made in the chest region, draws particular ire. The South Asian English fan states loudly

“That’s what they do. All the Portuguese dive without any contact. That’s all they know how to do.” The Black and White male English supporters in front nod their heads.

(fieldnotes, 7.01.06)

As this example reveals, comments of this type had an additive, compounding effect, so that once one comment about an opponent had been made public, others quickly followed suit. The heightened emotional intensity of these moments impacted the affective reactions to the match. In this way, the crowd dynamics greatly impacted the subsequent reactions of patrons to the televised broadcast.

English supporters were not the only ones to use this technique of emasculation. The sarcastic “aaahhh” and eye rubbing directed by German fans at both Italian players and fans (see pp 189-90) also reflects this sentiment through the symbolic detachment of highly-prized expressions of masculinity from outward emotional expression, especially in the form of crying. I also observed Italian fans question an apparent injury suffered by French striker Thierry Henry within the first minutes of the final. Later in overtime of the same match, as the screen displayed a picture of Henry heading off the field after being substituted, patrons at the same table yelled out “*Pussy!*” (fieldnotes, 7.09.06). Emasculation also extended to the referee as a way of vocalizing disagreement with a call against one’s own team. A perceived poor call against England led their supporters into a well-known chant that involved yelling “the referee’s a wanker” three times in unison before ending with “and he takes it in the arse” (fieldnotes, 6.10.06).

As the examples above makes clear, emasculation involved the devaluing an opponents masculinity by claiming they have strayed from hegemonic norms by assigning them feminine or homosexual tendencies. Terms such as pussy emasculate the opponent symbolically through

feminization by associating them with female genitalia. That many of these statements followed incidents where players went to ground or expressed pain after coming in to contact with opposing players also indicates that the performances of the athletes themselves were feminized. Because hegemonic masculinity in sport involves “toughness” as expressed through a desire to engage in a physical exchange of pain and the ability to publicly deny its effects (Cricher, 1991: 73; Maguire, 1999; Messner and Sabo 1994), to show that pain or be willing to fake it in order to gain advantage over an opponent breaks with this behavioral code, aligning the opponent with a devalued, feminized form of masculinity. This reveals the way the female/feminine becomes linked through opposition to the male/masculine within the overall field of gender, with the latter as dominant pole (Connell, 1995).

Terms such as wanker, tosser, and poof as well as the prominence of homosexuality within the chant directed at the referee point to the importance of sexuality as a component of emasculation. In these instances, the (from the heteronormative point of view) less than virile sexual acts of masturbation and homosexual contact became symbolically contrasted with the unstated, but highly valued heterosexual conquest of females. Not coincidentally, the chant involving the referee specifically references that particular act of homosexuality, the ‘passive’ reception of penetration, which most explicitly breaks with the norms of hegemonic masculinity and its heteronormativity. This reveals the presence of an axis of power within masculinity itself organized around hetero- and homosexuality (Rowe, 1997, 124), with the former as dominant and the latter as stigmatized or subordinated (Connell, 1995). Interestingly, emasculation only occurred in response to the performances of players and teams from ‘Latin’ regions, suggesting that notions of masculinity among fans, much like those discussed in the realm of media

coverage, are partially informed by mutually constitutive understanding of nationality, race, and gender.

Emasculation of opponents points to the heightened significance of masculinity in this space. As a place that incorporates two key aspects of the “often segregated leisure patterns of men” (Rowe, 1997: 123) - sport (Messner, 1992: 91) and alcohol consumption (Gough and Edwards, 1998) - the sports bar occupies a prominent place in the “sexual geography” of space (Wenner, 1997). Although the sports bar helps to orient men’s relationships with each other by providing a place where men can engage in “covert intimacy” with fellow males without fear of the stigma attached to emotional closeness or homosexuality (Messner, 1992: 92), this highly masculinized environment also raises issues derived from being on stage in front of other men, in particular “men’s concerns over how their masculinity is evaluated by other men” (Wenner, 1997: 74). As a number of studies in other contexts have shown (Curry, 1991; Fine, 1987a 1987b; Muir and Seitz, 2004; Messner, 2003: 30-42; Nylund, 2007), adult and adolescent males negotiate these situations by engaging in “competitive banter” (Coates, 2004: 104), that often involves “perpetual denial, subjugation and exclusion of the feminine – as symbolized by both women and homosexual men” (Johnson, 1997: 22; also see, Pascoe, 2007). Thus, the presence of emasculation of opponents in the Soccer Pub reveals the heightened significance of a field of related masculinities within this space and the importance of masculine identity in providing the basis for reactions to the mediated social event. Here men performed masculinity for (primarily) other men’s consumption and invoked a symbolic structure that devalued the feminine and homosexual as outside of the bonds of idealized masculinity.

Summing up Talk about Nationality through Soccer

My ethnography of the Soccer Pub showed that talk about nationality through soccer manifested as part of the collectively-shared conversational realm within this space. When patrons engaged in this type of talk they expressed the view that nations possessed unique ways of playing or relating to the sport in ways that mimicked claims made within media coverage documented in previous chapters. That is, journalists and patrons appeared to share a common discourse about nationality and ability via the World Cup. This talk, like the three aspects of virtual fandom, expressed features of the dialogical nature of the experience. Although the broadcast often served as catalyst, cue, or stimulus for subsequent claims about nationality through soccer, the reception of these broadcasts were also greatly impacted by the surrounding social context, in particular the behavior of other patrons, as well as already-formed identities (especially national and masculine) brought to the Soccer Pub.

CHAPTER DISCUSSION

The three aspects of virtual fandom coupled with the way patrons talked about nationality illustrate several key features about the consumption media texts that, in turn, have implications for understanding how mediated representations of the social world become bound up in human social relations that impact how we learn. Empirical work that explores the themes present in media texts often makes the assumption that these texts will be decoded in isolation, much as they are coded by the researcher. However, as I have shown here, when media is consumed as a social event – as it is in the space of the sports bar – these texts and the themes within them become part of a shared public script among patrons. The dialogical interplay between the personalized experience of viewing the media format and collective engagement with a temporary community of fellow sport spectators provided opportunities for patrons to construct

meaning collectively and interactionally unavailable to the private viewer. Thus, I was able to specify how the media format (Brummett and Duncan, 1990; Duncan and Brummett 1989) and the social context of its consumption (Eastman and Land 1997; Radway, [1984] 1991a 1991b) influenced immediate reactions to mediated texts.

Similarly, I was also able to shed some light on how identities brought to the act of consumption impacted reactions to these broadcasts. As previous reception studies have pointed out, audience members bring already formed identities to the act of consumption that impact the meaning they make out of texts produced by the mass media (Hall, 1980; Jhally and Lewis, 1992; McQuail, 1994). Because my methodological design depended primarily on unobtrusive observations, I was not aware of how patrons self-identified. However, national team affiliation³⁰ and male identity became salient in the behavioral reactions of patrons in this public space. National team affiliation impacted how discrete events within the game and final outcomes would be interpreted. Patrons made few generalizations about the teams they supported, but more freely made such claims about teams of different national affiliations from themselves. I observed several instances where members of racial or ethnic minority groups within particular nations cheered for their national team and against opposing national groups, thus aligning themselves with their nationally similar, but racially different compatriots. The prominence of emasculation as a tactic for addressing opposing teams and fan groups suggests that masculine identity also played a prominent role in audience reactions to the broadcast. As a prominent space for the enactment of masculine forms of leisure, the sports bar heightened the significance

³⁰ I say “national team affiliation” rather than “nationality” as some individuals supported national teams other than country of current or former citizenship, such as the two Americans who supported England’s national team (see p 201). In most cases where I conversed with patrons about citizenship there was a correspondence between nationality and team supported.

of a field of related masculinities leading to the need to publicly assert or defend masculinity against claims of deviation.

The methodological design used led to several important limitations of this study. First, observations and casual conversations at the point of consumption prevents any more than speculation about the long-term impact of the act of consuming media in this context on patrons. It is possible that patrons largely forgot or ignored these experiences upon leaving the setting, although the emotionally rivetting nature of the setting suggests otherwise. Still, this issue could only be resolved through a methodology capable of capturing the depth of meaning, such as interviews. Second, lack of temporally ordered “before and after” evidence means that I can only speculate about the possibility of causation regarding the similar ways media and fans talked about nationality and ability through soccer. If anything, the evidence gathered here, especially the dialogical nature of the experience, points to a more complex form of interaction between mediated texts and audience members. Given that fans at times expressed these ideas without prompting from the broadcast suggests that they brought ideas about nationally-derived abilities with them to the act of watching. However, the mediated social event did open up opportunities – taken by some, but not others - for expressing personal thoughts and feelings about the relationship between nationality and sport in a context that, given the heightened salience of nationality, seemed wholly appropriate. Thus, I suggest rather than causation, media became a component of an already shared understanding of the way sport could express larger features of national cultures.

In sum, this chapter contributes to the overall project by showing how the media broadcast of the World Cup became bound up in social relations among patrons in public space. As a mediated social event, patrons who gathered to watch broadcasts of the World Cup engaged

in a dialogical experience informed by both features of the mediated text and the heightened emotional state brought on by being a temporary member of a community of spectators gathered within the sports bar. Thus, the reactions of patrons to these broadcasts were never based solely on the texts, but always socially informed. Theoretically, this chapters shows how reception of media is based on a complex interaction between the media format, the symbolic content of the texts, the context of consumption, and already formed identities brought to the act of consumption.

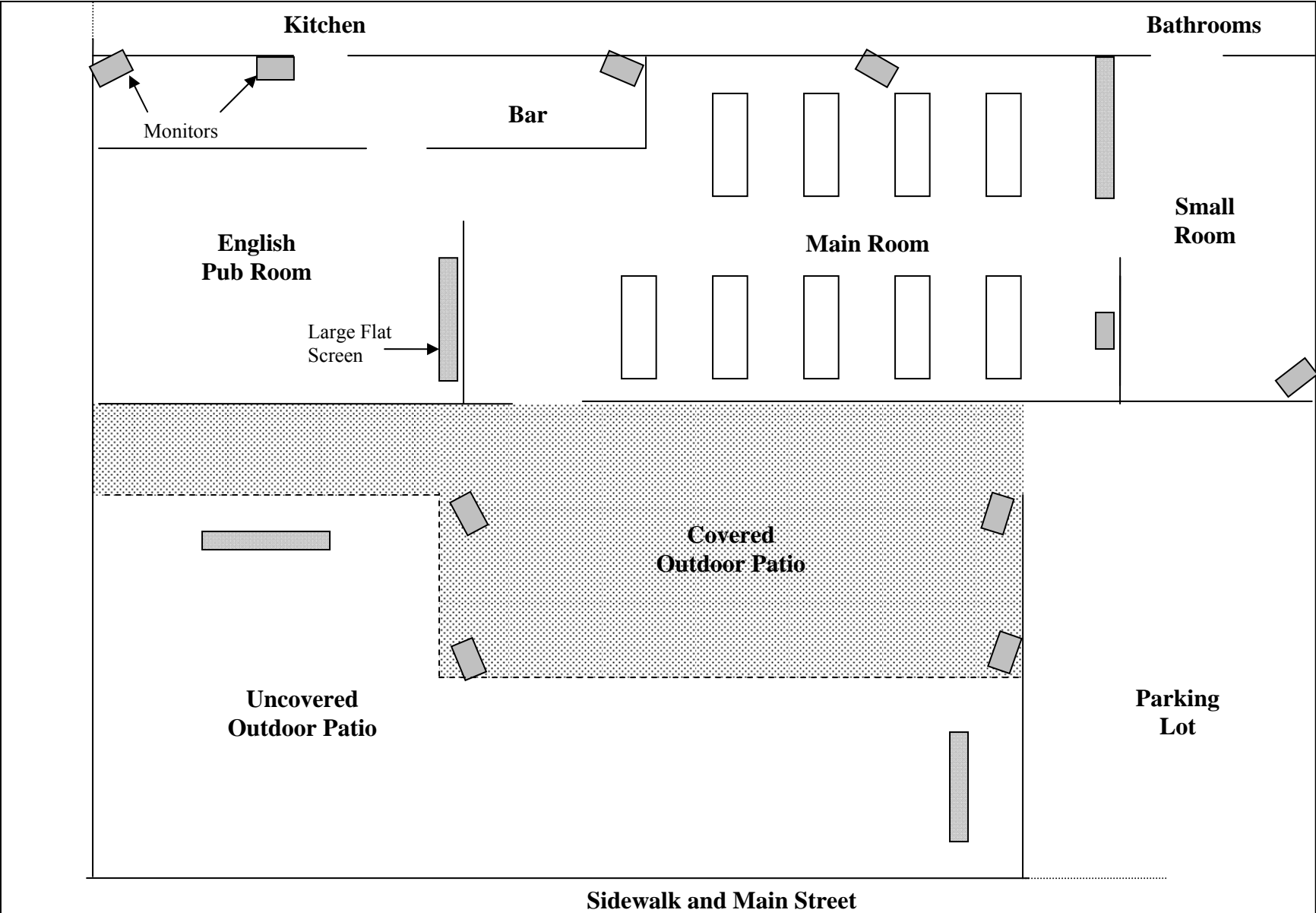


Figure 7.1 - Fieldsite 1: The Soccer Pub

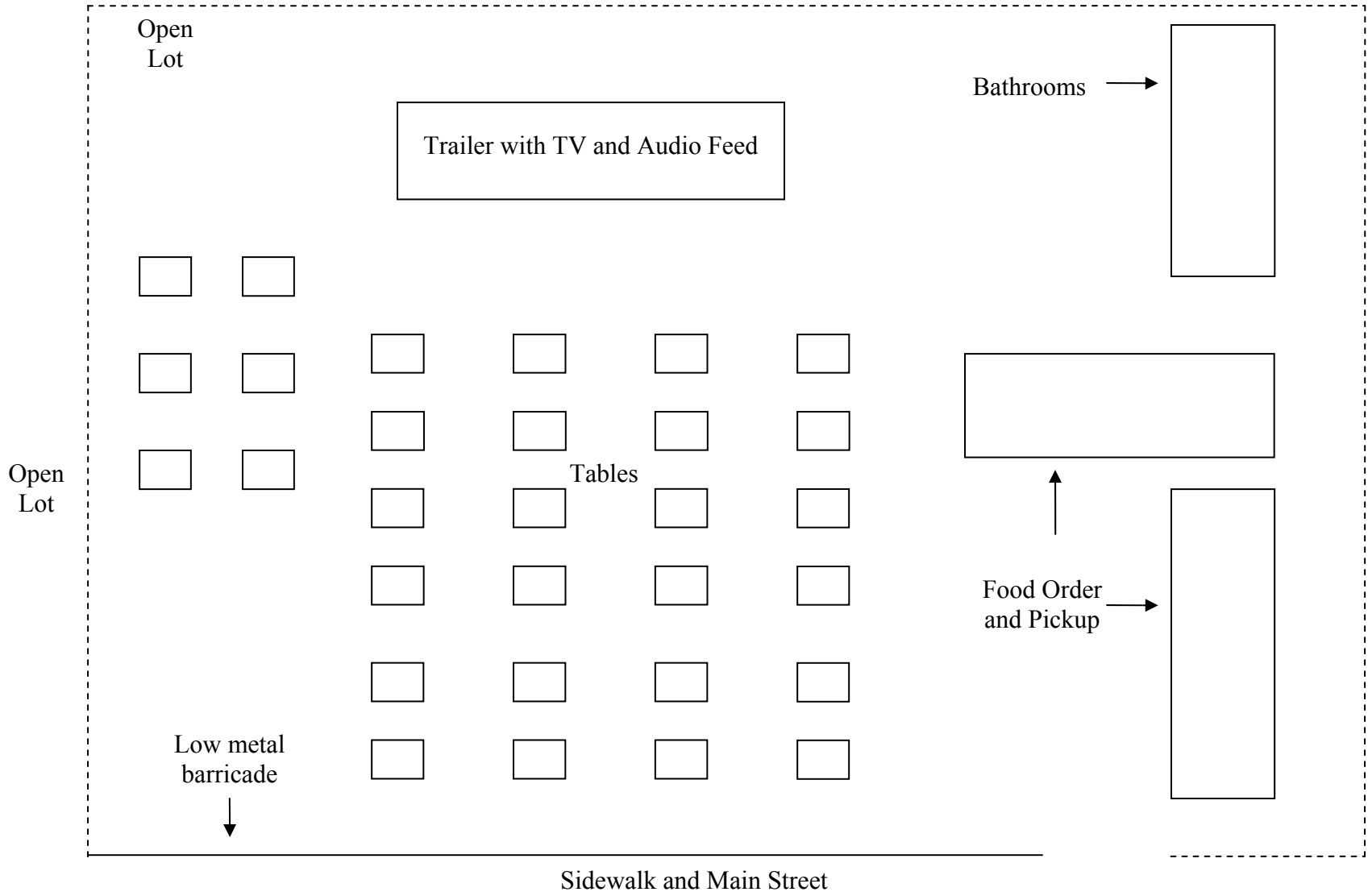


Figure 7.2 - Fieldsite 2: The Biergarten

- Chapter 8 -

Soccer, Nationalism, and Hierarchies of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

All manner of insights about the workings of human society can best be found... from sources which on first glance may seem quite marginal, peripheral, insignificant, and often esoteric.

-- Michel Foucault, cited in Philo (1995)

In this project, I have shown how mass media coverage of the World Cup is intimately bound up in the larger processes of identity formation and the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups, especially at the national level. Texts produced as a part of this coverage characterized various surrogate units of the nation (national teams, individual players, and fans) in cultural terms by describing each as possessing a peculiar style of performing or celebrating soccer. Chapter 4 specified how this process of representation operated in regard to national teams. At this level, distinctive styles of play encompassed entire squads and referenced an idealized national masculinity influenced by the history, level of economic development, and racial demography of the nation. Thus, in representing the national team in international competition the media both drew upon and sustained the symbolic system that makes up each nation's imaginary core. Chapter 5 outlined the characterization of individual players. Most descriptions of this type confirmed the style assigned to the team as a whole by assigning players similar habits and skills. However, at times the recognition of different identities on the same national team highlighted the presence of several distinct constituencies within the national community. As I showed in the case regarding American soccer player Clint Mathis, rather than

disrupt or fracture the concept of nationally-informed ways of playing sport, this internal differentiation strengthened the idea of a coherent national style by making the anomalous player into a deviant case to be contrasted against the presumed national norm. Chapter 6 established the parameters of this coverage regarding off-field phenomena. Like players and teams, media assigned fan groups and other members of the national community a particular style of celebrating victories, mourning losses, and reacting to the revelry of the World Cup that communicated the degree to which soccer in general, and the World Cup in particular, could be considered a significant feature of the national culture. By framing the United States' relationship to soccer and the World Cup as starkly different from the rest of the world, this form of coverage contributed to the construction of an ideal American national identity distinctive from that of other national communities. Although primarily framed as an issue of national identity, race and gender played a significant role, for it was soccer's characterization as foreign, feminine, and juvenile within the American sphere that explained its devaluation within the U.S.

Understanding the cultural significance of these mediated representations for society is enhanced when this textual analysis is considered in tandem with the ethnographic examination outlined in Chapter 7. Although the broadcasts (and its culturally coded content) played a significant role in organizing public space and interactions within them, the heightened affective states brought on by being a part of a temporary community of like-minded spectators also impacted their reception. In this way, I was able to shed light on the "ways in which agents use culture in concrete interactional settings" (Smith, 1998:3) by showing that mediated texts both gave meaning to and were given meaning by the social context of their consumption.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In this section, I return to the questions and issues that drove this project. I begin by addressing the implications of this study for the literature on nationalism. This includes assessing the role of media and sport in forming national identity, comparing the type of coverage generated in the U.S. context examined here to the well-established literature regarding national sporting style in Europe, and discussing the implications of the specific characterization of the U.S. national team for understanding contemporary America. Next, I examine the contributions of this project to the sociological understanding of mass media as a prominent component of contemporary culture. I also return to the issue of the mutually constitutive nature of race and gender in the representation of national identity. This section highlights this projects contribution to the understanding of gender and race as operating within a field of relations. Finally, I discuss the forms of cultural representation examined here within Nancy Fraser's model of social injustice and inequality in order to link these representations with the broader field of inequality research.

The National Dimension

This project lends credence to theoretical perspectives that have stressed the cultural facets of nations, nationality, and national identity (Anderson, [1983] 1991; Calhoun, 1997 2007; Hobsbawm and Ranger, [1983]1992). One of Anderson's ([1983] 1991) more illustrious points was to show the immense power the printing press and standardized vernacular languages could have upon group identification at the national level. In a similar manner, Tocqueville observed the potential influence of the mass media format on group formation:

When no firm and lasting ties any longer unite men (sic), it is impossible to obtain the cooperation of any great number of them... That cannot be done habitually and

conveniently without the help of a newspaper. Only a newspaper can put the same thought before a thousand readers... A newspaper therefore always represents an association whose members are its regular readers. (2003:600)

The synchronous consumption inherent to media formats, such as television broadcasts and newspaper articles, allows for, at the very least, reception of similar messages, even if these messages may be reacted to in different ways. The temporary deixis (Billig, 1995) created between speaker and reader places the nationally-similar reaction at the forefront of communication. Given that the national often manifests in this context as a hermetic “discursive formation” (Calhoun, 2007, p. 103), possessing a distinctive identity, personality, and characteristics, mass media become a particularly powerful component of national unification.

Still, it is important, even when taking a more cultural approach, to avoid reducing the national to its most extreme manifestations (Billig, 1995) or to view it as present in the social worlds of high or official culture (Edensor, 2002). Clearly, the portrayal and expressions of the national I recorded appeared at the conjunction of two important realms of popular culture (mass media and sport), in the form of mediated representation and the leisurely consumption. Recognizing these more “banal” (Billig, 1995) expressions of nationalism provides the missing link between nationalism’s apparent absence during routine life and sudden appearance during moments of national crisis. National identity is not formed only in urgent situations; it must be reproduced daily in more subtle and nuanced ways.

Of course, the idiosyncrasies of sport also contributed to national formation. As an international sporting event, the World Cup offered ample opportunity for identification with and articulation of national sentiments. Because the structure of modern, elite sport is so dependent on competition, when played at an international level, sport provides a ready-made national

opponents against whom self-conceptions can be compared and contrasted (Archetti, 1994a:60-1; 1994b:233-4; Boyle and Haynes, 2000:143; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001:201). Even more, as seen in Chapter seven, when consumed in public these temporary rivalries are enacted in an emotionally riveting situation enhanced by the collective performance of national group belonging through the use symbolic (colors, flags, anthems, etc) and expressive (chants, cheers, banter) content that clearly demarcates group boundaries and the criteria for belonging. That is, sport provides a framework for enacting the feelings of belonging and difference that constitute the national experience in a global world.

The Field of Soccer Representation as ‘Glocal’ Discourse

In many ways, the representation of soccer performances and fandom in U.S.-based media overlapped with previous research published in Europe (Blain, Boyle, and O’Donnell, 1993; Crolley and Hand 2002; O’Donnell, 1994). National teams with the greatest reputations in international soccer (Argentina, Brazil, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal), who most clearly represented the ideals of the Latin and European archetypes, consistently received comments anticipated based upon this previous research. European commentary may well have served as a template drawn upon by U.S.-based commentators as they characterized soccer teams from various nations. Even more, several nations not incorporated into previous research were easily assimilated into this already existing framework suggested by the tension between European and Latin style of play. For example, the framing of Mexico and Costa Rica as attack-oriented and subject to volatile emotions placed them within the umbra of the Latin archetype. Thus, there was enough overlap across national contexts to suggest talk about soccer as a globally shared discourse.

There were, of course, exceptions. Journalists in this sample only infrequently used World War II military metaphors in association with Germany, and while Scandinavian teams enjoyed the same association with defensive prowess in the U.S. context, they largely lacked the link to emotional serenity that dominated their playing style representation in European media. Indeed, one of the primary differences between the U.S. sample analyzed here and European sources reviewed in Chapter 2 was the relative lack of distinction amongst the various European regions. Whereas inter-regional stylistic differences served as a key way for European nations to differentiate from each other (O'Donnell, 1994), in this context they were more bundled together through a similar style based upon defensive prowess, organization, and physical strength. The lack of intra-European differences may be the product of these distinctions holding less meaning in an American context where they receive little confirmation in interpersonal relationships and media.

The representation of several other regions appeared to be impacted by concepts originating from more specifically American, rather than European, understandings of nationality, race, and masculinity. African teams in this sample shared the emphasis in commentary on attacking talent and skill found in the European literature, but received far more emphasis on their athletic abilities. Although athleticism is a component of the African type in the European press (Crolley and Hand, 2002 2006) it was emphasized as the primary distinction in the American context. Similarly, the presentation of East Asian, Middle Eastern, and African national teams intersected with established patterns of stereotypically representing these groups in other, non-sporting contexts within the United States culture. This is perhaps most clear regarding the case of Clint Mathis. While U.S.-based reports made his Southern origins a central component of his identity and the primary explanation for his playing style, overseas English-

language sources examined here were unaware, unconcerned, or uninterested in this portion of his identity. Needless to say, the regional distinction of the South from the rest of the United States is more salient in U.S. culture than overseas, where such distinctions appear more minor trivialities, especially given the context of international competition among national groups.

The similarities and differences between the American and European context analyzed raises questions regarding mass media's role in cultural convergence in an era of intense global interrelatedness. Political economic analyses have established the unprecedented conglomeration of global media firms and the concomitant increasing presence and influence of United States culture overseas (Bagdikian, 2000; Herman and McChesney, 1997; McChesney, 1998; McChesney, 1999; Schiller, 1992). While "Americanization" has always been a major implication of this research, in the case of soccer commentary, the U.S. appears to be an adopter rather than progenitor. As a nation with a relatively underdeveloped soccer culture (Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001) the United States based media is in part dependent on the already established cultural codes and linguistic parameters developed in a milieu (Europe and Latin America) where such material has a long history of operation and acceptance. As can be seen, however, this is not a completely unfiltered adoption by U.S. based media. Some of the abilities and tendencies assigned to national teams derived from strictly American sources and needs. This serves as another reminder that the flows and exchanges of culture globally are more complex and multidimensional than simple domination by the world's most significant economic player. Rather than complete banishment, global culture weaves with the local to form a "glocal" hybrid (Robins, 2003), an Americanized version of talk that imagined the nation through representations of the national team.

American National Identity in the World Cup

Whereas previous studies were unable to establish a patterned playing style for the U.S. national team (Crolley and Hand, 2006:176), I was able to provide a better framework for understanding how American national identity is constructed via its represented relationship to soccer and the World Cup, both on and of the field. My analyses revealed not only an emergent U.S. style, but also how this style fit into the already existing field of soccer representation. In sharing the athletic prowess and mental fortitude components of the European style, but lacking its attacking talent, the U.S. became associated with qualities that, while leading to some success in off-the-field circumstances and contexts, would fail to achieve on-field victories on a consistent basis. This helped to resolve the contradiction of the U.S.'s status as world power, but soccer minnow. The U.S. team was seen as possessing the skills necessary for the most well-rewarded forms of labor in a neo-capitalist system, but not to succeed in international soccer competitions. In this sense, I was able to show how the U.S. style incorporated the internal national myth as a white settler colony whose success is rooted in hard work and mental fortitude. Off the field, the U.S. style centered on an awkward ambivalence with soccer and the World Cup. As I showed in Chapter 6, although the sample recognized an emerging U.S. fan base, it was neither the public face of U.S. soccer fandom (a sport reserved for the more apathetic, uninterested pole) nor on par with fandom overseas. The direct comparisons made between U.S. reactions to the World Cup and those found elsewhere in the world gave form to the imagined boundaries created between U.S. and other nationalities. By suggesting World Cup fandom overseas bordered on the irrational, media accounts constructed the more tame U.S. reaction as a sane response. This shows that American national identity was constructed not just

through the portrayal of the U.S. national team and its fans, but also by representations of groups outside U.S. borders.

Examining more closely how overseas papers represented the U.S. national team and its fans can also shed light on the construction of U.S. identity. To a great degree both domestic and overseas sources shared in the conceptualization of the American national team as less talented, but mentally sound and physically able, and its citizens as globally unique in their relationship towards the World Cup. However, in comparison to the U.S.-based press, overseas sources were far more critical of the possibilities for developing a soccer culture on par with the rest of the world. Particularly interesting was the highly critical tone characteristic of reports in 2006 compared to 2002. Of course, the U.S. team did perform poorly in 2006, opening up opportunities for criticism. However, even the increasing presence of U.S. fans in and around the stadiums was interpreted, not as a sign of a growing interest in the sport, but as another example of the annoyance of unfettered U.S. power and global presence. Although all overseas papers sampled joined in this more critical tone, it was particularly apparent in the self-identified “liberal” *London Guardian*. For this reason, I suggest that one of the primary forces driving the different ways in which overseas press reported between 2002 and 2006 was that the U.S.’ diminishing international reputation following the vastly unpopular invasion of Iraq. That is, part of the way the U.S. was represented in the context of soccer depended upon the national reputation built in the geo-political arena.

Intersectionality

As my analysis has shown, the characterization of teams, players, and fans in media coverage of the World Cup drew upon overlapping identities. These cases indicate the contingent and complex nature of intersections (Hill Collins, 2004:85; McCall, 2005:1791; Yuval-Davis,

2006). Although in this setting, it was national identity that served as the primary marker of group distinction, this did not occur in a predetermined, formulaic pattern. Obviously, international sporting events, such as the Olympics or World Cup, are contexts rife with opportunities for the foregrounding of national identity. The diversity of nationalities present coupled with the direct competition structured in to modern elite sport makes comparisons across national categories inevitable. However, globalization also makes these events increasingly important for maintaining and recreating culturally constructed notions of national identity. As Lechner (2007) has pointed out, the perceptual threat of global homogeneity to national uniqueness has made international sporting events and the reputations built through them as a primary mechanism for a nation to anchor its identity “in a homeless world” (p. 221; also see Lechner, 2008).

Still, even these representations of nationality were infused by overlapping racial and gender identities. In Chapter 4, I showed how the characterization of entire national teams depended, in part upon the mythical racial identity of country and the ideas surrounding this racial identity in an American context. Characterizations of nations were inextricably bound up with characterizations of race. For example, the characterization of African national teams involved superior athletic skills, especially speed and strength, that drew upon common notions of ability derived from U.S. culture. Still, this analysis went beyond most studies of race in an American context by analyzing more than just the relations between groups of European and African descent. More than just a ritualistic call for diversification of research, this approach revealed the way racial identity is formed within a field of varying racial positions (Kim, 1999). Previous research that has attempted to move “beyond black and white” has either conceptualized each racial/ethnic group as having its own unique racial history and trajectory

(see Omi and Winant, 1994) or as all operating within the same hierarchical continuum (Okimoto, 1994). Yet, a differential trajectories approach ignores the ways in which racial identities were mutually constituted in history, while the racial hierarchy approach assumes racial differentiation can be subsumed within one metric scale. As Kim (1999) has shown, ideas about Asian Americans formed in relation to ideas about both whites and blacks. As numerous studies of the development of the “model minority” stereotype have shown (Bascara, 2006; Fong, 2008; Nguyen, 2002; Osajima, 2005), this concept arose in the post-Civil Rights movement era as a manifestation of criticism towards growing Black power and claims of continued racial injustice. That is, the specific tenets of the Asian type in American culture formed in relation to other racial identities.

In a similar manner, this project has shown how ideas about race and ability associated with various national groups and their mythic racial identity developed through their relationship with each other. For example, the Latin and European archetypes gained their salience as independent styles through the contrast made between them. Each gave form to the other through their opposition. Similarly, the archetypes associated with East Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, USA, Australia, and Western Asian and North Africa took shape through their relationship to the principle archetypes and each other. Thus, this project reiterates the call to move beyond black and white in research on race, not as a move simply geared to diversify research, but also for its ability to help us better understand how race forms sociologically.

A parallel point can be made regarding the gendering of playing styles. Although the portrayals and expressions of the national in this context primarily involved men, this still contained important implications for gender relations among men and women. By making male athletes and mostly male fans synonymous with the nation, coverage of the World Cup engaged

in the gendering of nationality (McClintock, 1997; Richards, 2004; Walby, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1993) in which males were connected with the (masculine appropriate) physical force of the nation. However, even the assignment of differentially-valued masculinities to archetypical national playing styles and individual players structured the relationship between men and women, while simultaneously differentiating among men, because of its dependence on and tacit acceptance of the feminine and homosexual as criteria through which to devalue others. Thus, I avoided one of the major pitfalls associated with research on men and masculinity, the tendency to become little more than a categorization scheme for differentiating men with little connection to the overall field of gender studies (Johnson, 1997; Pascoe 2007), by showing how power differentials among men depended upon and reinforced a hierarchy between men and women. That is, despite involving men making distinctions amongst themselves, these acts were complicit in the symbolic formation of women and femininity as subordinate to men and masculinity (Connell, 1995).

Finally, this project also indicated the importance of space and economic position for research on intersectionality. Although class is a widely-recognized category of identity, it is frequently neglected in research on intersecting identities (McCall, 2005: 1788). Both the case of Mathis and the general manner of portraying national teams drew upon the economic positions and fortunes of nations and regions to explain differences in playing style. Space, as general manner of distinguishing regions and supra-national groups as well as regional differences within singular nations, proved to be an important component of this characterization as well. Space remains as problematic subject for sociology and much of the social sciences (Lobao, Hooks, and Tickameyer, 2007; Tickameyer, 2000; Wilton and Cranford, 2002) and has remained on the fringes of most research on intersectionality (Valentine, 2007).

Mass Media and cultural sociology

Using the insights of cultural sociology (Alexander and Smith, 2003; Friedland and Mohr, 2004; Smith 1998), my analysis showed that media coverage primarily communicated meaning about the national through the cultural code of style (Crichton, 1991), whether a team-wide or individual playing style or a particular manner of celebrating the World Cup associated with fan groups. In this context, style contributed to group identity formation by concretizing the national into a set of habits, behaviors, and attitudes expected from members of the national unit. However, these codes also depended upon a system of binary oppositions to pattern their relationship with each other (see Alexander and Smith, 1993; Edles, 1998; Smith 1991). Style also carried with it meaning about which forms of play would be praiseworthy or subject to criticism and which type of reaction to the World Cup would properly fulfill the requirements of imagined national masculinity. In this sense, these cultural codes not only contributed national group formation, but the maintenance of boundaries between different national groups. It was in these moments of comparison that these representations drew upon culturally constructed differences in class, economic development, gender, race, and space to differentiate among national groups.

My ethnographic analysis shed light on how mass media became a part of the larger social world through its consumption. In this sense, I moved beyond the limitations of several prominent perspectives regarding the reception of media texts. The major research traditions have been critiqued for their “history of oscillation between conceptions of... powerful texts and passive readers [versus] indeterminate texts and powerful viewers” (Livingstone, 1993:6-7). In the former, associated with the media effects literature (see Bryant and Zillman, 2002), primacy is given to the most observable effects of media content, so that audience members disappear

completely or are reduced to empty vessels waiting to be filled. In the latter, primacy is given to audience interpretation (see Ang, 1985; Jhally and Lewis, 1992; Morely, 1980 1993; Radway, [1984] 1991a 1991b), but, at times, over emphasizes the ability of audience members to re-inscribe mass cultural objects with resistant meaning (Seaman, 1992) so that the mediated text and the cultural codes contained in it become inconsequential. To get out of this conundrum, Livingstone (1993) called for reconceptualizing these competing positions into a “negotiated position that recognizes the complexity of the interaction between text and viewer” as “joint constructors of meaning” (p. 7). However, my analysis suggests that media become bound up in human social relations through a complex interaction between not only the symbolic content of the texts and the socially prescribed identities brought to the act of consumption, but also the specific format through which the media content is received (see Brummett and Duncan, 1990; Duncan and Brummett 1989) as well as the context of consumption (see Eastman and Land 1997; Eastman and Riggs, 1994; Radway, [1984] 1991a 1991b). Furthermore, whereas most reception analyses suffer from a tendency to conceptualize identity as constraining potential readings (Alexander and Smith, 2003), my analysis showed that the social context of the surrounding and the identities brought to the act of watching generated a layer of meaning independent from these mediated texts through the partial recreation of a live game atmosphere, emotionally riveting rivalries, and the performative enactment of national masculinity in front of other men. In this way, I was able to show how the process of receiving media texts is itself a social act.

Culture and Inequality

In chapter 1, I made the case for cultural representations of groups having implications for inequality through the mechanism of misrecognition. Fraser (1997:13; 2003:14) identified

three primary ways in which misrepresentation of groups operated: cultural domination; devaluation or disrespect; and invisibility. Each of these appeared as modes of representing groups at various times in this study. Cultural domination was particularly apparent regarding the Latin and African archetype and its incorporation of disorganization, corruption, and backwardness as general features found both on and off the field. Although this representation is not entirely inaccurate - Latin American and African countries do experience disorganization and corruption, as does the rest of the world -, it distorts reality in important ways. Whereas scandalous moments of disorganization and corruption in Westernized societies are explained as aberrant events perpetrated by immoral individuals or poorly constructed policies that can be easily remedied, these same incidents came to be represented in media commentary as inseparable from daily life in Latin America and Africa. That is, disorganization, corruption, and backwardness were presented as permanent, endemic features of society and culture, rather than temporary breaks from the normal rhythm of life.

This mode of representation derives from the relative power of groups to represent themselves in relatively positive tones. Indeed, as social identity theory has pointed out, less powerful groups tend to have a relatively simple and closed symbolic reservoir from which subsequent representations can be drawn (Rice and Mullen, 2003). One implication is that the behavior of individual members becomes interpreted, not as the choices of unique persons, but as expressive of the tendencies of the entire group. "Characteristics which are attributed to their groups are sufficient to provide a full definition of what they are" (Deschamps, 1982:89). Conversely, more powerful groups have a relatively more open and diverse array of potential cultural associations, meaning the behavior of group members can escape the confines of collective tendencies and become considered as an expression of their individual selves. Thus,

this project exposed how the cultural representation of teams, players, and fans from the less economically powerful regions involved aspects of cultural domination.

Those moments when the performance of players and teams were evaluated and commented on in terms of masculine appropriateness brought devaluation and disrespect to the fore. The inability or unwillingness to “take the pain” of physical contact inherent to sport associated with the Latin and Asian archetypes constituted an inappropriate expression of masculinity, one that deviated from the idealized emphasis on toughness and lack of outward emotions and was thus judged negatively. That this is a culturally constructed value judgment can be seen in the different way the very same on-field act can be evaluated differently in a another context. For example, in the Argentinean context, players who avoid physical contact are seen, not as weak and devalued, but rather as cunning because of their ability to hide their true intentions from an opponents (Archetti, 1999:70). In this sense, we can see that the negative evaluation accorded to this practice widely associated with the Latin and Asian archetypes devalued and disrespected a manner of play given some credence by different cultural standards.

The coverage afforded national teams from Southwest Asia and Northern Africa, and, to a lesser degree, Eastern Europe, most clearly display the features of non-recognition or invisibility. Regarding the former, American journalists were almost entirely unfamiliar with teams, players, and fans from this region and were apparently uninterested unless it involved political and cultural controversies that drew upon a notion of Islam as antithetical to modern life. I represented this invisibility graphically by designating this style was “off the map” of talk about soccer as a whole. Similarly, Eastern European teams, players, and fans received little coverage. In this sense they were, especially in comparison to their European counterparts, relatively nameless and style-less.

The benefit of Fraser's (1997 2000 2003) model is that it conceives of these forms of misrecognition as independent from, yet entwined with maldistribution. Framing misrecognition in terms of the cultural valuation of groups avoids collapsing the concept into an examination of individual psychological states by maintaining analysis at the level of social groups. As an autonomous force, misrecognition operates as its own form of inequality, giving rise to attempts on the part of social actors to control their own representation, most obvious in the form of identity politics. Still, misrecognition informs and is informed by the unequal distribution of resources across groups of social actors. As Fraser (2003) has noted, when groups are misrepresented this "impedes parity of participation" (p. 29) because some members are conceived of as "less than full partners in interaction" (p. 49). As such, these representations evaluate and rank perceived differences in culture in ways that structure their access to various valuable resources in society.

THINKING SOCIALLY

It would be easy to conclude that the journalists, producers, or mass media outlets that appeared in this sample bear sole liability for the representations of identity documented here. However, the *patterned* and *shared* character of these cultural codes point to their *social*, rather than individual, origins. This is not to remove all personal responsibility from mass media and their personnel. Certainly, examples exist wherein media outlets use nationalism in particularly problematic ways, such as English tabloid *The Daily Mirror*'s infamous "ACHTUNG! SURRENDER!" headline in the build up to England's semifinal meeting with Germany in the 1996 European Championships (see Maguire, Poulton, and Possamai, 1999). However, these extreme examples actually distract from the more subtle (but consistent) ways in which ideas about nationality and other identities are expressed on a routine basis.

Furthermore, conclusions that rely on individualized, psychological explanations fail to capture the power of concepts such as nationalism to offer some understanding of the world around us. It is not that the journalists sampled here were more biased or likely to see the world through nationally-tinted goggles than others in their field or outside it. As Billig (1995) has noted, “nationhood is not something remote in contemporary life, but it is present in ‘our’ little words, in homely discourses which we take for granted... We, too, inhabit the world of nations” (p. 126). That is, the analyst must be careful to not locate nationalism solely in the behavior of others. Nationalism derives its significance from the sense of belonging it can provide (Abrams, Hogg, and Marques, 2005:2; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 2; Tajfel, 1982:2). Nationalism pervades our lives as well. I use “our” in the previous sentence to include myself in this tendency. Even with a heightened awareness of the imaginary and constructed nature of nationalism that comes from being a scholar researching the subject, I find that nationalism impacts how I see and understand the world around me. But, this point can best be illustrated by way of personal confession.

During the process of writing this dissertation, I attended a conference where I met a colleague who shared my fascination with soccer. Over the course of the weekend we often talked during breaks about the sport, and, as a result of these interactions, I had come to assume he was, like me, an “American.” However, on the last day of the conference he made a remark to the effect that even though he was Canadian he often followed other national teams because of Canada’s poor international record in the sport. In the very next sentence I jokingly uttered something about how it must be anguishing for “you guys” (e.g. Canadians) that an up-and-coming young player born in Toronto had recently decided to play internationally for Holland rather than Canada. Despite the intention of humor, within that short moment, with that one extra

piece of information about my new friend's identity, he had become cognitively re-arranged in my mind. He had been moved from the category of "us, Americans" to that of "you guys," grouped together with other Canadians and non-Americans. He had crossed the "us-them" threshold that serves as the primary marker of group distinction. I also must confess that despite not being patriotic or nationalistic in any other facet of life I follow the U.S. men's and women's national team more closely than any others, and their results do more to my subsequent mood than domestic competitions. Thus, like Billig (1995), "regularly, I answer the invitation to celebrate national sporting triumphs" (p. 125). Even though I am critical of nationalism, I find it impacting how I understand the world around me!

But I wish to use this personal and subjective example to reiterate the more general point that the presentations uncovered by this project should be considered as products of their social, rather than idiosyncratic, environments. That is, I locate these representations of identity in "social relations, not in individual or interpersonal psychology" (Fraser, 2003:31).

LIMITATIONS

Several limitations derived from the methods used impacted this project. In focusing on the content and reception of media texts I am unable to specify the role of the production process in the construction of cultural codes. As several studies (Crane, 1992; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979/2004; Gitlin, 1980 1985; Glasgow Media Group, 1976 1980 1982; Peterson, 1976; Tuchman, 1978) have shown, the institutional arrangements of mass media organizations, journalistic habits and routines, as well as the cultural frameworks and interests of editors and producers influence the final form that mediated texts take. For this reason, rather than specifying how concrete social actors in the media (journalists and editors) used their understanding of the social world to shape the descriptions of the World Cup, I am only able to

offer the rather vague “mass media” as the progenitors of this symbolic field. Still, we must be careful to not reduce the symbolic world of the media texts to the instrumental intentions of journalists, editors, or media corporations (Alexander and Smith, 2003), but undoubtedly knowing more about how these mediated texts were produced would have illuminated the understanding of the cultural codes contained within them considerably.

In addition, because the methods used for exploring the consumption of these broadcasts in public space described in Chapter 7 relied on short-term, unobtrusive observation, I am only able to speculate about the long-term impact of these experiences in mediated social space on subjective understandings of the social world. My observations point to emotionally riveting nature of the most immediate reactions to these broadcasts in public space, making more long-term impact likely. However, only a more in-depth account that employed a more long-term methodological approach, including interviews, would be able to specify the depth of meaning associated with mediated social events.

Despite these limitations, this project has shown the value of researching mass media coverage of the World Cup despite its initial appearance as something quite marginal, peripheral, insignificant, and esoteric to social life. This coverage contained cultural codes that contributed to the process of identity formation and creation of clear symbolic boundaries between groups by specifying in exact terms the habits, behaviors, and attitudes expected from members and representatives of the national unit. When consumed in a public setting, these cultural codes both gave meaning to and were given meaning by the surrounding social context. In this way, I was able to move beyond the limitations of several prominent theoretical perspectives by showing how reception involved a complex interaction between the symbolic content of the texts, socially prescribed identities brought to the act of consumption, the specific format through which the

media content is received, and the context of consumption. This complex interaction reiterates the importance of researching the communication process as an interrelated whole, from production through content to reception.

References

ACADEMIC WORKS CITED

- Abrams, Dominic, Michael A. Hogg, and José M Marqus. 2005. "A social psychological framework for understanding social inclusion and exclusion." Pp. 1-23 in *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion*, edited by D. Abrams, M.A. Hogg, and J. M. Marques. New York: Psychology Press.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2002. "Reversal of fortune: Geography and institutions in the making of the modern world income distribution." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4): 1231-94.
- Acker, Joan. 2006. "Inequality regimes: Race, class, and gender in organizations." *Gender and Society* 20(4): 441-64.
- Alabarces, Pablo, Alan Tomlinson, and Chris Young. 2001. "Argentina versus England at the France '98 World Cup: Narratives of nation and the mythologizing of the popular." *Media, Culture, and Society*. 23, 547-66.
- Alexander, Jeffery C. and Phillip Smith. 1993. "The Discourse of American Civil Society: A New Proposal for Cultural Studies." *Theory and Society*, 22(2): 151-207
- , 2003. "The strong program in cultural sociology: Elements of a structural hermeneutics." Pp 11-26 in *The meanings of social life: A cultural sociology* edited by J. Alexander. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Altheide, David. L. 1987. "Ethnographic content analysis." *Qualitative Sociology* 10: 65-77.
- American Anthropological Association. 1998. "Statement on Race" Available from <http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm>. Internet; accessed 2 May, 2008.
- Anderson, Benedict. [1983] 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andersson, Torbjorn, and Aage Radmann. 1998. "Football fans in Scandanavia: 1900-97." Pp. 141-57 in *Fanatics! Power, Identity and fandom in football* edited by A. Brown. New York: Routledge.
- Ang, Ien. 1985. *Watching Dallas: Soap opera and melodramatic imagination*. New York: Methuen.
- Appadurai, Arjen. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture and Society* 7: 295-310.
- Archetti, Eduardo. 1994a. "Argentina and the World Cup: in search of national identity." Pp. 37-64 in *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identity, and the USA World Cup*, edited by J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson. Aldershot: Arena.
- , 1994b. "Masculinity and Football: The formation of national identity in Argentina." Pp. 225-43 in *Games without Frontiers: Football, identity, and modernity*, edited by Richard Giulianotti and John Williams. Aldershot: Arena.
- , 1999. *Masculinities: Football, polo, and the tango in Argentina*. Berg: New York.

- (2003). "Playing football and dancing the tango: Embodying Argentina in movement, style, and identity." Pp. 217-239 in *Sport, dance, and embodied identities*, edited by N Dyck and E Archetti. New York: Berg.
- Bakić-Hayden, Milica. 1995. "Nesting orientalisms: The case of former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review*, 54(4): 917-31.
- Bagdikian, Ben. 2000. *The Media Monopoly*. 6th ed. Beacon Press: Boston.
- Bale, John. 1998. "Virtual Fandoms: Futurescapes of Football." Pp. 265-78 in *Fanatics: Power, Identity and Fandom in Football*, edited by A. Brown. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bale, John and Joseph Maguire. 1994. *The global sports arena: Athletic talent migration in an interdependent world*. London: Frank Cass.
- Bascara, Victor. 2006. *Model Minority Imperialism*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, MN.
- Bairner, Alan. 1994. "Sweden and the World Cup: soccer and Swedishness." Pp. 195-217 in *Hosts and Champions: soccer cultures, national identities and the USA world cup*, edited by John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson. Aldershot: Arena.
- Baudrillard, 1983
- Baudrillard 1989
- Beamish, Tom, Harvey Motloch and Richard Flacks. 1995. "Who Supports the Troops? Vietnam, the Gulf War, and the Making of Collective Memory." *Social Problems* 42(3): 344-60.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. [1953] 1993. *The Second Sex*. Translated and edited by H. M. Parshley, Reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Bello, Walden. 1994. *Dark victory: The United States, structural adjustment, and global poverty*. London: Pluto Press.
- Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-39.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2002. *Claims of culture: Equality and diversity in the global era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Berelson, Benard. 1966. "Content Analysis in communication research." Pp. 260-6 in *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*, edited by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janovitz. New York: Free Press.
- Berg, Bruce L. 2001. *Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berger, Mark T. 1996. "Yellow mythologies." *Positions: East Asia cultures critique*, 4(1): 90-126.
- Berger, Mark T. 2004. *The battle for Asia: From decolonization to globalization*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Bernstein, Alina and Neil Blain. 2003. "Sport and the media: The emergence of a major research field." Pp 1-30 in *Sport, media, and culture: Global and local dimensions* edited by A. Bernstein and N. Blain. Frank Cass: Portland, OR.
- Best, Joel, and Gerald Horiuchi. 1985. "The razor blade in the apple: The social construction of urban legends." *Social Problems*, 32: 448-99.
- Bhabha, Homi. 1999. "The other question: The stereotype and colonial discourse." Pp 370-8 in *Visual culture: The reader* edited by J. Evans and S Hall. London: Sage in association with Open University.
- Billig, Mathew. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Billings, Andrew C. 2008. *Olympic media: Inside the biggest show on television*. New York: Routledge.

- Billings, Andrew C., and Susan T. Eastman. 2002. "Selective Representations of Gender, Ethnicity, and Nationality in American Television coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 37:351-370.
- , 2003. "Framing Identities: Gender, Ethnic, and National Parity in Network Announcing for the 2002 Winter Olympics." *Journal of Communication*, 53(4): 569-586.
- Billings, Andrew C., and Fabio Tambosi. 2004. "Portraying the United States versus Portraying a Champion." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39:157-165.
- Bishop, H. and Adam Jaworski. 2003. "'We beat 'em': Nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity in British press reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000." *Discourse and Society*, 14(3): 243-271.
- Blain, Neil and Raymond Boyle. 1998. Sport as real life: Media, sport and culture. Pp. 365-76 in *The Media: An introduction*, edited by A. Briggs and P. Cobley. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Blain, Neil, Raymond Boyle, and Hugh O'Donnell. 1993. *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*. New York: Leicester University Press.
- Blain, Neil, and Hugh O'Donnell. 1994. "The stars and flags: Individuality, collective identities and the national dimension in Italia '90 in the European press." Pp. 245-65 in *Games without frontiers: Football, Identity, and Modernity*, edited by Richard Giulianotti and John Williams. Aldershot: Arena.
- Blain, Neil, and Hugh O'Donnell. 1998. "European sports journalism and its readers during Euro 96: 'Living without the sun'." Pp. 37-56 in *Sport, popular culture, and identity* edited by M. Roche. Aachen: Meyer & Meyer.
- Boden, Deirdre and Harvey L Molotch., 1994. "The compulsion of proximity." Pp. 257-86 in *NowHere: Space, time and modernity* edited by R. Friedland and D. Boden. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2003. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. New York: Rowan & Littlefield.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1988). "Programme for a sociology of sport." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5: 153-61.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The logic of practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *On Television*. translated by P. Ferguson. New York: New Press.
- Boyle, Raymond and Richard Haynes. 2000. *Power Play: Sport, media, and popular culture*. New York: Longman.
- Boyle, Raymond & Claudia Monteiro. (2005). "'A small country with a big ambition': Representations of Portugal and England in Euro 2004 British and Portuguese Newspaper coverage." *European Journal of Communication*, 20: 223-44.
- Brodkin, Karen. 1998. How Jews Became White Folks and what that says about race in America. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Brookes, Rod (2002). *Representing sport*. London: Arnold.
- Brown, Sean F. 2005. "Exceptionalist America: American sports fans' reaction to internationalization." *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22(6): 1106-35.
- Browne, Irene and Joya Misra. 2003. "The intersection of gender and race in the labor market." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29: 487-513.
- Brummet, Barry and Margaret C. Duncan. 1990. "Theorizing without totalizing: Specularity and televised sport." *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 76(3), 227-46.

- J. Bryant and D. Zillmann, eds. 2002. *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*. 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Buffington, Daniel T. 2002. "Skill in Black and White: A content analysis of the 2001-2002 NFL season." M.A. thesis, department of sociology, University of Georgia: Athens, GA.
- , 2005. "Contesting Race on Sundays: Making meaning out of the rise on Black quarterbacks." *Sociology of Sport* 22:19-37.
- Buffington Daniel T. and Todd Fraley. 2008. "Skill in Black and White: Negotiating media images of race in a sporting context." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 32(3), 292-310.
- Buscombe, Edward, ed. 1975. *Football on television*. London: British Film Institute.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Calhoun, Craig. 2007. *Nations matter: Culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*. London: Routledge.
- Carrington, Ben and Ian McDonald, eds. 2001. *'Race', sport and British society*. New York: Routledge.
- Cash, William J. 1954. *The mind of the South*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Clatterbaugh, Kenneth. 1997. *Contemporary perspectives on masculinity: men, women, and politics in modern society*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Coates, Jennifer. 2003. *Men Talk: Stories in the making of masculinities*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Coelho, Joao Nuno. 1998. "On the border: Some notes on Football and national identity in Portugal." Pp. 158-72 in *Fanatics! Power, Identity, and Fandom in Football*, edited by A. Brown. London: Routledge.
- Cole, Cheryl L. 1996. "American Jordan: P.L.A.Y., consensus, and punishment." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13: 366-97.
- Cole, Cheryl L. and David Andrews. 1996. "'Look - It's NBA Showtime': Visions of race in the popular imaginary." Pp. 141-81 in *Cultural Studies: A research annual*, Volume 1 edited by N. Denzin. London: Elsevier.
- Cole, Cheryl L and Samantha King. 1998. "Representing Black masculinity and urban possibilities: Racism, realism, and *Hoop Dreams*." Pp. 49-86 in *Sport and postmodern times*, edited by Geneviève Rail. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Collins, Sandra. 2006. "National sports and other myths: The failure of U.S. soccer." *Soccer and Society*, 7(2/3), 353-63.
- Cone, James. 2006. "Soccer World Cup final had largest TV audience of 2006." <http://bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601077&sid=aOYdMOMxoV4c&refer=intsport> s [accessed on July, 14, 2008].
- Connell, Robert W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Connolly, William E. 1991. *Identity/Difference: Democratic negotiations of political paradox*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cooley, Charles H. 1902. *Human nature and the social order*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons
- , [1909] 1967. *Social organization; a study of the larger mind*. Reprint, New York: Schocken Books.
- Cox, Oliver C. 1945. Race and caste: A distinction. *American Journal of Sociology*, 50(5): 360-8.
- Crane, Diane. 1992. *The production of culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Christopherson, Neal, Michelle Janning, and Eileen Diaz McConnell. 2002. "Two kicks forward, one kick back: A content analysis of media discourses on the 1999 women's World Cup soccer championship." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 19: 170-188.
- Critcher, Chas. 1991. "Putting on the style: Aspects of recent English football." Pp. 68-84 in *British football and social change: Getting into Europe* edited J. Williams and S. Wagg. Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press.
- Crolley, Liz, and David Hand. 2001. "France and the English other: the mediation of national identities in Post-War football journalism." *Web journal of French media studies*, 4(1).
- . 2002. *Football, Europe, and the Press*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass.
- . 2006. *Football and European Identity: Historical narratives through the press*. Routledge: New York.
- Crolley, Liz, David Hand, and Ralf Jeutter. 1998. "National Obsessions and Identities in Football Match Reports." Pp. 173-86 in *Fanatics! Power, Identity, and Fandom in Football*, edited by A. Brown. London: Routledge.
- . 2000. "Playing the identity card: stereotypes in European football." *Soccer and Society*, 1(2): 107-28.
- Croteau, David and William Hoynes. 2003. *Media society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Curry, Timothy John. 1991. "Fraternal bonding in the locker room: A profeminist analysis of talk about competition and women." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8: 119-35.
- Davis, Laurel R. 1990. "The articulation of difference: White preoccupation with the question of racially linked genetic differences among adults." *Sociology of Sport* 7:179-187.
- Davis, Laurel R. , and Othello Harris. 1998. "Race and ethnicity in U.S. sports media." Pp. 154-169 in *Media Sport*, edited by L.A. Werner. New York: Routledge.
- Debord, Guy. [1967] 1994. *Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books.
- Delgado, Fernando. 2003. "The fusing of sport and politics: Media constructions of U.S. versus Iran at France '98." *Journal of Sport and Social Behavior* 27:293-307.
- Denham, Bryan E., Andrew C. Billings, and Kelby K. Halone. 2002. "Differential Accounts of race in Broadcast Commentary of the 2000 NCAA Men's and Women's Final Four Tournaments." *Sociology of Sport* 19:315-332.
- Deschamps, Jean-Claude. 1982. "Social identity and relations of power between groups." Pp. 85-98 in *Social identity and intergroup relations*, edited H. Tajfel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. 2003. *Democracy in America: And Two Essays on America*. Penguin Classics.
- Deyo, Frederic C. 1989. *Beneath the miracle: Labor subordination in the new Asian industrialism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Dirlik, Arif. 1997. "Critical reflections on 'Chinese Capitalism' as a paradigm." *Identities*, 3(3): 303-30.
- Dreyson, Mark. 2005. "Prologue: The paradoxes of American insularity, exceptionalism and Imperialism." *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22(6), 938-45.
- Dufur, M. 1997. "Race logic and 'being like Mike': Representations of athletes in advertising, 1985-1994." *Sociological Focus* 30:345-55.
- Duncan, Margret C., and Barry Brummett. 1989. "Types and sources of spectating pleasure in televised sports." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 6: 195-211.

- Duncan, Margret C., and Michael A. Messner. 1998. "The media image of sport and gender." Pp. 170-85 in *MediaSport*, edited by L.A. Werner. New York: Routledge.
- . 2005. "Gender in Televised Sports: News and Highlight Shows, 1989-2004." Los Angeles: Amateur Athletic Foundation.
- Dunning, Eric. 1999. *Sport matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence, and civilization*. London: Routledge.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1915] 1965). *Elementary forms of religious life*. Translated by J. W. Swain: New York: Free Press.
- Dyer, Richard. 1997. *White*. New York: Routledge.
- Dyck, Noel and Eduardo Archetti. 2003. *Sport, dance, and embodied identities*. New York: Berg.
- Eastman, S.T., and Andrew C. Billings. 1999. "Gender Parity in the Olympics: Hying Women Athletes, Favoring Men Athletes." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 23:140-170.
- Eastman, S.T., and Arthur M. Land. 1997. "The best of both worlds: Sport fans find good seats at the bar." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 21:156-178.
- Eastman, S.T., and Karen E. Riggs. 1994. "Televised sports and ritual: Fan Experiences." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11:249-274.
- Edles, Laura Desfor. 1998. *Symbol and ritual in the new Spain : the transition to democracy after Franco*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edensor, Tim. 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. New York : Berg.
- Elias, Norbert and Eric Dunning. 1986. *Quest for excitement: Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Farred, Grant. 2000. "Cool as the other side of the pillow: How ESPN's Sportscenter has changed television sports talk." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 24, 96-117.
- Fine, Gary Allen. 1987a. *With the boys: Little League baseball and preadolescent culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1987b. "One of the boys: Women in male dominated settings." Pp. 131-47 in *Changing men: New directions in research in men and masculinity* edited by M.S. Kimmel. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Fish, S. 1979. *Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretive communities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fishman, Mark. 1980. *Manufacturing the news*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Fong, Timothy P. 2008. *The Contemporary Asian American Experience: Beyond the Model Minority*. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River, NJ.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 1997. "Localizing whitenesses, Localizing whiteness." Pp. 1-33 in *Displacing whiteness: Essays in social and cultural criticism* edited by R Frakenberg. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1997. *Justice interruptus: Critical Reflections on the "postsocialist" condition*. New York: Routledge.
- . 2000. "Rethinking recognition." *New Left Review*, 3(May-June): 107-20.
- . 2003. "Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation." Pp. 6-109 in *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange* edited by N Fraser and A. Honneth, translated by J. Golb, J Ingram, and C. Wilke. London: Verso.

- Frey, James H. and D. Stanley Eitzen. 1991. "Sport and society." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17: 503-22.
- Friedland, Roger and John Mohr. 2004. "The cultural turn in American sociology." Pp. 1-39 in *Matters of Culture: Cultural Sociology in Practice* edited by R Friedland and J Mohr. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, William A., David Croteau, William Haynes, and Theodore Sassen. 1992. "Media images and the social construction of reality." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18: 373-93.
- Gamson, William A. and David Stewart. 1992. "Media discourse as symbolic content: The bomb in political cartoons." *Sociological Forum* 7(1): 55-86.
- Gans, Herbert. ([1979] 2004. *Deciding what's news : a study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press
- Garland, John and Mike Rowe. 1999. "War minus the shooting? Jingoism, the English press, and Euro '96." *Journal of sport and social issues* 23(1): 80-95.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1963.
----- . 1973. *Interpretations of culture: selected readings*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gellner, Ernest. [1983] 2006. *Nations and nationalism*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan , Nancy Signorielli, and James Shanahan. 2002. "Growing Up With Television: Cultivation Process." Pp. 43-67 in *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* edited by J. Bryant & D. Zillmann. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The nation-state and violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
----- . (1985). *Inside prime time*. New York: Pantheon.
- Giulianotti, Richard. 2002. "Supporters, followers, fans, and flauers: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 26(1), 25-46.
----- . (2005). "The sociability of sport: Scotland football supporters as interpreted through the sociology of Georg Simmel." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(3), 289-306.
- Gladney, DruC. 1994. "Representing nationality in China: Refiguring majority/minority identities." *Journal of Asian Studies*, 3(1), 92-123.
- Glasgow Media Group. 1976. *Bad news*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Glasgow Media Group. 1980. *More bad news*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Glasgow Media Group. 1982. *Really bad news*. London: Writers & Readers.
- Gold, Raymond L. 1958. "Roles in sociological field observations." *Social Forces* 36:217-33.
- Goldberg, David T. 1998. "Call and response: Sports, talk radio, and the death of democracy." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 22(2) 212-23.
- Gottdiener, Mark. 1985. " Hegemony and mass culture: A semiotic approach." *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(5): 979-1001.
- Gough, Brendan and Gareth Edwards. 1998. "'The beer talking': Four lads, a carryout, and the reproduction of masculinities." *Sociological Review*, 46(3), 409-55.
- Gould, Stephen J. [1981] 1996. *The mismeasure of man*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Grantham, Dewy W Jr. 1994. *The South in modern America: A region at odds*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

- Griffin, Larry J. 1995. "Why was the South a problem to America?" Pp. 10-32 in *The South as an American problem*, edited by L.J. Griffin and D.H. Doyle. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- 2000. "Southern distinctiveness, yet again, or, Why America still needs the South." *Southern Cultures* 6: 47-72.
- Griffin, Larry J. and Don Harrison Doyle. 1995. "Introduction." Pp. 1-9 in *The South as an American problem* edited by L.J. Griffin and D.H. Doyle. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1975. "Introduction." Pp. 11-24 in *Paper voices: The popular press and social change, 1935-65*, edited by A.C.H. Smith, E. Immerzi, and T. Blackwell. London: Cox & Wyman.
- 1980. "Encoding/Decoding" In *Culture. Media. Language. Working papers in Cultural Studies*. S Hall, S. Baron, M. Denning, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis. London: Hutchinson.
- Hand, David. 2002. "Football, cultural identities and the media: a research agenda." *Leisure Tourism*, 1(June), <http://www.leisuretourism.com>.
- Hand, D. and Crolley, L. 2005. "Spanish identities in the European press: the case of football writing." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22(2): 298-313.
- Hargreaves, John. 2000. *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan nationalism, Spanish identity, and the Barcelona Olympic Games*. New York: Cambridge Press.
- Hartmann, Douglas. 2000. "Rethinking the relationship between sport and race: Golden ghettos and contested terrain." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 17: 229-53.
- Harvey, David. 1989. *Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social change*. New York: Blackwell.
- Harvey, Jean and Maurice Saint-Germain. 2001. "Sporting Goods Trade, International Division of Labor, and the Unequal Hierarchy of Nations." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 18: 231-46.
- Hay, Roy and Tony Joel. 2007. "Football's World Cup and its' fans - reflections of national style: A photo-essay on Germany 2006." *Soccer and Society* 8(1): 1-32.
- Held, David and Anthony McGrew. 2003. "The great globalization debate: An introduction." Pp. 1-50 in *The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate* 2nd Edition, edited by D. Held and A. McGrew. Cambridge: Polity.
- Heywood, Leslie and Shari L. Dworkin. 2003. *Built to win: The female athlete as cultural icon*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, MN.
- Herman, Edward S. and Robert W. McChesney. 1997. *The global media: the new missionaries of corporate capitalism*. Washington, D.C.: Cassell.
- Higgs, Catriona T, Karen H. Weiller, and Scott Martin, B. 2003. "Gender Bias in the 1996 Olympic Games: A comparative analysis." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 27:52-64.
- Higson, Andrew. 1998. "National identity and the media." Pp. 354-64 in *The Media: An introduction*, edited A Briggs and P Copley. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1991. *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York : Routledge.
- 2004. "Toward a new vision: Race, class, and gender as categories of analysis and connection." Pp. 83-9 in *The kaleidoscope of gender: Prisms, patterns, and possibilities* edited by J.Z. Spade and C.G. Valentine. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Hoberman, John. 1997. *Darwin's athletes: how sport has damaged Black America and preserved the myth of race*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and nationalism since 1870: Programme, myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. [1983] 1992. "Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1970-1914." Pp. 263-308 in *The invention of tradition*, edited by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger.. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger, eds. [1983] 1992. *The invention of tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogan, Jackie. 2003. "Staging the nation: Gendered and Ethnicized discourses of national identity in Olympic opening ceremonies." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 27(2): 100-123.
- Hogg, Michael A. and Dominic Abrams. 1988. *Social identification: The social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. New York: Routledge.
- Holt, Douglas B. and Craig J. Thompson. 2004. "Man-of-action heroes: The pursuit of heroic masculinity in everyday consumption." *Journal of Consumer Research* 31: 425-40.
- Honneth, Alex. 1996. *The struggle for recognition. Moral grammar of social conflicts*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Hoose, Phillip M. 1989. *Necessities: Racial barriers in American Sport*. New York: Random House.
- Hopkins, Nick and Christopher Moore. 2001. Categorizing the Neighbors: Identity, Distance, and Stereotyping. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 64(3): 239-252.
- Hornby, Nick. 1992. *Fever pitch: A fan's life*. London: Victor Gollancz.
- Horak, Roman and Georg Spitaler. 2003. "Sport space and national identity: Soccer and skiing as formative forces on the Austrian example." *American Behavioral Scientist* 46(11): 1506-18.
- Hunter, John S. 2003. "Flying the flag: Identities, the nation, and sport." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10: 409-425.
- Hutchinson, John. 2001. "Nations and culture." Pp. 74-96 in *Understanding nationalism* edited by M Guibernau and J. Hutchinson. Cambridge: Polity.
- Jackson, Derrick Z. 1989. "Calling the plays in black and white: Will today's Super Bowl be black brawn versus white brains?" *Boston Globe*, p. A25.
- Jameson, Fredrick. 1991. *Postmodernism, or, The cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Jansson, David R. 2003a. "Internal Orientalism in America: W.J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and the spatial construction of American national identity." *Political Geography* 22: 293-316.
- 2003b. "American national identity and the progress of the New South in National Geographic Magazine." *Geographical Review*, 93(3): 350-69.
- 2005. "'A geography of racism': Internal Orientalism and the construction of American national identity in the film *Mississippi Burning*." *National Identities* 7(3): 265-85.
- Jhally, Sut, and Justin Lewis. 1992. *Enlightened racism: The Cosby Show, audiences, and the myth of the American dream*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Johnson, Parker C. 1999. "Reflections on critical white(ness) studies." Pp. 1-9 in *Whiteness: The communication of social identity* edited by T.J. Nakayama and J.N. Martin. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

- Johnson, Sally. 1997. "Theorizing language and masculinity: A feminist perspective." Pp. 8-26 in *Language and masculinity* edited S. Johnson and U.H. Meinhof. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Kim, Claire Jean. 1999. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans" *Politics & Society* 27(1): 105-38.
- Kimmel, Michael. 1995. *Manhood in America: A cultural history*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kimmel, M., ed. 2001. *Changing men: new directions in research on men and masculinity*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- King, Anthony. 2003. *The European ritual: Football in the new Europe*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Kinkema, Kathleen M. and Janet C. Harris. 1998. "Mediasport studies: Key research and emerging issues." Pp. 27-55 in *MediaSport* edited by L.A. Werner. New York: Routledge.
- Kirschenman, Joleen and Neckerman, Kathryn M.. 1991. "We'd Love to Hire Them, But...' The Meaning of Race for Employers." Pp. 203-234 in *The Urban Underclass*, edited by C. Jencks and P. Peterson.
- Kivisto, P. and E. Hartung. eds. 2007. *Intersecting inequalities: Class, race, sex, and sexualities*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Princeton Hall
- Klein, Alan. 1995. "Tender machos: Masculine contrasts in the Mexican baseball league." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12: 370-388.
- Koivula, Nathalie. 1999. "Gender stereotyping in television media sport coverage." *Sex Roles* 41: 589-604.
- Kösebalaban, Hasan. 2004. "Turkish media and sport coverage: Marking the boundaries of national identity." *Critique: Critical Middle East Studies* 13(1):47-64.
- Kryiakoudes, Louis M. and Peter A. Coclainis. 1997. "The 'Tennessee test of manhood': Professional wrestling and Southern cultural stereotypes." *Southern Cultures* 3(3):8-27.
- Kwon, Keedon. 2007. "Economic development in East Asia and a critique of the Post-Confucian thesis." *Theory and Society* 36:55-83.
- Lanfranchi, Pierre and Matthew Taylor. 2001. *Moving with the ball: The migration of professional footballers*. New York: Berg.
- Lapchick, Richard. E. 1986. *Fractured focus: Sport as a reflection of society*. New York: D.C. Heath & Company.
- Larson, James .F., and Nancy K. Riverburgh. 1991. "A comparative analysis of Australian, U.S., and British telecasts of the Seoul Olympic opening ceremony." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 35:75-94.
- Lechner, Frank. 2007. "Imagined communities in the global game: Soccer and the development of Dutch national identity." *Global Networks* 7(2):192-229.
- Lechner, Frank 2008. *The Netherlands: Globalization and national identity*. Routledge: New York.
- Leite Lopes, José Sergio. 1997. "Successes and contradictions in 'Multiracial' Brazilian football." Pp. 53-86 in *Entering the field: new perspectives on world football* edited by G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti. New York: Berg.
- Leseth, Anne. 1997. "The use of *juju* in football: Sport and witchcraft in Tanzania." Pp. 159-74 in *Entering the field: new perspectives on world football* edited by G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti. New York: Berg.

- Lester, Paul Martin. 2005. *Visual Communication: Images with messages*. Thomson Wadworth.
- Lever, Janet. 1983. *Soccer Madness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin 1997. *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Lipsitz, George. 2006. *The Possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Livingstone, Sonia M. 1993. "The rise and fall of audience research: An old story with a new ending." *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 5-12.
- Lobao, L. M., G. Hooks, and A. Tichameyer, eds. 2007. *The sociology of spatial inequality*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lutz, Catherine A. and Collins, Janet L. 1993. *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois. 1984. *The Postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*. translated by G. Bennington and B. Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Madsen, Deborah L. (1998). *American Exceptionalism*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Maguire, Joseph A. 1999. *Global sport: Identities, societies, civilizations*. Malden, MA : Blackwell Publishers.
- Maguire, Joseph, and Emma K. Poulton. 1999a. "European Identity Politics in Euro 96: Invented Traditions and National Habitus Codes." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 34:17-29.
- 1999b. "The War of words?: Identity politics and Anglo-German press coverage of Euro 96." *European Journal of Communication*: 14(1):61-89.
- Maguire, Joseph, Emma K. Poulton, and Catherine Possamai. 1999. "Weltkrieg III? Media Coverage of England versus Germany in Euro 96." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 23:439-54.
- Majors, Richard. 1998. "Cool Pose: Black masculinity and sport." Pp 15-22 in *African Americans in sport: Contemporary themes* edited by G. Sailes. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers.
- Majors, Richard and Janet Mancini Billson. 1992. *Cool pose: The dilemmas of black manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Manley, Michael. 1987. *Up the down escalator: Development and the international economy*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Margo, Robert A. 1995. "The South as an Economic Problem: Fact or Fiction?" Pp.164-80 in *The South as an American Problem* edited by L.J. Griffen and D.H. Doyle. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Margolis, Benjamin and Jane A. Piliavin. 1997. "Stacking in Major League Baseball: A multivariate analysis." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 16: 16-34.
- Marks, John. 1999. "The French national team and national identity: 'Cette France d'un bleu metis'." Pp 41-57 in *France and the 1998 World Cup: The national impact of a world sporting event* edited by H. Dauncey and G. Hare. London: Frank Cass.
- Markovitz, Andrei S., and Steven L. Hellerman. 2001. *Offside: Soccer and American exceptionalism in sport*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press.
- 2003. "Women's soccer in the United States: Yet another American 'Exceptionalism'." *Soccer and Society* 4(2/3): 14-29.

- Marshall, Thomas H. [1950] 1992. *Citizenship and social class*. Concord, MA: Pluto Press.
- Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making race and nation: A comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauss, Marcel 1973. Techniques of the body. *Economy and society* 2(1):70-88.
- Mayeda, David T. 1999. "From model minority to economic threat: Media portrayals of Major League Baseball pitchers Hideo Nomo and Hadeki Irabu." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 23:203-17.
- McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The complexity of intersectionality." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 30(3):1771-800.
- McChesney, Robert W. 1998. "The political economy of global communication." Pp 1-26 in *Capitalism and the information age: the political economy of the global communication revolution* edited by R.W. McChesney, E.M. Wood, and J.B. Foster. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press
- 1999. *Rich media, poor democracy: Communication politics in dubious times*. University of Illinois Press: Chicago.
- 2004. "Making a molehill out of a mountain: The sad state of Political Economy in U.S. media studies." Pp 41-64 in *Towards a Political Economy of Culture* edited by A Calabrese and C. Sparks. New York: Rowan and Littlefield.
- McClintock, Anne. 1997. "'No Longer a Future in Heaven': Gender, Race, and Nationalism." Pp. 89-112 in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* edited by A. McClintock, A. Mufti, and E. Shohat. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald Shaw. 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176-87.
- McCombs, Maxwell and A Reynolds. 2002. "News influence on our pictures of the world." Pp. 1-18 in *Media effects: Advances in theory and research 2nd Edition*, edited by J. Bryant & D. Zillmann. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- McQuail, Denis. 1994. *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. 3rd Edition. London: Sage.
- Mead, George H. 1934. *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Merkel, Udo. 1994. "Germany and the World Cup: solid reliable, often undramatic - but successful." Pp 99-103 in *Hosts and Champions: Soccer cultures, national identities and the USA world cup* edited by John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson. Aldershot: Arena.
- Messner, Michael. 1992. *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- 2003. *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- (2007). "Sports and male domination: The female athlete as contested ideological terrain." Pp 31-44 in *Out of play: Critical essays on gender and sport* edited by M Messner. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Messner, Michael A., Margret C. Duncan, and Linda F. Wachs. 1996. "The gender of audience building." *Sociological Inquiry* 60(1): 422-39.
- Messner, Michael. A., Michelle Dunbar, and Darnell Hunt. 2000. "The televised sports manhood formula." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 24:380-94.
- Messner, Michael A., and Don Sabo. 1994. *Sex, violence, and power in sports: Rethinking Masculinity*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.
- Mirandé, Alfredo. 1988. Qué gacho es ser macho: It's a drag to be a macho man. *Aztlán* 17(2):63-89.

- Morley, David. 1980. *The nationwide audience: Structure and decoding*. London: BFI.
- . 1986. *Family television: Cultural power and domestic leisure*. London: Comedia.
- . 1993. "Active audience theory: Pendulums and pitfalls." *Journal of Communication* 43(4):13-9.
- Muir, Kenneth B. and Trina Seitz. 2004. "Machismo, misogyny, and homophobia in a male athletic subculture: A participant-observation study of deviant rituals in collegiate rugby." *Deviant Behavior* 25:303-27.
- Murrell, Audrey J. and Edward M. Curtis. 1994. "Causal attributions of performance for black and white quarterbacks in the NFL: A look at the sports pages." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 18:224-34.
- Naber, Nadine. 2000. "Ambiguous insiders: an investigation of Arab American invisibility" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23(1):37-61.
- Narayan, Uma. 1987. *Dislocating cultures: identities, traditions, and Third-World feminism*. New York: Routledge.
- Nguyen, Veit Thanh (2002). *Race and resistance: Literature and Politics in Asian America*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "The long-term effects of Africa's slave trades." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1):139-76.
- Nylund, David. 2007. *Beer, babes, and balls: Masculinity and sports talk radio*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- O'Donnell, Hugh. 1994. "Mapping the Mythical: a geopolitics of national sporting stereotypes." *Discourse and Society* 5:345-80.
- Okiihiro, Gary. 1994. *Margins and mainstreams: Asians in American history and culture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.
- Orwell, George. 1950. "The sporting spirit." *Shooting an Elephant and other essays*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Osajima, Keith. 2005. "Asian Americans as the Model Minority: An analysis of the popular press image in the 1960s and 1980s" Pp 215-25 in *A Companion to Asian American Studies* edited by K. Ono. Malden, MA : Blackwell.
- Pascoe, C.J. 2007. *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Page, Joseph. 2002. "Soccer Madness: Futebol in Brazil." Pp 33-50 in *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean* edited by J. L. Arbena and D.G. LaFrance. Wilmington, DE: SR Books.
- Palubo-Lui, David. 1999. *Asian/American: Historical crossings of a racial frontier*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pardue, Derek. 2002. "Jogado Linguistica." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26(4):360-80.
- Pescosolido, Bernice A; Grauerholz, Elizabeth; Milkie, Melissa A. 1997. "Culture and Conflict: The Portrayal of Blacks in U.S. Children's Picture Books through the Mid- and Late-Twentieth Century." *American Sociological Review*, 62(3):443-464.
- Peterson, Richard A, ed. 1976. *The production of culture*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Pheonix, Ann and Pamela Pattynama. 2006. "Intersectionality." *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), 187-92.

- Philo, Chris. 1995. "In the same ballpark? Looking in one the new sports geography." Pp 1-18 in *Community, Landscape, and Identity: Horizons in a Geography of Sport* edited by J. Bale, Keele, Department of Geography Occasional Paper 20, Keele University.
- Piterberg, Gabriel. 1996. "Domestic Orientalism: The representation of 'Oriental' Jews in Zionist/Israeli historiography." *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 23(2):125-45.
- Plymire, Darcy. 2005. "Qualitative methods in sports media studies." in *Qualitative methods in sports studies* edited by D. Andrews, D. Mason, & M. Silk. Berg: New York.
- Poulton, Emma K. 2004. "Mediated Patriot Games: The construction and representation of national identities in the British television productions of Euro 96." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39:437-55.
- Rada, James, and Wulfmeyer. 2005. "Color Coded: Racial descriptors in television coverage of professional football games." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49:65-86.
- Radway, Janice A. [1984] 1991a. *Reading the romance: Women, patriarchy, and popular literature*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press
- , 1991b.
- Reed, John S. 1993. "The Mind of the South and Southern distinctiveness." Pp. 137-56 in *The Mind of the South: Fifty years later*. edited by C.W. Eagles. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Richards, Patricia. 2004. *Pobladores, indígenas, and the state: Conflicts over Women's rights in Chile*. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, NJ.
- Rice, Diana R. and Brian Mullen. 2005. "Cognitive representations and exclusions of immigrants: Why red-nosed reindeer don't play games." Pp. 293-316 in *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion* edited by D. Abrams, M. Hogg, and J. Marques. New York: Psychology Press.
- Robins, Kevin. 2003. "Encountering globalization." Pp. 239-45 in *The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate 2nd Edition*, edited by D. Held and A. McGrew. Cambridge, Polity.
- Rodney, Walter. 1974. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington: Howard University Press.
- Rogers, Everett M. and James W. Dearing. 1994. "Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going?" Pp 80-97 in *Media power in politics* edited by D. A. Graber. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Roediger, David. 1991. *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. New York: Verso.
- Ross, Dorothy. 1995. "American Exceptionalism" Pp 22-3 in *A Companion to American Thought* edited by R.W. Fox and J.T. Kloppenberg. London: Blackwell.
- Rowe, David. 1997. "Big Defence: Sport and hegemonic masculinity." Pp 123-33) in *Gender, Sport, and Leisure: Continuities and challenges* edited by A. Tomlinson. Aachen, Germany: Meyer & Meyer Verlag.
- Rowe, David, McKay, Jim, and Miller, Toby. 1998. "Come together: Sport, nationalism, and the media image." In *Mediasport*. L Werner (Ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Sabo, Don and Sue C. Jansen. 1998. "Prometheus Unbound: Constructions of masculinity in sports media." Pp 202-17 in *Mediasport* edited by L.A. Wenner. New York: Routledge.
- Sabo, Don, Sue C. Jansen, Danny Tate, Margaret C. Duncan, and Susan Leggett. 1996. "Televising international sport: Race, ethnicity, and nationalistic bias." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 20:7-21.

- Sack, Allen L. and Zeljan Zuster. 2000. "Soccer and Croatian Nationalism: A Prelude to War" *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 24(3): 305-20.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York : Pantheon Books.
- Schein, Louisa. 1997. "Gender and Internal Orientalism in China." *Modern China* 23(1):69-98.
- Schiller, Herbert .I. 1992. *Mass communications and American empire*. 2nd Edition. Westview Press: Boulder, CO.
- Schultz, Jaime. 2004. "Discipline and push-up: Female bodies, femininity, and sexuality in popular representations of the sports bras." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 21:185-205.
- Seaman, William R. 1992. "Active audience theory: Pointless populism." *Media, culture, and society* 14:301-11.
- Semmerling, Tim J. 2006. "*Evil*" *Arabs in American Popular Film: Orientalist Fear*. University of Texas Press: Austin.
- Shaheen, Jack G. 1984. *The TV Arab*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press..
- . 2001. *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. Olive Branch Press: New York.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J. 1991. *Gatekeeping*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Shugart, Helen A. 2003. "She shoots, she scores: Mediated constructions of contemporary female athletes in coverage of the 1999 U.S. Women's soccer team." *Western Journal of Communication* 67(1):1-31.
- Simmel, Georg and Hughes, Everett C. 1949. "The sociology of sociability." *American Journal of Sociology* 55(3):254-61.
- Smith, Anthony. 1986. *The ethnic origins of nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 1991. *National identity*. London: Penguin.
- . 2001. *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, and history*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Smith, Christian. 2003. *Moral, believing animals: Human personhood and culture*. New York: Oxford.
- Smith, Phillip. 1991. "Codes and Conflict: Toward a Theory of War as Ritual." *Theory and Society* 20(1):103-38.
- . 1998. "The new American cultural sociology: An introduction." Pp 1-17 in *The new American cultural sociology* edited by P. Smith. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stiehler, Hans-Joerg and Mriko Marr. 2003. "Attribution of failure: A German soccer story." Pp 139-65 in *Sport, media, and culture: Global and local dimensions* edited by A. Bernstein and N. Blain. Frank Cass: Portland, OR.
- Straus, Anslem, and Juliet Corbin. 1998. *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sugden, John. 1994. "USA and the World Cup: American nativism and the rejection of the people's game." Pp 219-52 in *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identity, and the USA World Cup*, edited by J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson. Aldershot: Arena.
- Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Cultural in action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51(2):273-86.
- Tajfel, Henri, ed. 1982. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Charles. 1994. *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, Diane. 1997. *Disappearing acts: Spectacles of gender and nationalism in Argentina's "dirty war"*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Tickameyer, Ann R. 2000. "Space matters! Spatial inequality in future sociologies." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(6):805-13.
- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Tolnay, Stewart E. and Elwood M. Beck. 1995. *A festival of violence: An analysis of Southern lynchings, 1892 to 1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Trujillo, Nick. 1994. *The meaning of Nolan Ryan*. College Station, TX: University of Texas A&M University.
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tudor, Andrew. 1998. "Sports reporting: Race, difference and identity." Pp 147-56 in *The media in question: Popular cultures and public interest* edited K. Brabts, J. Hermes, and L.v. Zoonen. London: Sage.
- , 2006. "World Cup Worlds: Media coverage of the soccer World Cup 1974 to 2002." Pp 217-30 in *Handbook of Sport and Media Studies* edited A. Raney and J. Bryant (Eds). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Turner, Graeme. 1990. *British cultural studies: An introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Tzanelli, Rodanthi. 2006. "'Impossible is fact': Greek nationalism and international recognition in Euro 2004." *Media, Culture, and Society* 28:483-503.
- Valentine, Gill. 2007. "Theorizing and researching intersectionality: A challenge for feminist geography." *The Professional Geographer* 59(1):10-21.
- Waddington, Ivan. 2000. *Sport, health, and drugs: A critical sociological perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Walby, Susan. 1996. "Woman and Nation." Pp. 235-53 in *Mapping the Nation* edited by G. Balakrishnan.
- , 2007. "Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 37(4):449-70.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel 1991. "The construction of peoplehood: Racism, nationalism, ethnicity." Pp 71-85 in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. edited by E. Balibar and I Wallerstein. Verso: New York.
- Washington, Robert E. and David Karen. 2001. "Sport and society." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:187-212.
- Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic options: Choosing identities in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weber, Lynn. 2001. *Understanding race, class, gender, and sexuality: A conceptual framework*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Weber, Max. [1905] 1958. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Scribner.
- , 1968. *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. New York: Free Press.
- , M. 2001. "Class, status, and party." Pp 132-42 in *Social Stratification: Class, Race, and Gender in sociological perspective* edited by D. Grusky. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Weed, Mark E. 2006. "The Story of an Ethnography: The Experience of Watching the 2002 World Cup in the Pub." *Soccer in Society* 7(1):76-95.
- , 2007. "The pub as a virtual football fandom venue: An alternative to 'being there.'" *Soccer and Society* 8:399-414.

- Wenner, Lawrence A. 1997. "In search of the sports bar: Masculinity, Alcohol, Sports, and the mediation of public space." Pp 71-100 in *Voices in the street: Gender, media, and public space* edited by S.J. Drucker and G. Gumpert. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press
- , 2008. "Brewing Consumption: Sports Dirt, Mythic Masculinity, and the Ethos of Beer Commercials." Paper presented at Third Summit on Communication and Sport, Clemson, SC.
- West, Candice and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. *Gender and Society* 1(2):125-51.
- Whannel, Garry. 1992. *Fields in vision: Television sport and cultural transformation*. New York: Routledge.
- Williams, John and Richard Giulianotti. 1994. "Introduction: Stillborn in the USA?" Pp 1-22 in *Game without frontiers: Football, identity, and modernity* edited by R. Guilianatti and J. Williams. Aldershot: Arena.
- Wilson, Charles. 1997. *Judgment and Grace in Dixie: Southern Faiths from Faulkner to Elvis*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Wilson, Brian, and Robert Sparks. 1996. "'It's gotta be the shoes': Youth, Race, and sneaker commercials." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 13:398-427.
- , 1999. "Impacts of Black athlete media portrayals on Canadian youth." *Canadian Journal of Communication* [Online], 24(4). Retrieved June 17, 2005 from <http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=550&layout=html>.
- Wilson, William J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Knopf
- Wilton, Robert D. and Cynthia Cranford. 2002. "Toward and understanding of the spatiality of social movements: Labor organizing at a private university in Los Angeles." *Social Problems* 49(3):374-94.
- Winders, Jamie. 2005. "Imperfectly Imperial: Northern Travel Writers in the Postbellum U.S. South, 1865-1880." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(2):391-410.
- Womack, Mari. 1992. "Why Athletes Need Ritual: A Study of Magic Among Professional Athletes." Pp 191-202 in *Sport and Religion* edited by S. Hoffman. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Wonsek, Pamela L. 1992. "College basketball on television: A study of racism in the media." *Media, Culture and Society* 14:449-61.
- Woodward, C. Vann. 1993. *The burden of Southern history*. 3rd edition, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Yao, Souchou. 2002. *Confucian capitalism: Discourse, practice, and the myth of Chinese enterprise*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1993. "Gender and Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(4): 621-32.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and feminist politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies*. 13(3):193-209.
- Yuval-Davis, N. and F. Anthias, eds. 1989. *Women-Nation-State*. London: MacMillan.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CITED

- Agovino, Michael J. 2006. "Losses, And The Losing Losers Who Hate Them." *New York Times*, June 18, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Aspden, Peter. 2006. "Fifa pitch Publishers began preparations for the World Cup." *London Times*, June 3, p. 26. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Atkinson, Ron. 2002. "Nothing but a flash in the world pan." *London Guardian*, June 21, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. 2002. "2002 World Cup: The U.S. Team." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 2, D10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 11, E9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 18, E9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 19, B6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP: OUTSIDE THE PITCH." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 20, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP: U.S. VS GHANA." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 22, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Authers, John and Hanrath, John. 2002. "Gloom in Mexico as US underdog ends soccer hopes." *London Times*, June 18, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Bell, Jack. 2006. "THEY'RE YOUNG AND READY TO SHINE." *New York Times*, June 8, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "All the Usual Suspects." *New York Times*, June 29, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Belson, Ken. 2002a. "Germany Asserts Itself In Rout of Saudi Arabia." *New York Times*, June 2, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Word for Word/Japanese Etiquette Tips." *New York Times*, June 2, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "With Early Goals, the Italians Have No Worries in Beating." *New York Times*, June 4, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Sapporo Braces Itself For Match." *New York Times*, June 6, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Beckham Buries Shot And Memories of '98." *New York Times*, June 8, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Germany Stays Cool in Ill-Tempered Affair." *New York Times*, June 12, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Berkow, Ira. 2002. "Soccer Is Still Not a Passion In the U.S." *New York Times*, June 19, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Bernstein, Richard. 2006. "Ljungberg Rallies Sweden." *New York Times*, June 16, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "In World Cup Surprise, Flags Fly With German Pride." *New York Times*, June 18, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. "Momentum and Expectations Surge for Host." *New York Times*, June 21, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Italy's Men in Blue Advance to Next Round." *New York Times*, June 23, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Boer, Martin. 2002. "Americans wake up and take notice of soccer." *London Times*, June 21, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Boer, Martin and Andrew Ward. 2002. "Stunning World Cup win fails to raise cheers in US." *London Times*, June 6, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Boland, Vincent. 2002. "Sorry, they are all asleep: Americans have yet to wake up to soccer." *London Times*, May 28, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Borrow, Zev. 2002. "KING OF the WORLD." *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 26, p 112. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Bradley, Mark. 2002. "The real world: U.S. power can't sway this Cup." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 31, p. D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "We're missing the point: Team worthy of our passion." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 11, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Stunning advance." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 18, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. FALLS IN WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 22, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "We play world football, but we love only ours." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 4, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Brennan, Christine. 2006. "When in the world will we catch on?" *USA Today*, June 8, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Brewington, Peter. 2002. "Chicago's rising sons." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 20, p 106. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Brodkin, Jon. 2002. "US thrashed into states of ecstasy: Poland 3 United States 1." *London Guardian*, June 15, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Czech golden generation gear up for last big test." *London Guardian*, June 12, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Rosicky raises the roof for buoyant Czechs." *London Guardian*, June 13, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Cech sings praises of a fellow Czech as Koller mystery deepens." *London Guardian*, June 14, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Brooke, James. 2002. "A Goal By Inamoto Enthralls Japan." *New York Times*, June 10, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Another Keane Helps Irish Advance." *New York Times*, June 12, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Sweden Eliminates A Stunned Argentina." *New York Times*, June 13, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Italy Ties and Avoids Elimination Humiliation." *New York Times*, June 14, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Belgium Advances." *New York Times*, June 15, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Goal Drought Over, England Tops Denmark to Reach the Quarterfinals." *New York Times*, June 16, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Turkey Sends Japan Home With Nothing." *New York Times*, June 19, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Brown, Mark. 2002. "Nation of dog-eaters turns us off to World Cup." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Bueno, Luis. 2002. "Mexico is still hungry after beating AC Milan." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 20, E8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Group H." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Group F." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "GROUP E." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002d. "World of talent, ton of questions." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mexico lineup for Croatia opener nearly set." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 1, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Croats don't scare Mexico." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 2, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Mexico vs. Croatia." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 2, C13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Swedes impede English attack." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 3, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Mexico knows this foe." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Mexico (1-0) vs. Ecuador (0-1)." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mexico rallies to edge Ecuador." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Strange scenario: Mexico could give Italy the boot." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Can Mexico avoid second-round KO?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "U.S., Mexico in matchless match at last." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Britannia hails bus to next round." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "Mexican win would make dad's day, not his." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Senegal's sudden surge is no fluke." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 17, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil wins with less than best." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Punchless Japan first of 2002 Cup hosts eliminated." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 19, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil-England showdown a rare marquee matchup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Turkey's Cinderellas toll midnight for Senegal's." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 23, C17.
- Canepa, Nick. 2002. "Sweet and sour viewing in Garlic District." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 22, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Americans need to compete more from the heart." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 17, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Feeling on top of the world after big day in Little Italy." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 10, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Carter, Kelly, 2002. "Korean-Americans unite for game." *USA Today*, June 11, C8.
- Clark, Ryan. 2002. "S. Korea gives U.S. fans a reason to cheer." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 15, E7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Chicago Sun-Times*. 2006. "Cup Full of Answers." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 4, A92. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Chung, Jennie. 2002. "U.S. is world serious." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 108. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Clarey, Christopher. 2002. "Artful and Stylish, It Must Be France." *New York Times*, May 26, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Symbolism Fills World Cup Opener." *New York Times*, May 31, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "On the Streets of Paris, Senegal Has Plenty of Happy Fans." *New York Times*, June 1, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Cohen, Roger. 2006. "Brazilians' Magic Is at a Minimum in a Victory Over Croatia." *New York Times*, June 14, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "In Its Debut, Ukraine Falls Flat as Spain Soars." *New York Times*, June 15, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "England Lands on Its Feet and in Second Round." *New York Times*, June 16, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Ghana's Upset of Czechs Scrambles Group." *New York Times*, June 18, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Against Australia, Brazil Saves Artistry for Endgame." *New York Times*, June 19, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "With Unusual Resolve, and a Surge of Power, Spain Advances." *New York Times*, June 20, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Germany Gains Quarterfinals and Sends Its Coach Dancing." *New York Times*, June 24. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "France Puts Slow Start in Past, and Spain Is Up Next." *New York Times*, June 24, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Ronaldo Sets a Goal-Scoring Record as Brazil Keeps On Going." *New York Times*, June 28, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germany Emerges as World Champion of Good Cheer." *New York Times*, July 9, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Cowell, Alan. 2002. "In France, Cheers for Soccer Champions Fade Into Stony Silence." *New York Times*, June 12, A5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Heartache and Tears Mark England's Return." *New York Times*, July 3, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Cowles, Chris. 2002. "Strong sub in Wolff's clothing." *USA Today*, May 15, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Couch, Greg. 2006. "Americans needed more goals, less hype." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 23, p 116. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Collins, Roy. 2002. "Minnows winning at the catch-up game." *London Guardian*, June 19, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Cottrell, Robert and Andrew Ward. 2002. "S Korea and US wins hard to match." *London Times*, June 10, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Crouse, Karen. 2006. "With a Walk in a Star's Shadow, A Young Player Lives His." *New York Times*, June 15, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Dart, Tom, 2002. "Kid from Brooklyn aiming for the heights." *London Times*, June 10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Beasley relishing his displays in the shop window." *London Times*, June 14. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Dellacamera, J.P. 2006. "Voice of Thrashers on World Cup case." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 8, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- della Cava, Marco R. 2006. "Why USA doesn't take to soccer." *USA Today*, July 7, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- D'Hippolito, Jospheh. 2002. "New-look Mexico eager for Croatia." *USA Today*, May 31, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Dron, Marek. 2006. "Call it a futbol foothold." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 25, A78. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Donovan, Lisa. 2006. "It's a great day to be Italian." *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 10, p 4.
- Edgar, Bill. 2002. "USA." *London Times*, May 29. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Engel, Matthew. 2002. "Bored in the USA." *London Guardian*, June 14, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Erlanger, Steve. 2002. "Germany Waves the Flag, but Retains Reserve." *New York Times*, June 26, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "In Berlin, 2nd Place Isn't Awful." *New York Times*, July 1, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Eskenazi, Gerald. 2002. "Not America's Game." *New York Times*, June 11, A29. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Feschuk, Dave. 2006. "Futbol fever hard to catch in Florida." *Toronto Star*, June 13, E9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Fifield, Dominic. 2002. "We have lift-off, say Americans." *London Guardian*, June 18, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Germany paper over cracks with pride." *London Guardian*, June 22, p. 10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Freeman, John. 2002. "Brazil's soccer a stage for carnival of spirits." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 26, F4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Fries, Jacob H. 2002. "Covered in Brazilian Pride, if Only in Paint for Some." *New York Times*, July 1, B5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- French, Howard W. 2002. "What Soccer Hath Joined: The Rockiest Match." *New York Times*, May 12, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Japan Comes to Play, but So Does a Stubborn Belgium." *New York Times*, June 5, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "In Midday Sun, English Get Draw to Advance." *New York Times*, June 13, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Oh-So-Sober Japan, Suddenly Drunk on Soccer." *New York Times*, June 14, A4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Victory For Japan Wraps Up Group H." *New York Times*, June 15, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "The Talent Of Brazil Eventually Wins Out." *New York Times*, June 18, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Senegal's Adventure Continues." *New York Times*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Turkey Advances To Brazil Rematch." *New York Times*, June 23, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil Earns a Spot in Its Third Straight Final." *New York Times*, June 27, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Garber, Don. 2002. "A Foreign Sport Is No Longer Foreign." *New York Times*, June 30, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Gardiner, Andy. 2006. "U.S. players gather, start final prep for Cup." *USA Today*, May 10, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Convey, Dempsey asserting selves at U.S. midfield." *USA Today*, June 5, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Pope wants to go out in style." *USA Today*, June 5, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "USA's Beasley says criticism hasn't affected confidence." *USA Today*, June 6, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Keller looks to come out from shadows." *USA Today*, June 7, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Onyewu primed to shine in big time." *USA Today*, June 9, C13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Czechs respect U.S. team's ability." *USA Today*, June 12, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "USA in trouble after 3-0 opening loss." *USA Today*, June 13, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Johnson's energy may help vs. Italy." *USA Today*, June 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "After stumble, Arena set to juggle lineup." *USA Today*, June 14, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. "USA to face double shot from Italy." *USA Today*, June 16, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Out of Africa: Pride, progress, redemption." *USA Today*, June 22, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Italy savors Totti's day of atonement." *USA Today*, June 27, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Final-tick kick saves Italy; Ukraine next." *USA Today*, June 27, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Ronaldo reaches goal." *USA Today*, June 28, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Brazil stops Ghana's dream ride." *USA Today*, June 28, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Semifinals a European affair." *USA Today*, July 3, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Italy drops Germany, eyes 4th title." *USA Today*, July 5, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Germany's feel-good run falls short." *USA Today*, July 5, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Amends made, French out to make history." *USA Today*, July 7, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Bravo! Italy wins in shootout." *USA Today*, July 10, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Italy can put ball in net, too." *USA Today*, July 10, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Gast, Susan. 2002. "Soccer fans get ready to let the good times roll." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 29, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Glanville, Brian. 2002. "Pitiful Portugal left to lick their wounds." *London Times*, June 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Friedel's heroics deny hosts their due reward." *London Times*, June 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Gillette, Carey. 2002. "Now will you watch soccer?" *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 10, p 40. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Glasgow Herald*. 2002. "WORLD CUP 02." *Glasgow Herald*, May 22, p. 34. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "USA." *Glasgow Herald*, May 28, p. 38. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "group d: Tomorrow 7.30am." *Glasgow Herald*, June 13, p. 33. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mexico v USA: 2002." *Glasgow Herald*, June 17, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Graney, Ed. 2002. "Fever for the Pitch." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Not the American sports fan's Cup of team." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 29, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Guerrero, Lucio. 2002. "It's no fun to high-five the dog'." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Haberman, Clyde. 2002. "In Times Sq., Bewilderment Of Defeat." *New York Times*, June 15, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Halbfinger, David M. and Zielbauer, Paul. 2002. "Day for German Pride, and Worries." *New York Times*, June 22, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hicklin, Aaron. 2002. "US sleeps through a famous victory and wakes up to animal crackers." *Glasgow Herald*, June 6, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hiestand, Michael. 2002. "World Cup fans in USA scarce but fervent." *USA Today*, May 31, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Fans discover fun in Columbus." *USA Today*, June 11, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "USA's emergence years in the making." *USA Today*, June 20, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Smyth calling Cup from Conn." *USA Today*, June 2, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hirshy, David. 2006. "IF NOT BRAZIL, WHO?" *New York Times*, June 4, p. 68. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hughes, Rob. 2006. "Americans score high on street credibility." *London Times*, June 11, p. 13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Argentina Dazzles and Dons Mantle of a World Cup Favorite." *New York Times*.
- . 2006. "The beautiful game turns ugly." *London Times*, June 18, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hummer, Steve. 2002. "Don't get a kick out of soccer? Be not ashamed." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 12, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "FINAL: ITALY 1, FRANCE 1 (5-3 PKs)." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 10, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Hyde, Marina. 2006. "Over-excited, overweight and over here." *London Guardian*, June 19, p. 12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Jackson, Jamie. "Yesterday's games: Essien eager for American challenge." *London Guardian*, June 18, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Johnston, Eric, 2002. "Co-hosts more like rivals." *USA Today*, May 31, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kay, Oliver. 2006. "Artful Rosicky puts Americans on the canvas." *London Times*, June 13, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kelso, Paul. 2006. "Forget Brazil and focus on US, coach tells Ghana." *London Guardian*, June 22, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Ecstatic Ghana charge into last 16 but progress is bittersweet." *London Guardian*, June 23, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kervin, Alison. 2002. "Heard about the US soccer team? Probably not." *London Times*, June 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kessel, Anne. "WITH THE FANS." *London Guardian*, June 18, p. 28. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Kirk, Don. 2002. "France, Still Scoreless, Can Only Tie." *New York Times*, June 7, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "A Late Equalizer by Parks Sends Turkey to the Brink." *New York Times*, June 10, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOCCER." *New York Times*, June 14, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Korea Gains Berth In 2nd Round." *New York Times*, June 15, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Early Goals by Turkey Prove Too Much for South Korea." *New York Times*, June 30, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kilgannon, Corey. 2006. "Fervent About God and World Cup Soccer." *New York Times*, June 24, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Klein, Jeff Z. 2002. "America's Best Shot." *New York Times*, May 26, p. 40. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Klein, Jeff Z., Mackey, Rob, Mather, Victor, Irving, Duncan, and Kelley, Austin. 2006. "Top 10 Moments: Times Bloggers Hoist the Cup." *New York Times*, July 9, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Knafo, Saki. 2006. "Beer for Breakfast." *New York Times*, June 18, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Knobler, Mike. 2006. "MOROCCO 1, U.S. 0." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 24, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "What are we missing? Slow growth defines soccer's U.S. history." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 4, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "SOCCER: WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 4, E12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 9, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germany kicks off celebration." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 10, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "U.S. now one of 'big boys'." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 12, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Mexican passion crosses a border." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 12, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "Soccer brings anti-Iran protests." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 12, A6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 13, F3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "CZECH REPUBLIC 3, USA 0." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 13, F1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Coach vows changes vs. Italy." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 14, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP: Outside the Pitch." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 15, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Tiny island's fans in paradise." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 16, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006a. "War' words meet reality." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 17, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 17, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "UNITED STATES 1, ITALY 1." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 18, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "U.S. must find offense, receive help from Italy." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 19, B6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP: Win or lose, it's time to have fun." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 20, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Soccer pays price for independence." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 21, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "PORTUGAL 2, MEXICO 1." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 22, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "GHANA 2, UNITED STATES 1." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "POWER RANKINGS." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 24, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "ARGENTINA 2, MEXICO 1." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 25, E9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Hired guns give loyalty the boot." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 26, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "WORLD CUP: OUTSIDE THE PITCH." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 26, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 27, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "European professionals dominating Cup play." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 27, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "ITALY 1, AUSTRALIA 0." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 27, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Brazilians' passion matched by panache." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 28, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 29, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germans march forward." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 1, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Henry's goal gives the boot to Brazil." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 2, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "PKs rule Britannia again." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 2, E11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Semifinal showdowns." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 4, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "ITALY 2, GERMANY 0." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 5, F1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "FRANCE 1, PORTUGAL 0." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. "Stingy, and very proud of it." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 7, H8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "France's veteran accent translates into title shot." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 8, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "WORLD CUP FINAL." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 9, B11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "ITALY vs. FRANCE." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 9, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "How they match up." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 9, B11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Azzurri heaven." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 10, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germany's busy month had many twists." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 11, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Kuper, Simon. 2002. "Kahn can't hide his desire to win." *London Times*, June 21, p. 15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lacey, David. 2002. "These shocks are not so surprising'." *London Guardian*, June 8, p. 10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lalas, Alexi. 2002. "USA must balance attack, defense." *USA Today*, May 23, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Americans need more of same after shining win." *USA Today*, June 7, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "USA should be in driver's seat against Poland." *USA Today*, June 13, C14. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "USA must match Germany's aggressive style." *USA Today*, June 19, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. soccer has something to build on 2002." *USA Today*, June 26, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Landler, Mark. 2006. "With Politics as a Player, Iran Loses Its Opener." *New York Times*, June 12, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "England Wins Group But Loses Star Striker." *New York Times*, June 21, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "German Coach Wins Over Critics as He Raises Ante." *New York Times*, June 24, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "A Tumble, a Whistle and a Controversial Victory for Italy." *New York Times*, June 27, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Zidane Leads the Old Men of Europe Into the Final." *New York Times*, July 6, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Landler, Mark and Jere Longman. 2006. "Germans' Main Objective Is a Good Time for All." *New York Times*, June 9, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Landman, Brian. 2002. "U.S. national team calls on Hejduk again." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 2, C4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lansley, Peter. 2002. "Shapeless US are left to rely on charity of hosts." *London Times*, June 15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Lee, Booyeon and Sarah Gordon. 2006. "Fans hit the street for big party in Little Italy." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 10, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lindsay, Matthew. 2002. "Reyna unites the States." *Glasgow Herald*, May 22, p. 34. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Llosa, Alvaro Vargas. 2006. "The globalization of soccer." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, B7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- London Guardian*. 2002. "World Cup 2002: Group D: United States of America." *London Guardian*, May 27, p. 44. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "World Cup 2006: Group E: United States." *London Guardian*, June 5, p. 59. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- London Times*. 2002. "and the rest." *London Times*, May 29, p. 21. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Group E." *London Times*, June 4, p. 30. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lopetri, Mike. 2002. "No snickers, U.S. success refreshing." *USA Today*, June 20, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Longman, Jere. 2002. "Feisty and Fearless, Mathis Swaggers His Way Onto the World Cup Stage." *New York Times*, May 12, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Now the Easy Part: McBride Is Healthy." *New York Times*, May 16, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Beasley Sends The World A Message." *New York Times*, May 13, D10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Young U.S. Players Excel, but the News Isn't All Good." *New York Times*, May 17, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "No Looking Back For Americans." *New York Times*, May 26, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Sensitive South Koreans Sensing Victory Over U.S." *New York Times*, May 27, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Poland's Top Scorer Gets a Cold Welcome." *New York Times*, May 28, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "New Location, But Favorites Are Familiar." *New York Times*, May 31, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Symbolism Fills World Cup Opener." *New York Times*, June 1, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "U.S. Soccer: Sport of 70's, 80's and 90's Still Waits." *New York Times*, June 3, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Golden Boys Chasing Greatness." *New York Times*, June 3, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Time to Beware of Brazilians Who Accept Gifts, and Cards." *New York Times*, June 4, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Korea Delights A Raucous Sea of Red." *New York Times*, June 5, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "U.S. Transforms the Doubts Into Delirium." *New York Times*, June 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mathis Patiently Waits to Play." *New York Times*, June 7, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "It's a Grudge Match." *New York Times*, June 8, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Reyna, Admired Abroad, Has His Critics at Home." *New York Times*, June 9, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. Gets a Point in a Frenzied Sea of Red." *New York Times*, June 11, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "The Permutations Equal One Point for the U.S." *New York Times*, June 12, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "O'Brien's Leap of Faith Pays Off for the U.S." *New York Times*, June 13, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "On Weak Legs, U.S. Advances At World Cup." *New York Times*, June 15, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Americans Hope to Show Hispanics That They Can Play." *New York Times*, June 16, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Mexico Is Familiar Opponent For U.S." *New York Times*, June 16, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Lilliputians Gaining Stature at Global Extravaganza." *New York Times*, June 17, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Makeover Is Doing Wonders for U.S. Soccer Team." *New York Times*, June 18, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "End of History? For U.S., Only the Beginning." *New York Times*, June 18, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Pope (U.S.) and Klose (Germany): A Big Game's Big Guys." *New York Times*, June 19, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Facing Germans, Young Americans Display No Fear." *New York Times*, June 20, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Ronaldo Again Doing What He Does Best." *New York Times*, June 20, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Koreans' Savior Is Found in Dutchman." *New York Times*, June 21, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Dream Ends in a Moment of Vulnerability." *New York Times*, June 22, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "New Faces and Old Achieve Final Four Of the World Cup." *New York Times*, June 23, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Subtext in South Korea: Payback for Colonialism." *New York Times*, June 24, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "South Korea Pins Its Hopes on Heartthrob Ahn, Sprained Ank." *New York Times*, June 25, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Painstaking Progress Finally Pays Off for the U.S." *New York Times*, June 25, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "One Swift Kick by Germany Ends South Korea's Dream Run." *New York Times*, June 26, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Mature Keeper Leads Germany." *New York Times*, June 28, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Waltz or Samba, Winner Will Dance." *New York Times*, June 29, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "How a Sport Galvanized South Korea." *New York Times*, June 30, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Ronaldo's Sweetest Vindication." *New York Times*, July 1, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Questions Remain After the U.S. Wins Its Final Exhibition." *New York Times*, May 29, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Time Is the Czechs' Lurking Enemy in Germany." *New York Times*, June 2, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "THE AMERICANS, SERIOUSLY." *New York Times*, June 4, p. 64. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Growth Spurt Mostly Mental For Prodigy." *New York Times*, June 5, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germany Exults, and Its Fans Finally Exhale." *New York Times*, June 10, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Argentina's New No. 10 Ensures Opening Victory." *New York Times*, June 11, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "At the Height of the U.S. Team's Game." *New York Times*, June 12, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Just Like That, U.S. Is on Its Heels." *New York Times*, June 13, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Togo's Chaotic Trip to Remember and Forget." *New York Times*, June 14, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Ecuador Moves On and Proves Skeptics Wrong." *New York Times*, June 15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Gap in Communication Cited in Loss to Czechs." *New York Times*, June 15, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "U.S. Holds Italy to a Tie." *New York Times*, June 17. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "With Victory, Italy Changes the Subject." *New York Times*, June 17, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Determined McBride Galvanized U.S. Team." *New York Times*, June 19, D1.
- 2006. "A Little Traveling Music: Some Coaches Get Around." *New York Times*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Argentina Offers Glimpse at What May Be to Come." *New York Times*, June 22, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "American Attack Falls Flat." *New York Times*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Arena Says U.S. Team Needs Plan To Improve." *New York Times*, June 24, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "England Heads to Quarterfinals Against Portugal." *New York Times*, June 25. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006b. "Argentina Scores Overtime Knockout." *New York Times*, June 25, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "A Uniter Not a Divider." *New York Times*, June 29, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "The Quarterfinals Begin." *New York Times*, June 30, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Ronaldo Defies The Weight Watchers." *New York Times*, June 30, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Stretched to Limit, Germany Ousts Argentina." *New York Times*, July 1, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "- France Beats Brazil at Its Own Game." *New York Times*, July 2, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Brazil's Fans Lament Demise of the Beautiful Game." *New York Times*, July 3, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Hardened by Cards It Has Been Dealt, Italy Chases 4th Tit." *New York Times*, July 3, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "The Semifinals Begin." *New York Times*, July 4, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "At Germany's Party, It's Italy That Celebrates." *New York Times*, July 5, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Winner Takes All." *New York Times*, July 9, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "France's Aging Magician Conjures a Final Trick." *New York Times*, July 9, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "A Star Falts, France Fades, Italy Rejoices." *New York Times*, July 10, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Lyall, Sarah. 2006. "England's Fans Expect the Best but Await the Worst." *New York Times*, May 30, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "It's Springtime for Soccer, and for Rowdy England Fans." *New York Times*, June 2, A4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Mackey, Stephen. 2002. "The saga of a soccer superstar." *USA Today*, May 15, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Mahoney, Ridge. 2006. "USA's World Cup roster features balance, depth." *USA Today*, May 3, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Terry carries British hopes." *USA Today*, May 31, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Henry eyes big Cup run." *USA Today*, June 2, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "USA has hands full against Italy." *USA Today*, June 16, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Italy vs. Germany." *USA Today*, July 3, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Italians finally add style to soccer play." *USA Today*, July 7, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Players experience ups and downs." *USA Today*, July 10, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Mariotti, Jay. 2002. "Overachievers deserve credit." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 110. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Are you ready for some futbol? Not anymore." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 15, p 110. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Marshall, Kendrick. 2006. "Soccer takes world stage." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 10, p 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Mattox Jr., William R. 2006. "A worthy goal for soccer." *USA Today*, June 14, A13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- McCarthy, Michael. 2006. "Nike seeks profit on word of warning about U.S. men's quest for World Cup." *USA Today*, May 23, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- McCarra, Kevin. 2002a. "Best day in US soccer history'." *London Times*, June 18. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002b. "Arena encourages US to stage show fit for a president." *London Times*, June 18. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Normal service is resumed as Germany prevail." *London Times*, June 22. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "McBride bloodied but Italy need the attention." *London Guardian*, June 19, p. 13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- McVay, David. 2002. "Stylish Marquez sets sights on new frontiers for Mexicans." *London Times*, June 17. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- McDonald, Jeff. 2002. "Night owls get their kicks." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Melvin, Don. 2006. "Racism threatens soccer's showcase." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 5, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Milne, Richard. 2006. "African debutants sail through on a second wind." *London Times*, June 23, p. 13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Moore, David Leon. 2002 "Mexico's defeat deflates supporters in L.A. area." *USA Today*, June 18, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Mulligan, Mike. 2002. "World can be a cruel place." *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 26, p 114. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Sound the alarm: U.S. fans are missing a great tourney." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 6, p 122. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "A hair-raising start to first Cup in Asia." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 11, p 111. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "U.S. wins match game." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 16, p 105. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Arena ball catching on in Asia." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 107. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Quarterfinal thoughts on surprising tourney." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 19, p 129. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Don't let up now." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 20, p 116. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "An exit and an arrival." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 23, p 111. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- . 2002. "Alive and kicking." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 24, p 78. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Navaro, Mireya and Sterngold, James. 2002. "Latinos Still Call It Futbol." *New York Times*, July 10, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Newbart, Dave. 2002a. "Mexico's fans face quandary." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 15, p 108. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002b. "Turn of events a real dream for local fans." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 15, p 108. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Soccer fans find silver lining." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 22, p 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- New York Times*. 2002. "Denmark Gets on the Board to Defeat Uruguay." *New York Times*, June 2, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Keane Scores in Last Minute As Ireland Salvages a Point." *New York Times*, June 6, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Paraguay Stays Alive." *New York Times*, June 13, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "A Shrinking World's Cup." *New York Times*, June 16, p. 12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "There's Joy in South Korea, And There's Agony in Italy." *New York Times*, June 19, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002a. "From Goal to Foul, All Ronaldinho." *New York Times*, June 22, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002b. "Americans Wake Up Early and Pay Attention." *New York Times*, June 22, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002c. "Top Dog, Underdog." *New York Times*, June 22, A10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "French Say Field Conditions Hindered Play Against Swiss." *New York Times*, June 14, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Croatia And Japan Stay Alive With a Tie." *New York Times*, June 19, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Soccer Is a Many-Splendored Sport." *New York Times*, June 27, A16. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Ronaldo Ties Scoring Record as Brazil Just Keeps Rolling Along." *New York Times*, June 28, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Oppenheimer, Andres. 2002. "The World Cup and the world of work." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, B8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Owen, David. 2006. "Who will spring the biggest shock in this year's contest?" *London Times*, June 6, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Parker, Wendy. 2002. "NETHERLANDS 2, U.S. 0: Dutch an ominous yardstick." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 20, C5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "WORLD CUP: Far East kicks." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 26, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "SENEGAL 1, FRANCE 0: Champs fall in opener." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 1, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "WORLD CUP: Hometown hopes." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 2, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "BRAZIL 2, TURKEY 1: Brazilians dance around upset bid." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 4, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "U.S. may open without captain." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 4, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Beasley's speed outweighs size." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 5, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Roaring start for the U.S." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 5, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Red Devils' make U.S. task tougher." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 9, D10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "UNITED STATES 1, SOUTH KOREA: 1 On verge of advancing." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 11, E6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "The few, the proud . . . U.S. soccer 'Sammers'." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 13, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "A draw might do, but U.S. aims to win." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 13, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil, Germany lend star power." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 14, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "S. Korea's joy is our huge sigh of relief." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 15, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Border rivalry getting intense." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 16, D15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. issues a 'big, big' statement." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 18, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Ever-shifting U.S. lineup keeps foes guessing." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 19, C3.
- 2002. "Finding keepers easy for U.S." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 20, D1.
- 2002. "We showed we could play'." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 22, E1.
- 2002. "Bar has been raised for U.S. youngsters." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 23, D12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Health questions follow Ronaldo." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 25, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "BRAZIL 1, TURKEY 0:." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 27, E9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Ultimate clash of titans." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 29, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "BRAZIL 2, GERMANY 0:." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, July 1, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Paul, Ian, 2002. "Stage set for Figo to prove he is star of show." *Glasgow Herald*, June 5, p. 29. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Pele. 2002. "First step can be a doozy." *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 27, p 68. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- . 2002. "A surprise party for fans." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 20, p 107. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "It's time for reality check." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 24, p 79. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Brazil better beware." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 28, p 151. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Posner, Jay. 2002. "Night owls will rule the roost." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "World Cup interest more than nil-nil." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Pryor, Matthew. 2002. "Koreans skating on thin ice." *London Times*, June 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Ramirez, Anthony. 2006. "With Soccer on the Screen, France-Italy Borders Spring Up All Across New York." *New York Times*, July 10, B3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rapoport, Ron. 2002. "Beasley gains spotlight on soccer's big stage." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 6, p 125. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Passion for U.S. team climbing to fever pitch." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 11, p 109. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "In this country, soccer is merely another fad." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 19, p 141. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Reid, Scott M. 2002. "CONFIDENT, CAREFREE; Clint Mathis is one of the cocky players who could propel Team USA forward in this year's World Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 2, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rhoden, William C. 2006. "U.S. Suffers From Human Resources Problem." *New York Times*, June 20, D1.
- Rodereda, Geoff. 2006. "The Underdogs From Down Under." *New York Times*, June 26, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2006. "Nationalism is in for Germany after successful Cup." *USA Today*, July 11, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rodriguez, Yolanda. 2002. "Mexico fans Cup crazy." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 16, D15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rodriguez, Yolanda and Susan Ferris. 2002. "Tough loss to swallow for Mexico." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 18, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rosenthal, Elizabeth. 2006. "Jubilant Romans Enjoy a Shot of Badly Needed Adrenaline." *New York Times*, July 10, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rother, Larry. 2002. "Suspending Reality In Argentina." *New York Times*, May 23, D1.
- . 2002. "For Brazilian Soccer Fans, Apathy Is Replacing Passion." *New York Times*, May 28, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "Brazil Now Admits Its Guys Can Play a Bit." *New York Times*, June 29, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- . 2002. "175 Million Brazilians Hold a Samba Celebration." *New York Times*, July 1, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. "It's Brazil (And 31 Other Teams) In Germany." *New York Times*, June 1, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "High Hopes and Low Expectations." *New York Times*, June 7, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "In Brazil, Unpaved Path To Excellence." *New York Times*, June 25, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "As Soccer Mania Mounts, Politicians' Goals Also Count." *New York Times*, June 27, A4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Rudd, Alyson. 2002. "Misfiring Western has puzzled pundits blowing fuse." *London Times*, June 18. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Samuelsom, Rabert J. 2002. "Why America will win the World Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 4, B8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- San Diego Union-Tribune*. 2002. "It's not a dog-eat-dog world; people could eat dog at World." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 7, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mexico loosens up for World Cup drive." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Nothing like a Dutch treat; U.S., Netherlands carry baggage into 'friendly'." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 19, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Cameroon players stage pay protest." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 22, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Ireland drops 'disruptive' star." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 24, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA / JAPAN MATCH DAY 1." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Korea / Japan MATCH DAY 3." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 1, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Early blitz by Germans is too much for Saudis." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 2, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Korea / Japan; MATCH DAY 4." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 3, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "South Korea / Japan; MATCH DAY 2 ." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 5, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Match Day 6; South Korea / Japan." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 5, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "Long-awaited win is sweet." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 5, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 7." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 6, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Match Day 8." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 7, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 9." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 12." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Germans advance past Cameroon into next round." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "MATCH DAY 14." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Tie is as good as a victory for England in group finale." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "MATCH DAY 15." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Croatians are crushed by loss; Thousands in Zagreb have Cup hopes dashed." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Korean fans jubilant over historic win." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 15, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "WORLD CUP 2002." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 18." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 17, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA / JAPAN; OFF DAY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "WORLD CUP 2002; South Korea / Japan; Off Day." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 19, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 19." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "MATCH DAY 20." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Korean armada hopes to shock Spanish next." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA / JAPAN; OFF DAY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 22, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA/ JAPAN; OFF DAY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 23, C17. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 21." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 24, E13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA / JAPAN; OFF DAY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 27, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "SOUTH KOREA / JAPAN; OFF DAY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 28, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "MATCH DAY 22." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 30, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "World Cup unity." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, B6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "WORLD CUP REVIEW 2006." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 27, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Slezak, Carol, 2002. "German soccer fans take bitter with sweet." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 23, p 109. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Schwartz, Jeremy. 2006. "World Cup outkicks Mexican presidential politics." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 11, A16. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Schmidt, Katherine A. 2002. "German media lead cheers for home team." *USA Today*, June 20, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Schmidt, Martin B. 2006. "For Best Actor in a Diving Film, the Prize Should Be a Car." *New York Times*, July 2, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Shannon, Andre. 2006. "Silverbacks defender has allegiance quandary." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 22, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "GHANA 2, UNITED STATES 1." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Silverman, Gary. 2006. "Americans are too lofty for 'soccer'." *London Times*, may 6, p. 2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Slackman, Michael. 2006. "World Cup Tests Iranians' Ability to Have Fun in Public." *New York Times*, June 10, A3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Smith, Craig S. 2006. "One Dream Realized, Another Denied." *New York Times*, July 10, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Soto, Hiram. 2002. "Frenzied fans celebrate in the streets of Tijuana." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Soto, Hiram and Moshay Simpson. 2002. "Mexican fans' pain is U.S. fans' pleasure in World Cup match." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Soto, Hiram and Terry Rodgers. 2006. "United in their goal." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, B1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Spiers, Graham. 2002. "States troopers soldier on as Mexicans feel the heat." *Glasgow Herald*, June 18, p. 33. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Voller aware of limitations; Germans hope that traumas are." *Glasgow Herald*, June 21, p. 37. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Why it would be wonderful for this American Dream to come true." *Glasgow Herald*, June 7, p. 26. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Growing injury concerns keeping hopes in Czech." *Glasgow Herald*, June 17, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "USA must beat Black Stars then hope." *Glasgow Herald*, June 22, p. 33. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Stars but no stripes as Ghana send USA crashing." *Glasgow Herald*, June 23, p. 34. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Stinson, Thomas. 2006. "A WORLD CUP TO SHOUT ABOUT." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 11, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Steinberg, Neil. 2006. "Watching soccer fans a thrilling spectator sport." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 16, p 22.
- Steinberger, Michael. 2006. "Hey, hey, hey. Let's hear it for the USA." *London Times*, June 6, p. 19. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Szczepanik, Nick. 2006. "Arena's men ready to live the American dream." *London Times*, June 6, p. 78. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Sugiura, Ken. 2006. "USA VS. GHANA." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 10, J1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Sullivan, Tim. 2002. "City that never sleeps awake for Cup final." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 1, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Fans flock to root on their roots." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Sutcliffe, Jennifer and Brenden Sager. 2006. "Atlanta's Mexicans revel in Cup win." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 12, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Tierney, Mike. 2006. "WORLD CUP." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 14, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Tisdall, Simon. 2006. "World Cup victories can boost economies and decide elections." *London Guardian*, June 7, p. 16. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Toronto Star*. 2002. "U.S. let down by defence." *Toronto Star*, May 20, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2002. "Asians set pace for revitalized soccer style." *Toronto Star*, June 26, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Group E Group F Group G Group H." *Toronto Star*, June 8, K7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Uncle Sam still needs World Cup help." *Toronto Star*, June 13, E3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "NASTY, BLOODY, TERRIFIC." *Toronto Star*, June 18, B6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Mother Africa's last hope." *Toronto Star*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- USA Today*. 2002. "World Cup 2002." *USA Today*, May 29, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2002a. "Weekend matches." *USA Today*, May 31, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006b. "These guys have what it takes." *USA Today*, May 31, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "A look at the 32 teams with their home jerseys." *USA Today*, June 6, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "The Cups runneth over." *USA Today*, June 9, A14. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Group notes." *USA Today*, June 20, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006. "Team USA bows out, but soccer takes a step forward." *USA Today*, June 23, A11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006a. "How Portugal, France match up." *USA Today*, July 5, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006b. "The 4-1-1 on Frances 4-5-1." *USA Today*, July 5, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- , 2006a. "World Cup victory comes down to four key battles." *USA Today*, July 7, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006b. "A win fur Deutschland." *USA Today*, July 7, A10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- V., Jonothan. 2002. "At dawn we sleep." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 21, p 154. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Visser, Steve. 2006. "Bitter brew for Ghanians." *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 28, J1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Vescey, George. 2002. "The Next Wave May Have Landed." *New York Times*, May 13, D10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "The U.S. Gains Humility and Experience." *New York Times*, May 20, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Italians Have Something Others Don't: The Curse of Il Codino." *New York Times*, May 26, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "He's a Long Way From Long Island." *New York Times*, May 29, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "New Faces Captivate Before the Old Ones." *New York Times*, June 2, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "United States Needs More Youth to Advance to the Second Round." *New York Times*, June 4, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "First-and-Long: China Is Left With an Empty Feeling." *New York Times*, June 5, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S., a Sleeping Giant, Stirs the Soccer World." *New York Times*, June 6, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Scarlet Humiliation, Public Redemption." *New York Times*, June 8, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Agoos Finally Makes Pulsating Debut." *New York Times*, June 9, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Koreans And Yanks Sweat It Out." *New York Times*, June 11, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "France Plays Like Old Man Of Europe." *New York Times*, June 12, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil's Scoring Clinic Eliminates Costa Rica." *New York Times*, June 14, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "South Korea Is Cheering; U.S. Survives." *New York Times*, June 15, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "No Secret Weapons, U.S. Must Wake Up." *New York Times*, June 16, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Suffering Spain Survives to Play Another Day." *New York Times*, June 17, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "The Captain Turned Up The Fire." *New York Times*, June 18, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Italy Sees Nothing But Red in Loss To South Korea." *New York Times*, June 19, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Americans Learned Harsh Lesson." *New York Times*, June 20, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "England Expects Owen To Be Ready for Brazil." *New York Times*, June 20, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Americans Have Joined the World's Party." *New York Times*, June 22, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "South Korea Still Thinking Big." *New York Times*, June 23, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Another World Cup, Another U.S. Crossroads." *New York Times*, June 23, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil Is Still the Center of the Universe." *New York Times*, June 25, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "With Underdogs Out, Just Two Heavyweights Remain." *New York Times*, June 27, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "No Specter On Ronaldo This Time." *New York Times*, June 28, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "No Drum and No Fancy Dance, but a One-Man Band Leads Brazil." *New York Times*, July 1, D8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Picking A Pool? Play Favorites." *New York Times*, June 4, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Winning Fans Is Easier Than Winning Games." *New York Times*, June 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "For England, Hard Times Give Way To Greater Expectations." *New York Times*, June 11, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Americans Are Ready, Without Excuses." *New York Times*, June 12, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Americans Are Shown Their Place." *New York Times*, June 13, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "And in the End, Germany Always Wins." *New York Times*, June 15, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Is U.S. Faceless? Maybe. Hopeless? No." *New York Times*, June 17, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Americans Flash Their Spikes and Their Pride." *New York Times*, June 18, p. 9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "A Careful Dance Ends With Two Steps Forward." *New York Times*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "With Ghana, Out of Africa Comes Hope." *New York Times*, June 22, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Vanquished U.S. Goes Back To the Drawing Board." *New York Times*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Chasing a Dream In a New Germany." *New York Times*, June 25, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Music Is Over for the Brazil of Africa." *New York Times*, June 28, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Joy in Germany, Shame in France." *New York Times*, July 1, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Portugal in Semifinals In Spite of Itself." *New York Times*, July 2, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "French in the Final, as a Spirit Moves Them." *New York Times*, July 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. "The Final: Good Vibrations, Grim Echoes." *New York Times*, July 9, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Italy's Victory Is Clear, but Moral of Story Is Not." *New York Times*, July 10, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Vinton, Nathaniel. 2006. "From Heart of Ukraine, the Soul of a Scorer." *New York Times*, June 14, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "France's Old Men Show Some Spring in Their Step." *New York Times*, June 28, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Blokhin Leads Ukraine Into Land of the Unknown." *New York Times*, June 30, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Italy Lands Another Blow for Soccer Establishment." *New York Times*, July 1, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "French Team Stages a Revival With an Aging Cast." *New York Times*, July 4, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Walker, Paul. 2002. "Korea make their point against America." *Glasgow Herald*, June 11, p. 29. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "No pressure says Arena as US hope for another big hit." *Glasgow Herald*, June 21, p. 37. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Ward, Andrew. 2002. "Unlikely American dream comes true." *London Times*, June 6, p. 18. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Hosts fail to cash in on golden opportunities." *London Times*, June 11, p. 19. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Superpower underdogs thrive on team spirit." *London Times*, June 18, p. 19. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "In-form Friedel having a field day." *London Times*, June 21, p. 15. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Germany strike a blow for the established order." *London Times*, June 22, p. 11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "A triumph of teamwork over the individual." *London Times*, June 24, p. 18. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Weiner, Tim. 2002. "For Mexico's Soccer Fans, the End of the World." *New York Times*, June 18, A4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Whitehead, Johnnie. 2006. "USA keeps World Cup roster same." *USA Today*, May 16, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Whiteside, Kelly. 2002a. "Mastroeni's versatility plays well for USA." *USA Today*, May 8, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Dutch home, U.S. hope." *USA Today*, May 8, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Creativity sets Mathis apart." *USA Today*, May 16, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "USA sees headway despite loss." *USA Today*, May 20, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "USA needs fine-tuning." *USA Today*, May 21, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "USA's likely starting lineup." *USA Today*, May 21, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002a. " Challenges nothing new to U.S. coach Arena." *USA Today*, June 4, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. " USA may open without 2 stars." *USA Today*, June 4, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. " England 'just another match' for Argentina." *USA Today*, June 6, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. " Keys to U.S. victory." *USA Today*, June 6, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. " USA gets world's attention." *USA Today*, June 6, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " USA must cool down South Korea." *USA Today*, June 7, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "'Stupid boy' Beckham a hero four years later." *USA Today*, June 10, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. " Keeper helping U.S. near goal." *USA Today*, June 11, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. " USA seeks to tie up 2nd-round berth." *USA Today*, June 11, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. " O'Brien's sacrifices paying off 2002." *USA Today*, June 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. " Contributors abound in Americans' run." *USA Today*, June 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " Just expect the unexpected." *USA Today*, June 14, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " Spain into quarterfinals, tops Ireland in shootout." *USA Today*, June 17, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Win vs. Mexico jolts soccer world." *USA Today*, June 18, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "A huge step for U.S. soccer." *USA Today*, June 18, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " Upstarts take aim at Cup." *USA Today*, June 19, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. " Arena: Stakes much higher for opponent." *USA Today*, June 20, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "USA vs. Germany." *USA Today*, June 20, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "Arena's upstarts seek upset." *USA Today*, June 20, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " South Korea is crazy over team." *USA Today*, June 21. C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. " South Korea's feel-good run faces big hurdle in Germany." *USA Today*, June 24, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " Gulati put the bounce in U.S. soccer's growth." *USA Today*, May 2, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " Longtime teammates step to fore for USA." *USA Today*, May 23, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006. " Lineup remains in limbo as USA heads to Germany." *USA Today*, May 30, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " USA's Reyna personifies perseverance." *USA Today*, June 1, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " Pockets of intolerance raise Cup concerns." *USA Today*, June 2, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " USA returns for encore." *USA Today*, June 9, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. " USA to show flag in Cup opener vs. Czechs." *USA Today*, June 12, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. " USA intimidated in '90 but confident in '06." *USA Today*, June 12, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " Shaky attack puts Team USA in hole." *USA Today*, June 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " U.S. players resolute in face of do-or-die showdown vs. Italy." *USA Today*, June 15, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. " USA pleased with tie after dressing-down." *USA Today*, June 19, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Whiteside, Kelly and Steve Woodward. 2002. "Next up: One of game's 'big boys!'" *USA Today*, June 18, C13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Whiteside, Kelly and Andy Gardiner. 2006. "USA needs to put ball in net." *USA Today*, June 21, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Wilkins, John. 2002. "U.S. or Mexico? Many houses divided." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Williams, Richard. 2002. "Superstars submerged in a sea of squads and sweat." *London Guardian*, June 25, p. 28.
- Wilsey, Sean. 2006. "11 Men Carrying a Continent." *New York Times*, June 25, p. 13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Wilson, Craig. 2006. "World should join to raise a cup more often." *USA Today*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Wines, Michael. 2002. "100 Are Hurt As Soccer Loss Leads to Riot in Moscow." *New York Times*, June 10, A6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Woodward, Steve. 2002. "Pope quietly, reliably sets fine example." *USA Today*, May 24, C9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Portugal has players if not history." *USA Today*, June 4, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Win boosts S. Korea's spirits." *USA Today*, June 5, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Fired-up South Korea eager for USA." *USA Today*, June 5, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "USA savors three pointers." *USA Today*, June 6, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Relieved USA just tie away from making round of 16." *USA Today*, June 11, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "French toast: '98 champs out." *USA Today*, June 12, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Poland reduced to playing for pride." *USA Today*, June 13, C14. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Next up: Italy, Mexico await best of U.S. group." *USA Today*, June 14, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Not all big names ousted." *USA Today*, June 17, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. keeper thrust into spotlight." *USA Today*, June 18, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Germans hope stay in paradise extended." *USA Today*, June 20, C11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "With high expectations, ex-German star knows anything can." *USA Today*, June 21, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil battles injuries, red card, destiny and revenge-min." *USA Today*, June 25, C10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Brazil wins 1-0, wows Turkey." *USA Today*, June 27, C13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Brazil-Germany: History collides." *USA Today*, June 28, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Finalists Brazil, Germany finally meet in World Cup." *USA Today*, June 28, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Ronaldo has Brazil on top once again." *USA Today*, July 1, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Young, Chris. 2002. "U.S. squad plays hard, if not pretty, soccer." *Toronto Star*, May 21, E10. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "U.S. faces stern test." *Toronto Star*, June 4, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Now, U.S. stuns soccer world." *Toronto Star*, June 6, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Hosts setting sights higher." *Toronto Star*, June 9, E6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Korea's control not enough." *Toronto Star*, June 11, E3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Upsets keep on coming." *Toronto Star*, June 18, E6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Germany still wary of upstart U.S." *Toronto Star*, June 20, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Despite defeat, U.S. looks like a winner." *Toronto Star*, June 22, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Young, Marc. 2006. "Germany having a soccer ball." *USA Today*, June 9, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Zielbhauser, Paul. 2002. "Around the Soccer World, Pub by Pub, in 29 Hours." *New York Times*. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Soccer Upset in Korea, 500 Red Shirts in Flushing." *New York Times*. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Zeigler, Mark. 2002. "GLOBAL WARMING." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 1, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "U.S., Mexico begin final drive to Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 12, C4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Armas out for U.S.; Cherundolo in?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 13, C3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Catch 'em if you can." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 27, C14. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "GROUP C." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "GROUP B." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "GROUP A." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002d. "GROUP D." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002e. "Japan on high alert for World Cup: The British are coming." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, A11. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002f. "RIVALRY JAPAN, S. KOREA PUT ON THEIR GAME FACE." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002g. "A goal too far?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 29, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "RED EYES WILL BE SOCCER FANS' BADGE OF HONOR." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 30, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Everything you wanted to know about World Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "HEART OF EL TRI; Coach resurrects Mexico's World Cup aspirations." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 1, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "A shocking Sene-GOAL trips defending champs." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 1, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Blanco's PK helps Mexico to opening World Cup victory." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 3, C1.
- 2002. "Mexico win paid for in sweat." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 4, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Heart and Seoul." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 5, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "American Beauty; Stunning upset of Portugal opens door to." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Mountain Climber; Dutchman Hiddink is trying to take South Korea to new heights." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 7, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "England gets revenge with 'Foot of God'." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Will Clint Mathis play? Only Arena knows." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "U.S. enters maelstrom." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002b. “- MATCH DAY 10.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. “United States vs. South Korea.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, C6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. “Americans hang on to tie South Koreans.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 10, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. “Korea tracks down U.S. for tie.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. “French Open.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “United States vs. Poland.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “U.S. hoping to advance on historic Pole vault.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. “Nation 'Shattered'; Favored Argentina can't get out of the Group of Death alive.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. “Mexican squad adopts new motto.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 14, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “U.S. goes forward on a backward day.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 15, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “Rivalry with Mexico can border on intense.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 15, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “WORLD CUP 2002.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “Who has the advantage? .” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. “Head over heels.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 17, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “Underdog having its day! .” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “Struggling for words on stunning loss.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. “Backing from fan-in-chief.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “GOLDEN VICTORY.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 19, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “Winning ugly? .” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 19, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. “UNITED STATES VS. GERMANY.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. “POSITION-BY-POSITION BREAKDOWN.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D6.
- 2002c. “U.S. plays its no-respect card.” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "STADIUM SORCERY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "A glorious exit." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 22, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Hejduk has opened some eyes, and not just because of new." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 22, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "U.S. climbs a soccer mountain; now what to do for an encore." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 23, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Homefield advantage." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 23, C17. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "WORLD CUP 2002." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 24, E13. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Koreans cheering with their heart and Seoul." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 24, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "MATCH DAY 22." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 25, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "THE TURKS LURK." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 25, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Host a cupcake." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 26, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "No Cup final for sacrificial Ballack." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 26, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Where's Ronaldo? ." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 27, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "Dream final will pit familiar faces." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 27, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "A beautiful scandal is added heat for Brazil." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 28, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "POSITION-BY-POSITION BREAKDOWN." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 29, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "GERMANY VS. BRAZIL." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 29, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "Grand Finale." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 29, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002d. "Ronaldo's goal: Seizing his second chance at brazil glory, Memories of illness, 1998 loss still fresh." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 29, D9. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Parity's Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002a. "Cup full of memories." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 1, C12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002b. "JOYS FROM BRAZIL." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 1, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002c. "No consolation for Kahn." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 1, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "Sweeping Up." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 10, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "El Tri bumps Venezuela." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 6, D7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "A rising fever." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "German Juergen Klinsmann lives in the U.S., coaches his national soccer team and his every move is criticized and analyzed." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 7, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "The eyes of the world are on Germany ... where nobody is quite certain what will unfold." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 8, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "GROUP F." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "U.S. youth immune to the fever." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "GROUP G." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006d. "GROUP H." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006e. "GROUP E." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006f. "GROUP C." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006g. "GROUP A." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006h. "GROUP B." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006i. "The outlook- US." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006j. "The outlook: Mexico." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006k. "Continental Divide." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, p. 1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006l. "All eyes on Germany, World Cup." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 9, A1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Germany gambles, rumbles." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 10, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "MEXICO vs. IRAN." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "Iran's politics make Cup situation tense." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, C8. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "England is, and isn't, off on right foot." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 11, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Mexico lights up and smokes out Iran." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, E1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2006b. "Winning combination." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, E12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006c. "UNITED STATES VS. CZECH REPUBLIC." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 12, E12. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Divided, conquered." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "2006 WORLD CUP: Email from Germany." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 15, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "MEXICO (1-0-0) VS ANGOLA (0-1-0)." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 16, D6. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "U.S. alive, kicking after tie with Italy." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 18, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Question for Togo: To go or not to go?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 20, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Do Americans have enough legs left to stand on?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "MEXICO vs. PORTUGAL." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "USA vs. GHANA 2006." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 22, D5. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Going ... going ... Ghana." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 23, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006a. "Cup exposes America's feet of clay." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 24, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006b. "El Tri doesn't want to settle for second-best." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 24, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "'Goal from another planet' stuns Mexico." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 25, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "French just say no to Spain's coach." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 28, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "2006 WORLD CUP." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 30, D4. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "What made Brazil's joyous joga a no-go?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 3, C1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "GERMANY vs. ITALY." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 4, D3. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "FRANCE vs. PORTUGAL." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 5, C2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "ZIDANE, ONCE AGAIN." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 6, D1. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Scouting Report." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 9, C7. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2006. "Winners & Losers." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 12, D2. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- Ziehm, Len. 2002. "U.S. looking to erase embarrassment of '98." *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 21, p 93. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- 2002. "McBride says U.S. is used to pressure." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 11, p 101. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Wolff, revised lineup help U.S. land knockout blow." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 18, p 106. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "Bradley expected U.S. success." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 19, p 129. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).
- 2002. "German roots don't stop Roy." *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 20, p 116. (Retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic Search on June 3, 2007).

- Appendix A -

Descriptive Summary of Playing Styles and Skill by Region and Country

As indicated in Chapter 3, playing style characterizations varied somewhat by media format. Newspaper articles appeared in a variety of forms (as tournament or game previews, match reports, player or coach profiles, and tournament post-scripts that described significant on-field occurrences for viewers or readers) that allowed writers to draw upon a wider range of contexts and circumstances in their descriptions. However, the constant action of soccer limited television announcers primarily to spontaneous commentary description of the game at hand. As a result, their characterization of team styles discussed below was more based within the confines of game play. There were also some differences between the 2002 and 2006 coverage, most importantly for this project the more critical tone of overseas papers towards the U.S. national team in the latter tournament. Still, the assignment of playing styles and skills to national teams were remarkably similar across formats and remained stable over time unless otherwise indicated.

EUROPE

Central Europe

Reports routinely referred to England, France, and Germany as “superpowers” especially because of their ability to defend well. Television and print journalists previewing England’s quarterfinal match with Brazil presented this as a meeting of the best offense (Brazil) and the best defense (England) of the tournament (Longman, June 20, 2002; *New York Times*, June 22, 2002a; Pele, June 20, 2002; Smyth, transcript, USA-BRA, 2002). Adjectives that emphasized

effort, such as “gritty” (Belson, June 8, 2002), “tenacious” (Vescey, June 8, 2002), and “dogged determination” (Bueno, June 16, 2002b) augmented England’s defensive abilities. Their Swedish-born manager commented that “Players today never give up. That is very English. You have shown it in the past in those two world wars” (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 1, 2002). Commentary connected Germany’s strength on defense with organization, physical strength, and emotional control. Reports labeled the German defense “rugged” (Parker, June 19, 2002), “powerful” (Mariotti, June 18, 2002), and “physically imposing” (Brewington, June 20, 2002), occasionally using military metaphors, as when they were described as “march[ing] forward” against Argentina (Knobler, July 1, 2006). One author stated matter-of-factly “the Germans never will lose their cool or their shape in the back” (Mulligan, June 20, 2002), a sentiment that was echoed in coverage of their hosting of the 2006 tournament, an event described as a “characteristic display of Teutonic planning” (Landler & Longman, June 9, 2006). France’s defense received more mixed reviews. In 2002, their failure to live up to pre-tournament expectations induced critical comments, such as the humorously titled “French Toast,” wherein the author described them as “defenseless” (Woodward, June 12, 2002). During the 2006 tournament, however, the defense received praise as “smothering” against Brazil (Longman, July 2, 2006), “swarming” against Portugal (Landler, July 6, 2006), “rational [and] well-marshaled” against Italy (Cohen, July 9, 2006), as well as “superb throughout the cup” (O’Brien, transcript, FRA-ITA, 2006).

Comparatively, praise for offense was less forthcoming from journalists and commentators. Despite a “star-studded roster” (Knobler, June 16, 2006) cited as talented on 27 occasions (Table 4.4), journalists described England’s attack as “visibly devoid of motivation” (Woodward, June 17, 2002), “lackluster” (Bueno, June 16, 2002b), “struggling” (Bell, June 29,

2006), and “flat” (Dave O’Brien, transcript, BRA-AUS, 2006). A late goal counted as a “rare moment of English brilliance in a game that often showed them at their most predictable” (Cohen, June 16, 2006). Even more extreme, journalists characterized the “talent-deprived” (Bueno, May 29, 2002c) German national team as a “shadow of former great teams” (USA Today, May 31, 2002). Goalies and defenders received the majority of comments affirming talent, with the lone offensive player to receive recognition presented as the team’s “one truly world-class field player” (Mulligan, June 24, 2002) or “one true star” (Longman, June 10, 2006). When in 2006 Germany engaged in a more attack-oriented, “swashbuckling” (Cohen, July 9, 2006) style reports suggested discomfort because this brand of “uncharacteristically offensive [soccer]... does not sit well with many German fans (or players, for that matter)” (Vescey, June 11, 2006; also see Zeigler, June 10, 2006). As a result, journalists identified both England and Germany’s playing style as “boring.” Remarking on the English team, a writer penned “There is little elegance in their game, only toil and exertion to provide an austere beauty and grim satisfaction” (Longman, June 25, 2006a).

Conversely, reports characterized France’s overall style of play as rooted in attack. For example, during a 2006 match a color commentator articulated what he saw as the quintessential French style: “France needs to play the way they always play: offensive soccer” (Harkes, transcript, FRA-TOG, 2006). Excepting the Brazilians, France received the most frequent and profuse remarks regarding attacking talent and related skills, with Zinedine Zidane coming in for special praise. Journalists dubbed him a “talismanic presence” (Hirshey, June 4, 2006), a “genius in midfield” (Keough, transcript, DEN-FRA, 2002), “the ultimate midfield player” (O’Brien, transcript, FRA-ITA, 2006), and, at times, used adjectives that implied his skill set as unreal, something more out of fantasy than reality, as when his dribbling ability was referred to as

“wizardry” (Longman, July 9, 2006) and his flair as “magical” (Mahoney, July 10, 2006). After failing to score in all three games in 2002 criticism of the offense inevitably emerged, yet even these criticisms indicated France’s association with offensive prowess through the surprise they expressed. For example, one journalist dubbed their failure to score “mind-boggling” Zeigler, June 12, 2002) given the attacking talent available. As a result, matches involving France were expected to be “entertaining” – or, as one announcer put it, “a fantastic advertisement for the game of soccer” (Harkes, transcript, FRA-SPA, 2006).

In general, reports characterized the three teams in the Central Europe category as capable of controlling or harnessing emotions, leading to superior displays. Commentary frequently associated England with confidence (USA Today, May 31, 2002; also see Bueno, June 16, 2002b; Landler, June 21, 2006; Whiteside, June 10, 2002) and France with a “winning mentality” (USA Today, May 29, 2002) that meant that “as the stakes rose, so did France's game” (Landler, July 6, 2006). Praise for individual players described their “cool elegance” (Zeigler, July 6, 2006), “nerves of steel” (Balboa, transcript, FRA-ITA, 2006), and “steady, level-headed” nature (Mahoney, May 31, 2006). Germany came in for special praise regarding the ability to excel under pressure, as when a reporter called them “‘gamers’ in the parlance of baseball fans” (Belson, June 2, 2002a; also see Zeigler, June 9, 2006l; Vescey, June 11, 2006), because “it has possessed the discipline and resolve to rescue victory from disheartenment” (Longman, June 23, 2002). At times emotions got out of control and sapped performances. Comments repeatedly referred to the French as “desperate” (Edwards, transcript, FRA-DEN, 2002) or “frustrated” (Woodward, June 12, 2002) at failing to score. Reports also cited individual players as occasionally losing their temper. The “pugnacious” Wayne Rooney engaged in a “temper tantrum” (Vescey July 2, 2006) that saw him expelled, while a reporter

from the *New York Times* described Zidane's infamous headbutt in the 2006 final as "a sickening recurrence of the dark temper that has haunted him throughout his career" (Smith, July 10, 2006).

Scandinavia

Overall, Scandinavian teams did not receive much attention in the U.S. press, however the coverage they did receive emphasized defense and defensive oriented skills as their most salient ability (Table 4.3). Reports characterized the "stout defense" (Knobler, June 24, 2006) of Sweden as "one of the world's best" (Bueno, May 29, 2002b) and Denmark's defense as "firm" (Vescey, June 12, 2002) after shutting out France in 2002. Praise for hard work and effort augmented this propensity for defense, as when an announcer praised a Danish midfielder for his "yeoman's work" (Keough, transcript, FRA-DEN, 2002). A preview of England-Denmark specifically linked the Denmark and Sweden when it remarked that England's Swedish-born head coach would be well-prepared for the game because – being Swedish - he "is well versed in the kind of tough defensive discipline showed by Scandinavian teams" (Brooke, June 16, 2002). Scandinavian teams were rarely labeled as attack oriented and only infrequently had skills or abilities related to offensive success invoked. Even when credited with attacking skills, the praise was not profuse.

Eastern Europe

Eastern European teams received little print coverage unless, as was the case with Poland and the Czech Republic, they were opponents of the USMNT, and the coverage they did receive was often very thin. A similar pattern emerged in televised broadcasts. For example, when Brazil faced Croatia in the first round of 2006 the former received almost twice the number of comments. Like other European sub-regions, reports indicated a greater propensity for defense

than offense. Several comments suggested that these teams had limited offensive talent, as when a Slovenian midfielder was described as the team's "only world-class player" (Parker, May 26, 2002). A game preview characterized Croatia's playing style as "defense, defense, defense. Croatia has only one thing on its mind" (Bueno June 2, 2002b), while another described Serbia as possessing a "stingy defense" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, June 4, 2006). In addition, the majority of the praise received revolved around skills conducive to defensive success, such as the ability to work collectively as a team (Table 4.1), positioning (Table 4.3), and physical strength (Table 4.5). For example, reports described Poland's style as "revolv[ing] around cohesive, physical defensive play" (Parker, May 26, 2002) and the Russian team as "hoping to bulldoze the Japanese" (Brooke, June 10, 2002).

Southern Europe

Commentary characterized teams in the Southern European category as among the most talented in the tournament (Table 4.3), especially when attacking. For example, reports dubbed Portugal's offense "one of the world's most ravenous and elegant" (Longman, June 6, 2002), while the "talented Spanish team" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, May 27, 2002) came with a reputation as "one of the planet's most potent offenses" (Zeigler, June 23, 2002b). Comments praising players for related skills, such as passing, creativity, and technique, amplified this emphasis on offensive prowess (Table 4.3). For example, Spain "showed the dribbling and passing tricks of a world-class contender" in defeating Ireland (Vescey, June 17, 2002), while Portugal's "dribbling wizard" (Bell, June 8, 2006), Cristiano Ronaldo, came recommended as a player to watch because he "wears highlights in his hair and creates highlights on the field" (Knobler, July 4, 2006). Although journalists recognized Italy's "potent attack" (Mahoney, July 3, 2006) one

conceded “it's [the attack] hard to see. Italy plays such a tight defensive alignment that it would seem the team is void of talent up front” (Bueno, June 12, 2002).

As this last comment indicates, announcers and writers across both tournaments routinely associated Italy with a conservative defense style, as when one writer stated “Italy has played defense first for decades” (Bradley, June 18, 2002). “Nobody does it better than the Italians, who always seem to have somebody there to clear the ball out of harm's way” (Knobler, July 4, 2006) typified this sentiment. Just under half (19 of 42; Table 4.4) of all comments that cited Italian players as talented referenced defenders or goalies and many claimed these players as among the best at their position in the world, with one writer calling Paolo Maldini “the best defender from a country known for producing them” (Zeigler, May 27, 2002; also see, Knobler, July 7, 2006; Longman, July 4, 2006; USA Today, July 7, 2006). Forty-nine comments described their defense as well-organized (Table 4.4), second most of any nation, as when journalists described their defense as “strangling” (Longman, May 31, 2002), “cohesive” (Vescey, July 9, 2006) and “miserly” (Mahoney, June 16, 2006).

Conversely, reports routinely criticized Portugal's defense in 2002, suggesting it as the primary reason for their disappointing performances. After losing 3-2 to the USA, a *New York Times* writer asked and answered: “Could Portugal, the world's fifth-ranked soccer team, be this inept in goal? The answer, stunningly, was yes. Splendid at putting the ball in the net, the Portuguese were clumsily unable to keep it out” (Longman, June 6, 2002). A better defensive performance in 2006 (5 goals in 7 games) led to a reduction in critical comments about its defense, but the historical weight of defensive frailties loomed in the background. Many reports cited Brazilian-born head coach Luis Felipe Scolari as responsible for bringing about the change because of his “defensive organization and a gritty demeanor” (Zeigler, June 21, 2006b). In this

manner, defensive prowess became temporary, the product of a change in coaching philosophy. Spain's offense received so much attention, few comments addressed their defense.

More than 20% of the comments (150 of 671; Table 4.5) received by Southern European teams indicated the role of emotions of one sort or another, with the majority of a 'negative' variety that interfered with play. Reports characterized all three teams as suffering from an inferiority complex that created distracted performances. Portugal's inability to match expectations in 2002 tethered them to Spain - "a serial World Cup underperformer" (Cohen, June 15, 2006) with whom they also shared geography: "They [Portugal] are fancy dans, like their Iberian neighbors from Spain, and prone to upsets in the World Cup finals" (Vescey, June 6, 2002). Although Italy won its 4th World Cup title in 2006, journalists also associated the team with "performance anxieties" (Vescey, June 16, 2002) such as the "fearful and alarming possibility of penalty kicks" (Longman, July 5, 2006). Reports also portrayed Southern European teams as prone to arguments with referees and willing to simulate being fouled or injured in order to con officials into favorable calls. In an example of the former, a journalist stated "For years, the Azzurri [Italy] have sung the blues about the injustices they've suffered at the hands of corrupt foreign referees" (Hirshey, June 4, 2006). Reports criticized Portugal's young star, Cristiano Ronaldo, because "for every mesmerizing dribble or slick flick there came a pathetic dive or whiny appeal to the referee" (Mahoney, July 10, 2006). Of course, there were a number of counter examples to this negative display of emotion. Portugal played with "no anxiety" against Mexico (Knobler, June 22, 2006), Spain "oozed confidence" against Ukraine (Cohen, June 15, 2006), and Italy looked "assured and relaxed and patient" against Germany (Longman, July 5, 2006). Interestingly, many of the most positive comments about emotions were cast within an attacking context, as in this comment from the USA-Portugal match: "Portugal looking

a little bit nervy in the back third. But here is the man [Figo] who has nerves of steel in the front third” (Edwards, transcript, USA-POR, 2002). Here the impact of emotions varies with the portion of the field they manifest in. The very same players who defensively are “nervy” have “nerves of steel” when placed in a situation that emphasizes the ability to attack, create chances, and score.

The Rest of Europe

Like teams from Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, journalists largely ignored Belgium, Holland, Ireland, and Switzerland. The Netherlands received some recognition for “always hav[ing] plenty of talent” (Knobler, June 4, 2006), even in 2002 when they failed to qualify (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 19, 2002; Vescey, May, 20, 2002; Whiteside, May 21, 2002), however, most reports emphasized a defensive style built around being well-positioned on the field (Tables 4.1 and 4.3). Like the “very well organized” Belgians (Smyth, transcript, BRA-BEL, 2002) and the “very disciplined, very organized” Swiss (Messing, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006), Ireland “never gave an opening” to opponents (Brooke, June 12, 2002). In addition, descriptors such as “very industrious” (Davis, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006), “vigorous” (Belson, June 2, 2002a), “stubborn” (French, June 5, 2002), and “pesky” (Bueno, June 18, 2002) emphasized the effort put out by these teams. Although some comments indicated a loss of emotional control, such as a well-publicized argument between Ireland’s head coach and a star player (*New York Times*, June 2, 2002; *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 24, 2002), most implied a mental framework conducive to superior performances, as when Belgium was dubbed “spirited” (French, June 18, 2002) and Switzerland “composed” (Messing, transcript, FRA-SUI, 2006).

LATIN AMERICA

Journalists routinely presented teams from the Latin American region, especially Brazil and Argentina, as having a special propensity for offensive oriented play. For example, articles commented on Mexico's "attack-oriented game" (*USA Today*, May 31, 2002), Paraguay's "scoring prowess" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, June 4, 2006), Ecuador's "relentless offense" (*USA Today*, May 29, 2002), and Argentina's "elegant, powerful attack" (*USA Today*, May 29, 2002). Every national team in the region excepting Uruguay received at least one comment praising overall offensive skill, with the overwhelming majority directed at Brazil (Table 4.2). Frequent praise for attack related skills such as creativity, passing, shooting, technique, and talent amplified this propensity for offense (Table 4.4). Brazilian and Argentinean players received the majority of these comments, but were also differentiated qualitatively. Journalists claimed that these two teams had far more talent than other nations (Bell, June 29, 2006, *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 4, 2006; Zeigler, May 27, 2002) and used descriptors that implied players from this region had extraordinary capabilities that were utterly unique, if not otherworldly. Passing ability, creativity, and flair – especially for Brazilian players - was often referred to as "magical" to indicate its almost supernatural quality (Edwards, transcript, BRA-TUR, 2002; Knobler, June 29, 2006 Parker, June 4, 2002; Zeigler, June 16, 2002a) and players' feet were labeled "exquisite" (Longman, June 11, 2006), "deadly" (Edwards, transcript, BRA-TUR, 2002), "gifted" (Vescey, June 25, 2002) and "lethal" (Dellacamera, transcript, FRA-URU, 2002). Equally, dribbling skills led to a series of analogies that implied the ball was "glued" (Bell, June 8, 2006) or "stuck" (Hughes, June 17, 2006) to a player's foot. Journalists routinely praised this attack-oriented style of play for its 'entertaining' value. As a result, entire teams were "dazzling" (Hughes, June 17, 2006) and their individual players "exciting" (Bueno, May 29, 2002b) and known to "electrify

fans” (Rother, June 7, 2006). To emphasize the performative nature of their style of play, journalists utilized adjectives drawn from the world of music, dance, and rhythm, as when a *Chicago Sun-Times* writer classified Brazil as unique “because they seem to dance and romance the ball” (Mulligan, June 19, 2002).

Although commentary routinely praised Ecuador and Uruguay’s defenses with terms such as “steady” (USA Today, May 29, 2002) and “strong” (USA Today, May 31, 2002), the majority of the commentary on Latin American teams characterized defense as a primary failing (Table 4.1). For example, newspapers described Mexico’s defense as “suspect” (Zeigler, June 16, 2002b) and Argentina as “vulnerable” to opponent attacks (Longman, June 30, 2006). This included criticism of defense-related skills such as effort and organization. One journalist cited “complacency on the field” (Zeigler, June 16, 2002b) as Mexico’s major failing, while reports characterized Brazil as “lethargic” (Longman, July 2, 2006) and inclined to giving “the appearance of nonchalance” (Vescey, June 27, 2002) even in the process of winning. In terms of organization, Brazil’s defense was “porous” (Longman, June 29, 2002; Cohen June 14, 2006) being prone to leaving opposing players “startlingly unmarked” (Longman, July 2, 2006), while Costa Rica – using the British idiom – were “at sixes and sevens out there” (Smyth, transcript, BRA-CRI, 2002). This disorganization on the field defensively mimicked claims that the administrative bodies governing soccer in Latin American countries were chaotic, poorly run, and corrupt (Longman, June 15, 2006a; Rother, May 23, 2002; Rother, May 28, 2002; Zeigler, June 28, 2002; Zeigler, June 9, 2006j).

Reports frequently connected teams in the Latin American region with passionate emotional displays (Table 4.5), such as crying at the end games (Brooke, June 13, 2002; Parker, July 1, 2002; Longman, July 1, 2006). In an indication of the nervousness that permeated many

of these comments, individual players appeared “shaky” (Longman, June 25, 2006b) and “frazzled” (Zeigler, June 11, 2006c). Even the entire squad of Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico respectively developed an inferiority complex from failing to live up to expectations given the talent available. Mexico, the “classic underachiever” (Bueno, May 29, 2002d), lacked “mental discipline” (D’Hippolito, May 29, 2002) and self belief (Bueno, June 14, 2002), meaning their major weakness was not skill, but “between the ears” (Zeigler, June 9, 2006j). At times, journalists characterized Latin American teams and players as temperamental and prone to emotional reactions that interfered with performance. Commentary described players as “tempestuous” (Zeigler, May 27, 2002), “petulant” (Longman, June 18, 2002b), “late-tackling thugs” (Whiteside, June 18, 2002b), and “long-haired scamps” (Vescey, May 26, 2002) who “often mistake an opponent's legs for the ball” (Hirschey, June 4, 2006). Although Germany’s style could also be physically rough, its origins within physical strength, rather than emotions, suggested a controllable physicality more praiseworthy than villainous. In addition, stories suggested that Latin American teams and players routinely engaged in behaviors that bent rules or broke unwritten norms, such as cheating, faking injury, and diving. Reports called Argentina’s players “drama queens” (Hirschey, June 4, 2006) and “swaggering dive artists” (Vescey, May 26, 2002).

Interestingly, as with Southern Europe, the primary context in which emotions became interpreted positively occurred in attack. For example, Brazil’s players had “supreme confidence on the ball and in the dribble” (Keough, transcript, BRA-CHI, 2002) and “are fearless when they have the ball” (Edwards, transcript, BRA-TUR, 2002). Delimiting beneficial emotional displays to offensive play contrasts with the more general positive influence of emotions on European team play, especially defense. Journalists also connected two of the more famous Brazilian

players, Ronaldo and Ronaldinho, with positive emotions by describing them as constantly smiling. For example, a *New York Times* writer described Ronaldo as having an “Alfred E. Neuman grin” (French, June 27, 2002) while a television announcer portrayed Ronaldinho as “breaking out the famous smile of a child” (transcript, O’Brien, BRA-AUS, 2006). As this last comment indicates, these comments – despite their assenting sincerity - implied emotional immaturity by associating the smiles displayed by these players and their style of play with the unbounded and irrational joy of childhood. Thus, a *New York Times* article quoted a former French national team coach as saying Ronaldo plays “like a child experiencing his emotions for the first time” (Longman, June 29, 2002), while a television announcer, making reference to a Nike commercial aired during the 2006 World Cup, stated Ronaldinho “usually plays with total joy, the same you see in those commercials featuring Ronaldinho as a boy” (transcript, O’Brien, BRA-AUS, 2006).

AFRICA

Reporting on African national teams frequently characterized them as talented (Table 4.3). For example, Nigeria had “an amazing array of talent” (Bueno, May 29, 2002b), Ghana “great talent” (O’Brien, transcript, BRA-GHA, 2006), and even unheralded Togo a “midfield just loaded with talent” (Balboa, transcript, Togo-France, 2006). This similar talent level led some journalists to present sub-Saharan African teams as interchangeable with each other and the continent as a whole. For example, a writer for the *San Diego Union-Tribune* qualified Ghana by simply referencing another African team: “basically Nigeria in red and white uniforms” (Zeigler, June 9, 2006e). As discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, African teams that advanced past the first round were presented as representing the entire continent. Like Latin American teams, praise regarding skills such as technique and creativity augmented depictions of this talent as

primarily offensive in orientation (Table 4.3). Ivory Coast “zipped the ball around the field and weren't afraid to go forward or to try outrageous shots” (Zeigler, July 12, 2006), while “skillful” (USA Today, May 29, 2002) and “freewheeling” (Belson, June 12, 2002) Cameroon engaged in “creative chaos” (*New York Times*, June 2, 2002). Individual players also received special praise for their skills, as when a *New York Times* writer credited a Senegalese player with “spellbinding dribbling” (French, June 23, 2002).

Frequently, reports associated African players with athleticism and physical abilities, especially speed and strength (Table 4.5). For example, writers described Cameroon as “fast, flashy and physical” (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 31, 2002) and Senegal as “strong in the air” (Longman, June 1, 2002) with the ability to “cut corners with grace and muscle” (Vescey, June 2, 2002). At times, discussions of speed used adjectives to express the feeling that players from Africa were faster than ordinary. An Ivorian defender had “frightening speed” (USA Today, May 31, 2006), a Togolese midfielder was “very, very fast” (O'Brien, transcript, FRA-TOG, 2006), and the entire Ghana squad had “speed galore” (Knobler, June 24, 2006). Because of this overall skill, African teams played an entertaining brand of soccer that could “put on an entertaining show” (Whiteside, June 14, 2002) and “enthral the fans” (Vescey, June 22, 2006).

A significant number of comments portrayed African teams as poor defenders because of disorganization, lack of disciplined, and tactical naivety (Tables 4.1 and 4.3), as captured in the descriptors “erratic” (*New York Times*, June 2, 2002) and “shaky” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 11, 2006). Senegal’s “tendency to lose shape on defense” (Mulligan, June 19, 2002) manifested during a loss during which they “showed no stomach for defense” (French, June 23, 2002), while Ghana’s “reputedly structured players lost their discipline by the second half” (Visser, June 22, 2006). Like Latin America, disorganization on the field combined with claims

of corruption and inefficiency off the field to create and even greater impression of disorganization. Several articles commented on disputes over how World Cup earnings would be re-distributed between players and national federations (Longman, June 21, 2006; *New York Times*, June 19, 2006; *San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 22, 2002; Zeigler, May 31, 2002; Zeigler, June 20, 2006), which became the dominant theme of Togo's "Chaotic Trip to Remember and Forget" (Longman, June 14, 2006). Descriptors used regarding the preparation and administration of African national teams – such as "instability" (Longman, June 14, 2006), "dysfunction" (Vescey, June 2, 2002), "turmoil" (Zeigler, June 20, 2006), and "an ongoing soap opera" (O'Brien, transcript, FRA-TOG, 2006) – conveyed organization, efficiency, and infrastructure as serious impediments to the development of African football. This theme of chaos and irrationality reached its apex in reports that sub-Saharan African teams used "witchcraft" and "sorcery" to ensure favorable results on the field (Zeigler, June 21, 2002; also see French, June 23, 2002).

SOUTHWEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

Like Eastern Europe, U.S.-based journalists lacked familiarity with national teams in this region, and, other than coverage of Turkey's surprise 3rd place finish in 2002, stories avoided on-field happenings. Tunisia and Saudi Arabia received the fewest comments of any teams appearing in both tournaments, and fewer than many nations competing in just one. In addition, commentary was general or abstract, mentioning few individual players or details that might familiarize the reader with the team. Rather, the general narrative of stories about national teams from this region proposed the incompatibility of the practice of Islam with participation in the World Cup. Four articles solely dedicated to Iran in this sample focused more on this incompatibility than team play, as captured in the headline: "With Politics as a Player, Iran Loses

Its Opener” (Landler, June 12, 2006). One preview of the World Cup stated “considered [the] best squad in Iran's history but likely to make news more for political reasons than for games” (USA Today, June 6, 2006) and another agreed “try as it might, [Iran] can't seem to escape the ominous cloud of international politics” (Zeigler, June 11, 2006). Several articles regarding the Saudi team made the cultural clash with Islamic culture more specific when they reported a threatened boycott to remove an alcohol manufacturer as corporate sponsor for the “man of the match” award (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 19, 2006; Bernstein, June 16, 2006; *New York Times*, June 19, 2006) and the removal of alcohol and pornography from player hotel rooms (Zeigler, May 31, 2006). Although these articles would give brief one-to-two paragraph descriptions of the team or significant players, the quantity and veracity of the political theme overwhelmed all other occurrences. As a result, it was difficult to discern a playing style for this region, although teams were more generally praised for their defensive than offensive abilities.

EAST ASIA

Approximately half (266 of 518; 51.4%) of the commentary directed at the three East Asian national teams addressed off the field occurrences, especially issues surrounding Japan and Korea as co-hosts of the 2002 tournament. In addition, stories in 2002 highlighted the hiring of European coaches, who imported with them new ideas, strategies, and training methods, as the catalyst behind the surprisingly good performances of Japan, but especially Korea. On the field, commentary stressed neither the offensive or defensive inclinations of East Asian teams (Table 4.1). Teams in the region received few compliments for offensive skills such as passing, creativity, talent, and technique and some commentary implied a lack of these abilities (Table 4.3). Journalists considered Japanese midfielder Nakata as “Japan's one true international star” (French, June 15, 2002), while China’s immense support base in Asia was predicted to give the

national team “a unique home-field advantage that could compensate for any lack of talent or experience” (Zeigler, May, 29, 2002). Although not stressed, some comments indicated the presence of capable defenses, as when China “stay[ed] very compact” (Keough, transcript, BRA-CHI, 2002) and Japan proved “impossible to penetrate” (Brooke, June 10, 2002). East Asian teams – especially Korea - received significant praise for their hard work and effort (Tables 4.5 and 4.6). China “played earnestly” (Vescey, June 5, 2002) and Japan “gave a valiant effort” (Bueno, June 19, 2002), but it was the “workmanlike” Koreans (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 21, 2002b) who came in for special praise as “resilient” (Parker, June 27, 2002), “relentless” (Whiteside, June 11, 2002), “energetic” (Vescey, June 4, 2006), “dogged” (*New York Times*, June 19, 2006), and “spunky” (Vescey, July 2, 2006). As a “disciplined, intense, fit squad that loves to apply pressure” (USA Today, May 29, 2002) the Koreans employed a “brutal work rate that can wear out opponents” (Mulligan, June 11, 2002). After effort, East Asian teams received the most compliments on speed. The “blazing fast” (Zeigler, June 9, 2006a) Japanese relied upon “fleet-footed forwards” (French, June 15, 2002) and a “buzzing midfield” (USA Today, May 29, 2002), while the Korean team “showed impressive speed” (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 17, 2002) and played at “a furious pace” (Zeigler, June 7, 2002). However, articles identified lack of size and strength as the primary weakness of East Asian teams. Japan was “dominated off the ball” (Bueno, June 19, 2002), “bulldozed” (Brooke, June 10, 2002), and “outmuscled” (Zeigler, June 9, 2006a) by opponents (also see, Vescey, June 19, 2002). Similarly, readers were told that German striker Klose “should have an advantage in the air against the Koreans” (Mulligan, June 24, 2002).

AUSTRALIA

Like many other relative newcomers to the sport, Australia received only sparse coverage, however one journalist identified their “signature style of play” as revolving around “indefatigability” (Vinton, June 28, 2006). Indeed, just under one-fifth (13 of 67; 19.4%) of all comments directed at Australia referenced the hard work and effort put in by the team and the stamina necessary to play this style successfully (Table 4.6). In this mode, journalists used terms such as “persistence” (Knobler, June 15, 2006), “tenacity” (Vinton, June 28, 2006), “scrappy” and “gritty” (Landler, June 27, 2006) to describe the team’s tendency to “battle all the way” (Cohen, June 19, 2006) and “put up a very good fight” (O’Brien, transcript, BRA-AUS, 2006). Australia also received praise for a positive emotional state that led to superior performances. Even against mighty Brazil, announcers repeatedly referred to them as “confident” (O’Brien and Balboa, transcript, BRA-AUS, 2006) leading to a reputation as “one of the tournament's most spirited teams” (Vinton, June 28, 2006). Few comments addressed Australia’s offense, which, when coupled with the commentary above, gave the impression of a team more sound on defense than when attacking.

USA

Despite the USMNT not being considered a world power in the sport, U.S.-based journalists covered the USMNT’s participation in both tournaments extensively. The juxtaposition of the country’s global economic, military, and political influence with its “minnow” status in international soccer meant that the U.S. was “banking on the same hope that most nations harbor: that of simply making a good showing” (Parker, May 26, 2002). This led to the use of language rarely associated with a country of the United States’ stature, as when one writer dubbed the U.S. a “developing soccer nation” (Longman, May 26, 2002). The overseas

press in particular embraced the fact that in soccer the U.S. was “an underdog just like Senegal” and other countries struggling for international recognition (Ward, June 18, 2002).

One frequently cited reason for the USA’s inability to achieve global status in soccer was a lack of highly talented offensive players (Table 4.4). The USA received 37 comments indicating an absence of talent as with the *USA Today’s* correspondent claims that “the development of field players in the U.S. trails those of more advanced soccer nations” (Parker, June 20, 2002). As a result, the team is made up of “hard-working, determined players who listen to the coach and execute the game plan. A bunch of construction workers but no architects. Piano movers but no piano players. Guys who can keep you in the game but no one who can win it with a solitary act of pure genius” (Zeigler, June 24, 2006a). The non-U.S. based press accounted for the majority (19 of 37) of these comments, including some that came during 2002 when results on the field provided a potential challenge to such claims. During this tournament the team was described as “unfancied journeymen” (Spiers, June 18, 2002), “hard-working but anonymous” (Williams, June 25, 2002), and a “group of no-stars” (Young, June 18, 2002). Commentary also indicated the perception the team was deficient in other attack related skills as well, as when they were said to suffer from a “lack a deftness of touch” (*The Guardian*, June 5, 2006) and a “lack of real flair” (*Toronto Star*, June 8, 2006).

Although U.S. players received comments praising their passing, creativity, technique and talent within the U.S. press (Table 4.4), these were tempered by their mode of presentation. First, the U.S. received far more comments than any other nation, meaning these remarks occurred less frequently than for other teams. In addition, 55 of the 93 occasions when U.S. players were cited as talented referred to four players (Reyna, Donovan, Mathis, and Beasley), thus limiting this skill to a handful of individuals rather than distributed to the entire team. Even

more, commentators clarified these players' talent by contrasting them with current and past teammates. For example, Reyna was dubbed the "one player... who could rate as world-class" (Parker, June 18, 2002) and Mathis "easily the most explosive player the United States has ever had" (Vescey, June 4, 2002). Thus, the apparent talent of these players was tempered by simultaneous claims that the team as a whole – past and present – lacked talent. An exchange during the broadcast of the U.S.-Mexico game gives more indication of this pattern:

[Edwards] The kind of stuff we just saw from Donovan, then O'Brien was the stuff rarely seen by any American player other than Claudio Reyna in previous years...

[Keough] Tab Ramos in the past had some of those abilities. But you're right, this is a different level for the United States being able to hold the ball under very tight pressure and find other options. (transcript, USA-MEX, 2002)

Several Americans playing professionally in Europe reported that teammates and coaches doubted their talent in the sport because of their American identity (Knobler, June 19, 2006; Whiteside, June 12, 2006a; Zeigler, June 20, 2002; Zeigler, June 21, 2006a). For example, defender Onyewu's Belgian teammates equated his ability with his Nigerian ancestry even though he was born and raised in the USA (Longman, June 12, 2006). The one position at which the U.S. was routinely recognized to produce world class talent was goalkeeper (Parker, June 20, 2002; Zeigler, May 29, 2002d), however, the uniqueness of this position (e.g. the use of hands) only added to the perception that talent available to the U.S. differed from the rest of the world.

Reports characterized athleticism as the USMNT's primary strength (Table 4.6). A former defender-turned-television announcer commented "the U.S. has always been known physically. They have always been one of the fittest teams in the World Cup or in the world" (Balboa, transcript, USA-CZE, 2006; also see Hiestand, June 20, 2002). Legendary Brazilian

striker Pele stated the U.S. were “difficult opponents because they are such tremendous athletes” (Pele, June 24, 2002). Like the domestic-based press, journalists overseas readily agreed that the “United States produces bigger, stronger, and faster athletes in far greater numbers than any nation on earth” (Steingberger, June 6, 2006; also see McCarra, June 19, 2006). The entire squad was described as “fit and agile” (Spiers, June 21, 2002), “very athletic” (Atkinson, June 21, 2002) and a team with “rare pace” (Fifield, June 22, 2002). Overall, the USA received 182 comments indicating the team or individual players were fast, more than three-times the next closest country. A preview of the 2006 tournament cited “speed, fitness, [and] athleticism” (Longman, June 4, 2006) among the qualities the U.S. team excelled at, and, unlike attacking skills, adjectives and metaphorical language emphasized the outstanding quality of this speed. Reports described Beasley as playing with “afterburners in his feet” (Vescey, May 13, 2002), Donovan as a “0-to-100 midfield water bug” (Klein, May 26, 2002), and Hejduk as possessing “dizzying speed” (Landman, June 2, 2002).

The United States team was also highlighted because of a mentality that emphasized collective effort, team spirit, and intense exertion of energy (Table 4.6). The *London Times* stated “competitive is the first word you might apply to Team USA” (Hughes, June 11, 2006). This “freckled-face gumption” (Zeigler, June 18, 2002a) was referred to by well-respected manager of Manchester United, Alex Ferguson, as “that American thing” (Longman, June 14, 2006). Pele added to this sentiment when he stated “I find it hard to believe anyone can be working harder at this World Cup than U.S. coach Bruce Arena and his players” (June 20, 2002). So, whereas their attacking prowess may be ordinary, their commitment was “extraordinary,” their vitality “remarkable” (McCarra, June 19, 2006). Equally important was the dedication to put collective needs, such as defensive effort, above individual exploits. In an interview, Coach Bruce Arena

indicated ““some countries don't have the ability to have all 10 players on the same page at the same time. For whatever reason, that happens to be a strength of ours”” (Longman, June 4, 2002). Thus, in contrast to the individualized attacking talent associated with Latin America and Africa, the USA’s strength came not from an individual “genius” but collective effort. Journalists advised that the USA must “make up in experience and cohesiveness what it lacks in star power” (Knobler, June 12, 2006a) so that “unity [can] compensate for the absence of individual luminosity” (Longman, June 4, 2006).

The end result of this collective effort, team spirit, and athletic ability coupled with more limited talent going forward was a strong association with a defensive style. Following their upset of Portugal a former American player compared the team’s defense to that of Italy: “The U.S. team defended with such structure that if it had worn blue uniforms you'd have thought you were watching a vintage Italian team” (Lalas, June 19, 2002). With this defensive affinity came accusations of a “boring” playing style. For example, following a U.S. tie with Italy in which two U.S. players were ejected for hard tackles a U.S.-based journalist informed American readers that “many Europeans saw an ugly disfigurement of soccer... rather than those values dear to America: heart, commitment and sacrifice” (Cohen, July 9, 2006). Overseas journalists were particularly quick to classify the U.S. style as less entertaining. The team’s defense-first strategy - although potentially successful – was considered boring because it “detracted from the spectacle, unless the sight of tough defenders making clearances is to be reclassified as entertainment” (McCarra, June 18, 2002b). In particular it was the juxtaposition of the lack of attack with the defensive style which led to a “reputation for being athletic and solid rather than spectacular” (Dart, June 14, 2002).