

## Crippling Sports Migration: A Personal Journey

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** *I am José. I was born in Manaus, and because of a hospital infection, I acquired septic arthritis in my right knee, which left me with one leg 10cm shorter than the other. Growing up with my mother as the only provider, I faced multiple surgeries before I even turned 18. I decided to 'quit' my medical treatments and study social sciences in Manaus. This is how I 'came out crip'. I chose to live with my disability and refused normalization. The study of social sciences led me on a journey to Europe that began in 2009 when I went to Porto, Portugal, as an Erasmus Mundus exchange student. I then took a Master's program at Lund University in social studies of gender, and returned to sociology for my PhD. In 2022, I presented my thesis at Charles University in Prague. That year, I discovered that I had a classic Hodgkin's lymphoma. I am still fighting cancer. In 2024, I published my first book. On the surface, it has nothing to do with my personal life. It's not about crip theory or disability studies, but sports migration. It presents a multi-sited ethnography of Brazilian professional athletes who migrated to Central and Eastern Europe for better salaries and working conditions. As my fieldwork developed, I discovered that injuries and pain affect athletes' decisions to engage in transnational migration. Brazilian football and futsal leagues do not respect FIFA's calendar, and professional athletes there often complain about working conditions. In this personal account, athletes' constant need for medical assistance throughout their careers inspired me to think about the usefulness of queer and crip theories to understand both my own trajectory and sports migrants' lives more broadly.*

**Keywords:** *Sports Migration, Crip Theory, Queer Theory, Autoethnography, Sports Injuries*

---

<sup>1</sup> PhD in sociology – Charles University in Prague. Postdoctoral researcher in CEBRAP's International Postdoctoral Program.

O destino desvendou quantos eu serei  
Do mais pobre ao rei  
Com o olho avante, que enxerga atrás  
E que compreende todos os sinais.

[Destiny revealed how many I will be  
From the poorest to the king  
With eyes ahead that see behind  
And that understand all the signs]

(“Orunmilá” by Cristiano Dinucci and Douglas Germano)

### **Introduction: From FIFA’s Archives to my Personal Journey**

November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1987, was presumably a cold day. In Zurich, between 16:05 and 18:10, the first meeting of the FIFA Ad-Hoc Committee for Five-A-Side Football was held, later known as futsal. Participating in the Committee at the FIFA headquarters were: Pablo Porta Bussoms, Dr. György Szepesi, Antonio Ricchieri, José Bonetti, Joseph S. Blatter, Miguel Galan, Ruth Hüppi, Harry H. Cavan, Dr. Eduardo Rocca Couture, van der Hulst<sup>2</sup>, Bol (representative of the Netherlands Five-A-Side Football), Dr. Wilfried Gerhardt, and Walter Gagg.

---

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Tom van der Hulst, a UEFA representative.

They first evaluated three futsal tournaments in different parts of the world, the regions of which are not disclosed in the meeting's documentation. These tournaments seemed to have been deemed 'successful' by the committee because they all strictly followed FIFA's regulations.

After the Chairman Pablo Porta Bussoms greeted the participants, Dr. Gerhardt was the first to speak:

In FR Germany five-a-side football is only played for a period of four weeks, indoors, to fill the gap brought about by the winter break. (...) FIFA should be flexible when issuing directives, especially since five-a-side football in the FR Germany is controlled by the Association.

Following Dr. Gerhardt's warning, the Chairman stated that FIFA's control of the 'laws' of the game was 'necessary'. They justified the 'necessity' of FIFA's oversight of futsal by highlighting the need to have the game follow universal rules. They reached a compromise when the Chairman said FIFA would discuss the standardization of futsal with the German association.

The other topics at the meeting include the organization of the First Futsal World Cup. Two candidates for hosting the event presented their proposals: the Netherlands and Spain. The submission of these countries' proposals was scheduled to take place at FIFA's Executive Meeting on 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1987. The inclusion of futsal at the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992 as an exhibition sport was also discussed.

The document closed with the final remarks of the participants. Harry H. Cavan, Dr. Eduardo Rocca Couture, and Antonio Ricchieri mentioned their contentment that FIFA had at

last taken responsibility for standardizing futsal's rules and promoting them globally. Joseph Blatter signed the meeting transcription.

There is a reason I chose to start this personal account with a meeting in Zurich. While there is abundant literature on football and globalization (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009), FIFA (Tomlinson, 2018), and João Havelange's<sup>3</sup> FIFA presidency (Burlamaqui, 2019), the history of futsal at FIFA is generally neglected. Overlooking futsal's history has profound consequences for sports studies. As Jamie Fahey (2021) has shown, futsal is both a global sport and a method for cultivating footballers' skills. Furthermore, futsal reveals a different kind of globalization. For instance, Fahey includes an analysis of Iranian women's futsal teams, shattering ready-made, and Orientalist images of women as passive and agentless in Iran. Furthermore, FIFA's global futsal promotion has a definitive postcolonial taste. It may help us break away from Eurocentric tropes of classic sports studies (Guttman, 1978; Elias and Dunning, 1986). This post-colonial flavor, comes, after all, from the fact that futsal was a sport created in Uruguay, in the 1930s and 1940s. This meeting at FIFA's headquarters, to debate the standardization of futsal rules, marks a shift in the international association's role in regulating both football and futsal in the late 1980s. Furthermore, the history of futsal in FIFA, in the context of the decline of the Soviet Union, can reveal ideologies present in international associations that regulate sports, such as a central idea of 'fair play'. Futsal, as it turns out, presented an opportunity for FIFA officials to think about the possibility for reinforcing 'fair play' in their attempt to promote it globally.

---

<sup>3</sup> João Havelange was president of FIFA between 1974 and 1998 and a member of the International Olympic Committee. Under Havelange's presidency, FIFA partnered with Coca-Cola and Adidas. FIFA also saw the global broadcasting rights of the World Cup skyrocket in value. In the late 1990s, Havelange faced corruption charges over bribes from companies and country officials interested in hosting and broadcasting mega sport events (Tomlinson, 2018; Burlamaqui, 2019).

In this personal account, three 'events': The Ad-Hoc-Committee's meeting in Zurich, my last doctor's appointment in a public hospital in Brazil, and my meeting with futsal and football players in Central and Eastern Europe, illustrate both the globalization of futsal and various transnational migration movements open to both Brazilian professional athletes and academics. Throughout this personal account, I problematize the difficulties and possibilities encountered when collecting and interpreting athletes' life-histories, as a cautionary tale for future researchers in sports migration.

### **A Crip Migrant: A Personal Journey in the Social Sciences**

I was 18 years old. A few months had passed since I had undergone surgery on my right knee. My mother and I were at a hospital for follow-up exams. I had just heard that I had been approved to study social sciences at a public university in Brazil. I didn't know it at the time, but this moment would mark a turning point in my life. The doctor came in and sat with me and my mother to explain the next planned surgery to us. He said the subsequent surgery would be even more complicated, and it might take a whole year until I could walk again. Maybe he was not expecting my uneasy looks. He then decided to do something that determined my destiny for years. He gave me my file to look at. It was a symbolic gesture.

As I was legally an adult, I had access to a detailed document about myself. I had seen the file, but had never touched it. The fact that I could read it at that moment felt simultaneously mysterious and relieving. I read the first sentence, "The patient has a sequela of septic arthritis in his right knee". I skimmed through the file, and reached a series of photos. There were only

photos of my right knee. Uselessly, I searched for photos of my face. I could only see pictures of my knee while I was growing up. I remember feeling terrified and distant, as if these images were not my own. I have built a different relationship with my body.

There I was, looking at my disability, staring at the fact that I could not run away from either my right knee or my file. Wherever I go, no matter how I decide to live, my file will always be here, at this hospital. It is a partial, flawed document of the first 18 years of my life. I decided to tell the doctor I was approved in a rather competitive test to study social sciences at the Federal University of Amazonas. I asked him what would happen if I “quit” my treatment. He told me that I could wear a special kind of shoe (which I never wore after this meeting), and that was it. I could live *uma vida normal*, a ‘normal life’. These words forced me to admit I hadn’t lived a normal life. Sensing where these discussions might lead, my mother showed her discontent. It seemed that she was about to tell me that she would not give up. For her, I couldn’t simply walk away from the promise of ‘normality’, even if that cost another year in bed.

I told the doctor I needed time to think about my life, and I never returned to that hospital. Little did I know, I was ‘coming out crip’. In my first years studying social sciences, my mother often raised the issue with me. She would tell me that I needed to go back and get the surgery the doctors recommended. I would usually be dismissive when she raised the issue: “Maybe one day, not now”. Years later, I consider that my initial years at the university were years of living a ‘normal’ life. I enjoyed not making plans according to doctors’ schedules; getting away from the hospital meant “freedom”.

In the third year of my undergraduate degree, I was selected for an Erasmus Mundus exchange program at the University of Porto. In Europe, I discovered a new kind of 'freedom'. 'Freedom' I had not expected to find in my lifetime. I could travel 'freely'. I could also arrange every detail of my life independently. It was liberating to live in and see Portugal. When the program ended, I returned to Brazil to graduate. Because of delays caused by a university strike that year, I had time to arrange multiple applications to Brazilian and European master's programs. After searching for scholarships, I found an opportunity for a Swedish Institute scholarship, and applied to Lund University's master's program in social studies of gender. I was eventually selected.

After finishing my undergraduate degree, my mother once again raised the issue of accepting the doctors' advice for surgery. I remember that it made more sense to return to the hospital at that time, and I considered it more and more. I did not know then that I was 'coming out crip'. I hadn't encountered 'crip theory'. It was in Lund that I read both queer and crip theories together (Butler, 1990; McRuer 2006). In Lund, I also met various researchers involved in debating the relevance of crip theory in both the Swedish context and in social sciences more broadly (Apelmo, 2012a; 2012b; Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2023; Karlsson and Rydström, 2023). Lund was a great place to be 'crip'.

In Lund, I realized that my 'freedom', and 'normal life' meant nothing if I wanted to stay in the social sciences. I would have to constantly ask myself about the relevance of the knowledge I wanted to produce. In my master's studies, it took me a while to understand my fascination with Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990). The questioning of heteronormativity was

undoubtedly attractive. By then, I had read *Gender Trouble* multiple times, and I always found Butler's play with words, their humor, and their ability to question what we often take for granted simply brilliant. It was not until I read *Undoing Gender* (2004) that I realized the context in which *Gender Trouble* was written, and how precarity and neoliberalism affected Butler's career trajectory.

For those unfamiliar with it, 'crip' theory is usually thought of as an effort to think about disabilities, inspired by queer theory's questioning of normativity. Robert McRuer's (2006) book, *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*, has become a landmark text for thinking with and through feminist debates on intersectionality, disability, queerness, and sexuality in a new light. Just as Judith Butler problematized heteronormativity and rethought agency, the self, and identity, McRuer problematized the production and reproduction of 'normality' through an analysis of "compulsory able-bodiedness"<sup>4</sup>. As with heteronormativity, for McRuer compulsory able-bodiedness constructs those outside the bounds of its norms: queers and disabled bodies. Furthermore, compulsory able-bodiedness, as heteronormativity in Butler's analysis, is also reproduced by a series of imperfect acts (McRuer, 2006; Karlsson and Rydström, 2023, p. 399).

The constant reproduction of compulsory able-bodiedness through imperfect acts is one of the most insightful and universal aspects identified by crip theory: the realization that most, if not all of us, face some form of disability in our lifetime. Instead of universalizing "normalization" projects, crip theory advocates a fruitful political alliance between activists and academics that

---

<sup>4</sup> Compulsory able-bodiedness was formulated in dialogue with the concept of "compulsory heterosexuality" — the term used by Adrienne Rich (1980) to make visible lesbian experiences and problematize the normative character of heterosexuality.



not only calls attention to power relations between disabled and able bodies, but also disrupts our usual understanding of what 'disability' is (see also Richard, Joncheray and Duquesne, 2023).

In this sense, my time in Lund, inspired by crip and queer theories, made me more aware of the pervasiveness of 'compulsory able-bodiedness'. While on the PhD program in sociology at Charles University in Prague, to research sports migration in Central and Eastern Europe, I began to 'crip' some of the migrant athletes I met in my fieldwork, as we will now see.

### **Crippling Football and Futsal Migrant Players**

Joaquim<sup>5</sup> was the first footballer I contacted for an interview in 2017. He told me, via an instant message app, that he was not in the Czech Republic at the time. He was back in Brazil for surgery and would return to the Czech Republic in two months. The fact that I had to wait to meet him, and the fact that I accidentally came to know about his surgery, allowed him to speak more freely about his condition. At first, I thought Joaquim had gone to Brazil because of a serious injury.

When we finally met, in a small town in the Czech Republic, I learned that Joaquim had a thyroid condition, and that the surgery in Brazil was intended to provide him a permanent solution. Joaquim told me that he first began playing football in his *bairro* (neighborhood), in Belo Horizonte. His local coach knew some people in established clubs in Minas Gerais, and he was able to get a try-out for him on Atlético Mineiro FC. Joaquim passed, and later moved on to play

---

<sup>5</sup> The names of the athletes were changed to protect their identities.

for Cruzeiro FC. One day, however, he noticed he couldn't run. The club was unable to make a diagnosis or prescribe a treatment, and he was let go.

Joaquim then contacted a friend of his, a medical student, who, together with his supervisors, was able to make the right diagnosis. With proper treatment, Joaquim improved and began thinking about a strategy to 'get back in the game'. He then started playing informally, every week, at a football pitch where retired players gathered to play. He knew sports agents sometimes watched these matches. After one game, a German sports agent approached him with a 'European offer'. The transfer window was about to close, and this agent was only able to find him a place in Kosovo. Joaquim agreed to the transfer. In their agreement, Joaquim would move to a 4th division German club the following season. After his first season in Kosovo, the German club interested in him was relegated to the fifth division, and Joaquim decided to move to a second-division Czech club.

I confess it took me some time to make sense of Joaquim's account. Not only did his career trajectory have many twists and turns, but, as an athlete outside of the media spotlight, he also relativized the importance of financial gains. During our conversation, Joaquim admitted that an experience in the Czech first division was already a good step in his precarious career, which had been punctuated by a chronic disease. While he could see that the continuation of his career depended on the medical assistance provided by the clubs, he constantly remarked that he would like to move to Germany. After a while, Joaquim led me to another footballer, Pedro, who became my second interviewee. The three of us met at a Chinese restaurant in Prague. As Joaquim seemed happy to help me, I tried to stay in touch with him, and until 2021, I kept him informed about my

project and sent him the papers I was publishing. But we eventually lost contact after he was transferred to a second-division Polish club.

Joaquim's career trajectory points to a recent trend in sports migration: the proliferation of sports migration routes open to professional athletes. However, I would add that it also tells us something about the difficulty in collecting and interpreting first-hand accounts. Brazilians are usually regarded as "the global football workforce" (Poli, Ravenel and Besson 2019, p. 7), but after this first interview, I wondered whether the career narratives of other lower-division footballers would also be marked by various twists and turns, and whether, and if so how, I could make sociologically-relevant generalizations based on a series of migrant athletes' accounts about themselves and their careers.

In late 2017, around the same time I met Joaquim, I found out about futsal players' migrant career trajectories in the Czech Republic and other Central and Eastern Europe countries. The 'discovery' of futsal alleviated many of my 'troubles' doing fieldwork in football. Futsal allowed me to observe athletes' routines, training sessions, and medical issues more closely. Furthermore, with futsal, I came to understand the reasons football and futsal should be studied together. Not only are the two sports regulated by FIFA, but, as I found out, Brazilian football and futsal players train in both sports until they reach the age when they must specialize, at 16 or 17. Football's higher salaries might attract more *wannabes*, but the fact that athletes train in both sports increases

Brazilian football clubs' 'talent pool', making it easier for clubs to recruit and retain players up until a certain age.<sup>6</sup>

Futsal players have shown me more than just a new game. They have talked more openly about the "painful side of football". While some footballers seemed quite reluctant to talk about injuries and pain, most of the futsal athletes I met in my fieldwork were already thinking about retiring. They were experienced athletes, elites in their game, in their late 30s and early 40s. Some of these older players wanted to leave a "legacy" to younger migrant players, and constantly fought to have futsal clubs provide better and more personalized healthcare.

Contrary to the many analyses that seem to point out the omnipresence of "cruel optimism" (Berlant, 2011) in sports industries, I discovered that futsal players, while not unionized, had built a sense of solidarity regarding the conditions that would allow them to turn their bodies into commodities. In the Czech Republic, and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the opportunity to be treated by physiotherapists, for instance, was seen as crucial for adequate athletic performance. Brazilian futsal players were often regarded as competent migrant professionals because of their international experience and skills. However, some of them earned the label of 'trouble-maker' because of constant disputes with club officials over healthcare.

Central and Eastern European futsal clubs recruited migrant Brazilian players, but could only provide them access to the public healthcare systems because of their limited financial

---

<sup>6</sup> Another reason Brazilians engage in transnational migration is the overexploitation of athletes in their own country. Brazilian futsal and football leagues have more matches than FIFA's recommended calendar, which increases the risk of injury. Brazilian athletes who engage with transnational migration usually find better salaries and working conditions abroad. Keeping themselves healthy is a also crucial motivation for Brazilian athletes to migrate.

capacity. Migrant athletes, however, sought access to private physicians and physiotherapists to help them heal faster from injuries and maximize their productivity.

In this sense, disagreements between migrant players and club officials, and the demand from migrant Brazilian athletes for personalized healthcare made me question an established area in sports studies: research on pain and injury in professional and college sports (Curry and Strauss, 1994; Young, White and McTeer, 1994; Messner, 1992; Sabo, 2004).

These studies have shown that athletes often comply with masculine codes of conduct, and over the course of their professionalization, eventually learn to ignore injuries and pain. While Brazilian migrant athletes also complied with the masculine codes of conduct of various sports industries, known as the “sport ethic” (Malcom, 2006), they were nonetheless able to relativize it, seeing injuries not as their responsibility, and fighting for better healthcare as well as practicing a form of “care of the self” (Foucault, 1986). The constant pressure for results and the hierarchical world of sports condition athletes’ agency, as well as their engagement with practices of “care of the self”, as we will see in the next section.

### **On “Care of the Self”: Some Final Thoughts**

There are at least two reasons why it is important to understand the career paths and migration processes of professional athletes in various sports. If we recognize the full complexity of athletes’ narratives, we see that athletic careers are far from linear. While sports worlds are structured hierarchically, athletes constantly find ways to challenge the hierarchies present in their lives. Following these twists and turns will invariably lead us to an understanding of the diverse ways athletes deal with injury and pain. In this ‘personal account,’ I have argued that by

shifting our attention not only to the most prevalent discourses present in various sports industries, but also onto 'care,' is a good step towards crippling professional athletes.

While there is an established scholarship focusing on pain and injuries in professional and colleges sports, these scholarly works rarely touch upon sports migration (Messner, 1992; Roderick, 1998; Sabo, 2004). And, as I came to realize, the future of both sports studies on pain and injuries and sports migration studies stand to benefit from mutual dialogue.

The migrant men I met in my fieldwork taught me about the importance of their 'care' practices. They strive to take care of themselves to avoid injuries and premature career terminations. Preventing small injuries from becoming more serious ones was constantly mentioned in their narratives. By approximating a Foucauldian concept (1986) designed to analyze the ethics and history of sexuality, I saw athletes' practices of "care of the self" as their way of compensating for the precarious medical treatments they receive in 'host' countries. In this sense, while most of the social studies of sport point to what is usually called the "sport ethic" (Malcom, 2006), the gradual embodiment of an ethics of "sacrifice for the game" that is common in professional and college sports, among women and men athletes alike, my fieldwork also showed me how "sacrifice" intersects with "care" (de Oliveira Filho, 2024).

Furthermore, athletes' care practices remind us that, while sports still constitute a central institution for compulsory able-bodiedness (McRuer, 2006), a closer look into sports industries may lead us to a series of questions raised by crip theory. To move forward in sports migration studies, we may need to raise the issue of "migrant crip athletes" and see where these athletes take us.

## **An Afterthought: Lymphoma Arrives**

It is always risky to talk about oneself in the first person and disclose the *mise-en-scène* of fieldwork (Butler, 2005). Social anthropologists and sociologists who do so may be accused of not complying with the “standards” of their disciplines. These professionals, it is often said, do not write novels, and often set themselves apart from the people they ‘study’ in their writings. As feminist and postcolonial critiques of the canon from the 1980s and 1990s have shown, anthropologists would add transparency to their accounts by fully disclosing their positions in the field (Said, 1985; Behar and Gordon, 1995).

In intertwining my personal experience with FIFA documents and athletes’ narratives, I had a different purpose in mind. After I presented my thesis, I returned to Brazil to be with my mother for a while. There, I was diagnosed with classic Hodgkin’s lymphoma. The cancer diagnosis led me to pack my bags and return to the Czech Republic. In 2023, I underwent chemotherapy, and had a ‘transplant’ of my own bone marrow. This did not seem to have worked. In November 2023, I began immunotherapy, and my quality of life has greatly improved. I have been living ‘freely’ again since late 2023. My newly found ‘freedom’ allowed me to travel, take some courses around Europe, and protest the current genocide of Palestinians in Gaza.

And, as I am not considered ‘terminal’ (Farman, 2017), I guess I still have some time ahead of me to see if my ideas will find a suitable audience.

In the meantime, I’ll be in Prague until I am cured.

## References

- Apelmo, Elisabet. 2012a. "Crip Heroes and Social Change." *Lambda Nordica*, 17 (1-2), 27-52. <https://www.lambdanordica.org/index.php/lambdanordica/article/view/330>
- Apelmo, Elisabet. 2012b. "Falling in Love with a Wheelchair: Enabling/Disabling Technologies." *Sport in Society*, 15 (3), 399-408.
- Behar, Ruth, and Deborah A. Gordon, editors. 1995. *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berlant, Lauren. 2011. "Cruel Optimism" in *Cruel Optimism*. 23-49. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Burlamaqui, Luiz Guilherme. 2019. *A Dança das Cadeiras: A Eleição de João Havelange à Presidência da FIFA (1950-1974)*. PhD dissertation, University of São Paulo.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, Judith. 2005. *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Curry, Timothy J., and Richard H. Strauss. 1994. "A Little Pain Never Hurt Anybody: A Photo-essay on the Normalization of Sport Injuries." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11 (2): 195-208.
- de Oliveira Filho, José H. 2024. *Sport Migrants, Precarity, and Identity: Brazilian Footballers in Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Elias, Norbert, and Eric G. Dunning. 2008 [1986]. *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- Fahey, Jamie. 2021. *Futsal: The Indoor Game that is Revolutionizing the World Soccer*. London: Melville House.



Farman, Abou. 2017. "Terminality." *Social Text* 35, (2 (131)): 93–118.

Foucault, Michel. 1986. *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self*. Vol. 3. New York: Pantheon Books.

Giulianotti, Richard and Roland Robertson. 2009. *Football and Globalization*. London: Sage.

Guttman, Allen. 1978. *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Karlsson, Mikael Mery, and Jens Rydström. 2023. Crip theory: A Useful Tool For Social Analysis. *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 31 (4): 395-410.

Löfgren-Mårtenson, Lotta. 2013. "'Hip to be crip?'" About Crip Theory, Sexuality and People with Intellectual Disabilities." *Sexuality and Disability* 31, 413-424.

Malcom, Nancy L. 2006. "'Shaking It Off" and "Toughing It Out" Socialization to Pain and Injury in Girls' Softball." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35, 5: 495–525.

McRuer, Robert. 2006. *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*. New York: New York University Press.

Messner, Michael. 1992. *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Poli, Raffaele, Loïc Ravenel, and Roger Besson. 2019. "Exporting Countries in World Football." CIES Football Observatory Monthly Report. Issue 45 (May) <http://www.football-observatory.com/IMG/sites/mr/mr45/en/>

Rich, Adrienne. 1980. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience" *Signs* 5 (4). 631-660.

Richard, Rémi, Helene Joncheray, and Valentine Duquesne. 2023. Crippling sport and physical activity: An intersectional approach to gender and disability. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* 17 (3): 327-341.

Roderick, Martin. 1998. "The Sociology of Risk, Pain, and Injury: A Comment on the Work of Howard L. Nixon II." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 15 (1): 64-79.

Sabo, Donald. 2004. "The Politics of Sports Injury: Hierarchy, Power and the Pain Principle." In *Sporting Bodies, Damaged Selves: Sociological Studies of Sports-related Injury*, edited by Kevin Young, 59-79. Bingley: Emerald.

Said, Edward. 1985. "Orientalism Reconsidered." *Cultural Critique* 1: 89-107.

Tomlinson, Alan. 2018. "FIFA: Ethics, Voice and Organisational Power Plays." In *Transforming Sport: Knowledges, Practices, Structures*, edited by Thomas Carter, Daniel Burdsey and Mark Doidge, 121-135. New York: Routledge.

Young, Kevin, Philip White, and William McTeer. 1994. "Body Talk: Male Athletes Reflect on Sport, Injury, and Pain." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11 (2): 175-194.