

# Module 3. Soft Power and Financial Sustainability

## Unit 3.1

### Introduction

In this reading, we will discuss the concepts of soft power and its link to financial sustainability within sport. Firstly, we will outline soft power, what it is, how it is used, and the fields in which it is regularly found. We will then apply soft power to the specific field of sport to understand the movements by those wishing to exploit sport for their own means.

Through outlining financial sustainability, the link between this area and soft power will be explored. To conclude the reading, various case studies outlining the application of these methods around the globe will be proposed before rounding off with a summary.

### Soft Power

It is first important to understand exactly what the term soft power means. Soft power is a concept that was developed by Nye in the late 1980s and can be defined as “a country’s ability to influence the preferences and behaviours of various actors in the international arena (states, corporations, communities, public, etc.) through attraction or persuasion rather than coercion” (Nye, 1990).

Nye developed the concept to fill a gap that he believed existed when countries and rulers thought about how best to manage international relationships. Nye contrasts soft power with hard power, the idea that we use methods such as coercion and payment to get what we want. Both have the same end goal, getting others, in this case, countries, to want what you want.

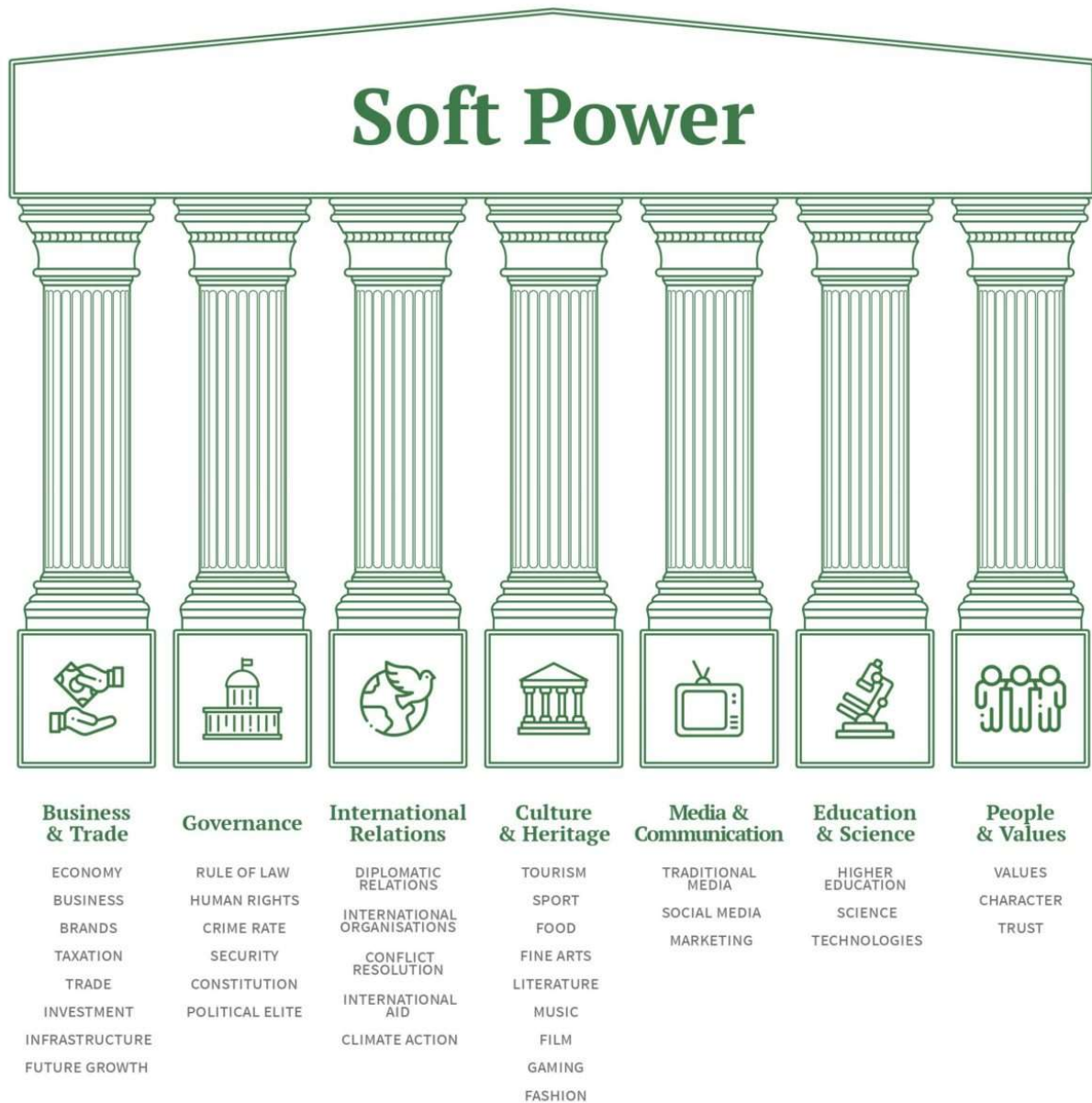
### What is it Made up of?

There are several factors that go into a successful soft power policy. Nye suggests that a country’s soft power is based on “its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority)” (Nye, 2011, p. 84).

Nye has simplified this into three sections; however, there are more elements that go into making up these three areas. The following figure shows the seven pillars of soft power.



Figure 1: Seven Pillars of Soft Power



Source: Thomson, 2020, <https://bit.ly/3Lt5QrQ>

As both Nye and Thomson demonstrate, soft power is made up of various factors. It can be from trade to education and to our focus, sport. Each element of soft power has a role to play when it is used and how. Different countries might seek to devote more time or funding to a particular aspect of soft power, one that they are particularly good at or have history in.

For example, the United Kingdom has always sought to use its history of education as a mechanism for soft power. The United Kingdom is home to several world-class universities, in addition to high-profile and historic schools. This combined with an appetite to learn English, which is still considered to be the language of business, makes education and its associated industries particularly valuable, financially and from a soft

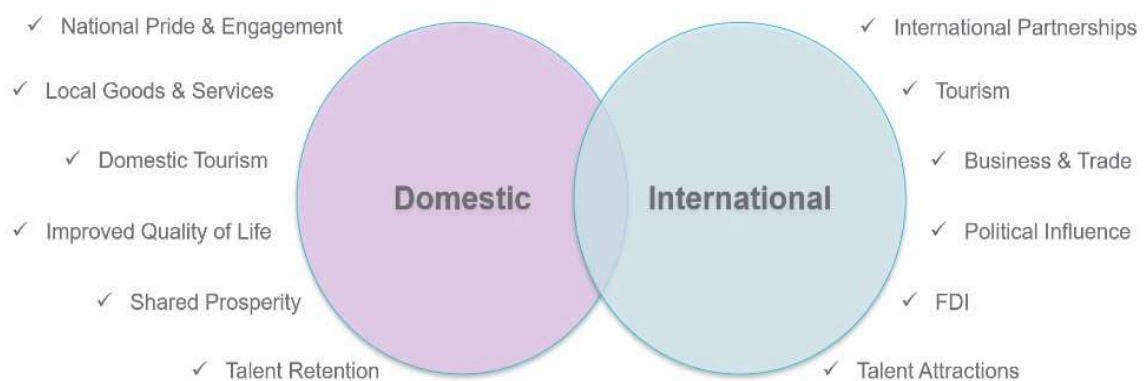


power aspect for the United Kingdom. It is therefore no surprise that the financial commitment to this area is one of the largest from the central government. There are also many different reasons and motivations for soft power use, which we will cover in the next subsection.

### Why do Countries Use it?

The overriding aim of soft power, as we have mentioned above, is to obtain outcomes that a country wishes without the need to resort to ‘harder’ power moves. The motivation for using methods like this can be complex. To give some order to these potential motivations, the following figure by Thomson (2020) highlights some of the more well-used motivations.

**Figure 2: Benefits of Soft Power. A Strong Domestic and International Nation Brand**



Source: Thomson, 2020, <https://bit.ly/3Lt5QrQ>

In all, the aim is to create a strong nation brand, a nation that is prosperous for its citizens, but also one that is desirable to visit, invest, or live in for others. Let us dissect some of these labels in this figure. Firstly, let us focus on the domestic aspects of soft power. The arguably most important aspect is that of improvement to quality of life. A nation that can improve the quality of life for its population can expect increases in several areas, for example, the happiness of its citizens, but also wealth. This is driven by investment in the country as others seek to work with those individuals, organizations, or governments within that country, domestic tourism can also increase providing further investment. The national pride that is available from soft power should also not be underestimated. National pride can be a motivator for the population of a country to take ownership and an interest in their country. It might not bring about financial benefits; however, it can play a role in contributing positively to a nation in the same way as improvement to quality of life.

In the international area, our goal is to attract investment. Through a program of soft power, we aim to continue increasing areas such as investment, partnerships, and international tourism that can also positively contribute to the prosperity of a particular



nation. In addition, as we have already outlined, we aim to use any soft power that we manage to accrue to influence other nations politically. What this influence might be is based on what the country might need at that given time and is not the same all the time. Whether the country is effective or not in getting what it needs can be tricky, which is where we go in the next subsection.

### **Is Soft Power Always Effective?**

Soft power is like anything else, there are pitfalls that should be avoided if we wish outcomes to be in our favour. Firstly, we should recognise that, sometimes, soft power is successful, but in the wrong hands. Nye states that several of the world's most notorious dictators effectively used soft power to appease their detractors and stay in positions of power far longer than they should have, given their impact on society.

A further element to bear in mind is that a soft power approach can take significantly longer to achieve its objectives than a hard power approach. Changing the minds of neighbours is no easy thing, which will require a sustained, long-term and no doubt expensive approach. When we consider that we must also change our actions, this is a large investment to make, therefore, any goals and what it will take to achieve them will need to be considered in high detail for them to be successful. This does not imply that they would not be worthwhile in doing, but that we should note that this cannot be considered to be a quick fix.

Another issue is not with soft power itself, but with the implementation of it. Soft power can be used as a fix all solution and expected to achieve aims and goals that are far beyond its abilities. Unrealistic expectations of the ability of soft power can often lead to its undoing, or negative perceptions of the concept (Seymour, 2020). There are things that soft power cannot do, and on these occasions, only hard power might do, and those attempting to change hearts and minds should be aware of that. When it is utilised effectively and for goals that are achievable, it can be a formidable tool, but realism needs to be considered. We can even measure soft power, and the next subsection will discuss how that is done.

### **Soft Power Measurement**

To pick up on the last point of the previous subsection, to understand and appreciate the success of soft power, we need to be able to measure its impact. This can be a hard thing to do, as soft power might not be something that is naturally easy to measure or gives instant results. We have to be patient with it, and also many of the benefits can be intangible, such as individual thoughts and feelings towards a nation.

Focusing on research by Singh and MacDonald (2017) conducted for the British Council, we can see that there can be some more tangible benefits which can be measured in some form. Using data from 2000 to 2012, the study was able to say that the ability of the



United Kingdom and successful soft power initiatives had directly contributed to an increase in foreign direct investment.

**Figure 3: Effects of Soft Power on Foreign Direct Investment**

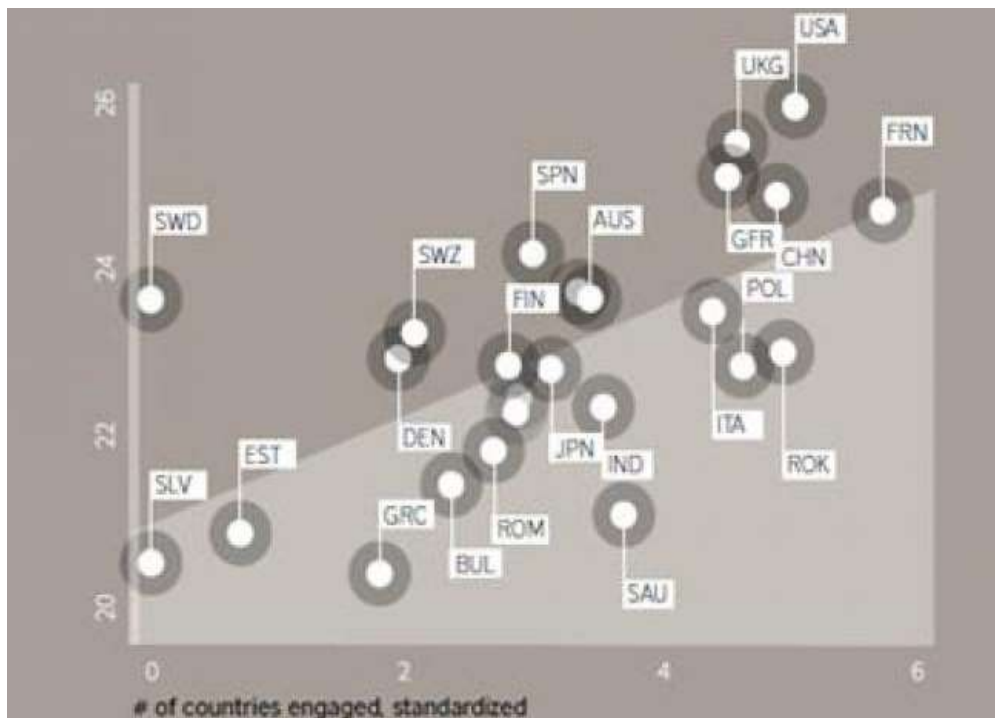


Figure: Singh and MacDonald, 2017, p. 27.

From the figure above, we can see that the higher level of soft power a country has correlates with more tangible benefits, such as the amount of foreign direct investment it can achieve. The quote below from Sir Ciarán Devane, Chief Executive of the British Council, cited in the Singh and MacDonald report, highlights this from a UK context.

The findings of the report offers new evidence for the impact of soft power on a state's economic success and global influence. A country's soft power can play a huge part in strengthening its role on the world stage. More than ever the UK needs to ensure that leaders and influencers globally know, understand and experience the UK as an outward looking, engaged nation, promoting its world class arts and education to as wide as audience as possible. (Singh and MacDonald, 2017)

So, it is possible to measure social capital and those who use it can achieve some tangible benefits for their nation. Now we will look at soft power, specifically in sport, and the role it plays in this area and how it is used.



## **Soft Power in Sport**

As we have touched on above, soft power can be gained and used in various areas, although it was often in industries, such as education and the arts. However, in more recent times, sport has been seen as a key driver of soft power aims for a number of years now and governments have begun to recognise the potential for increasingly successful and ambitious targets that can be achieved through sport.

Although it is not just the recent years when this has been the case. Even before Nye had defined the concept, sport played a significant role in between various governments and their populations or the wider global community. During the mid-20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, numerous football teams were co-opted by the state. As a result, they would be able to simply recruit the nation's best players by recruiting them in to the particular government department. This recruitment made them often one of the top sides in the country, that and being able to sometimes enjoy undue influence over referees made them dominant forces in some national leagues (Titeca and Malukisa Nkuku, 2022).

The reason that they were invested in so heavily was that those governments that controlled such teams wanted to be seen as powerful and dominant. It was a type of coercion of a population that is now common place. By being good at sport and providing opportunity to watch high-level players, some coming to the country to play in international competitions, allowed some governmental departments to shed images and move focus to sporting exploits. There are now many different areas of sport where soft power is trying to be utilised, we will begin with mega events.

## **Soft Power in Mega Events**

Soft power and mega events are often found together and can be an excellent way of changing an image of a nation and attracting investment. Mega events can be classified as "ambulatory occasions of a fixed duration that attract numerous visitors, have a large mediated reach, come with large costs and have large impacts on the built environment and the population" (Muller, 2015, p. 638). Some events that would fit into this category would be the FIFA World Cup, European Football Championships, and the Olympic Games, both summer and winter.

The Summer Olympics have been an arena where soft power has been used at pretty much every Olympic Games since their beginning (Freeman, 2012). This is because they can "create the opportunity for wider bilateral and multilateral conversations, alongside engaging with the sports event itself" (Jarvie, 2021, p. 3). In other words, it brings people together in a way that more formal meetings and summits might not, and shows a side of a country or a leader who is hard to show inside the negotiating room or to a wider population. Jarvie (2021) argues that these events do not always have to have specific plans in place for soft power to be an outcome. Plans are not always needed to show soft power, and that events themselves can play a vital role in its success.



One of the more common examples used in work and academic discourse is that of the Berlin Olympics in 1936. The 1936 Olympics were held under the governance in Germany of the Nazi Party and Adolf Hitler. Hitler tried to use the games as a way to control the national population, but also demonstrate that his views on race and their ability were correct. As a result, the Olympics were in effect a celebration of Nazi ideology, all seemed perfect in Hitler's plan apart from one thing, Jesse Owens (Klein, 2023).

**Figure 4: 10 Things You May Not Know About Jesse Owens**



Source: Klein, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3V1x4ZA>

Jesse Owens was an American athlete and competed in sprint and long jump events and won four medals at the games, he was also black. There has been much speculation that this angered Hitler and, although never proven, Owens states himself that Hitler did acknowledge him, it is seen as the act that characterised the games and moved them away from any potential soft power the Nazi's hoped would come from it.

Other Olympics have also used their chance to host as a way to engage with both their national populations and international audiences. The hosting of the winter games in Sochi in 2014 by Russia was another example of this usage of sport to improve governmental standing. Following the awarding of the games, an investment program was outlined with the creation of new roads, housing and modernising of the region near Sochi began to take place. The games themselves could be considered a success, of course, with the caution that protests around the LGBT+ community, and Russia's demonising of them, were widespread at the games. Although it is argued that Russia 'failed to capitalize on the soft-power boost afforded to Russia by hosting the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi' (Nye, 2014). Nye makes the point that his understanding of soft power was perhaps not what Russia was seeking to achieve, and were instead playing to



a more domestic audience. The games themselves have not been shown to be successful in changing the view of Russia as a country, and have been further undermined by the invasion of Crimea in 2014 and Ukraine in 2022 (Grix and Kramareva, 2017).

Soft power is now routinely used in events of all sizes, and sport can be an important tool for the desired outcomes to be achieved. While it is not the only sport to have had this happen to it, football has become a hot bed for soft power activity and is where we turn our focus next.

### **Soft Power Use in Football**

Soft power in football has been an almost ever present, but has seen an increase in more recent times. Those wealthier individuals have always sought to support football throughout the sport's history. While they would not have classified what they were doing as soft power, the parallels are clear. They invest their money because they want to be well thought of within the community that the club is playing in. These investors often had other motives that they hoped would be looked upon favourably by the local community, for example, developments or infrastructure projects within the area.

The development of football has been followed by the development of its role in soft power. There are no countless examples of football being used as a method to obtain soft power, such as the FIFA World Cups in Russia and Qatar or the takeover of some of the leading clubs in the world, Manchester City and Paris Saint Germain, which we will go into later in the case studies section.

### **Figure 5: Football as a weapon of soft power. The beautiful game hiding the ugly truth**



Source: Rushworth, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3ArcB7a>

The figure above shows the awarding of the 2022 World Cup to Qatar by then FIFA president, Sepp Blatter. The lengths that countries will now go to so that they can secure the tournament is as a result of the power of football. It can be suggested that football is the only true global game, it is played by everyone, in every corner of the globe. The power of football demands that interest is shown in it, regardless of where it is played or what time of the year. Every country wants to be involved in it, with businesses also wishing to sponsor and invest in it, and therefore every government is keen to consider hosting the competition. In the modern day, football has done well financially from this arrangement; however, the sustainability of the arrangements and what it might mean for those clubs and individuals who engage in this practice is where we turn to now.

### **Financial Sustainability**

Financial sustainability in basic terms is the ability for an organization, whichever field, to cover its costs and to make a profit in the long term. Financially unstable organizations cannot do this, as they do not know how they will cover their costs and exactly where an influx of cash might be coming from.

Being financially unstable can also cause other issues, such as lack of consumer and business-related confidence. A consumer will not wish to purchase from an organization that is unstable and runs the risk of not receiving their goods having handed over their money. Similarly, other businesses are unlikely to want to deal with a financially unstable organization, as they will be concerned about not receiving payment for the goods that they have supplied.

All in all, financial sustainability is something all organizations, regardless of sector, should strive for. By not doing so, the risk of the organization failing with work and goals left incomplete and reputational damage for those connected can occur.

### **Financial Sustainability in Sport**

Financial sustainability is a key component of any organization, including in the sporting world. Without it, the fortunes of a sporting organization could change rapidly, depending on whether they were able to fund their operations. There have been many examples of sporting organizations in numerous sports that have been riding high in their leagues one season only to be relegated or even disappear completely due to financial collapse.

The case of Gretna FC in Scotland is one such example. The club experienced a rapid rise from the 4<sup>th</sup> division all the way to the Scottish Premiership having been promoted in three consecutive seasons. The success on the pitch was delivered by local millionaire and sole benefactor, Brooks Mileson. As Mileson's health began to decline, he was a heavy smoker, his ability to look after and run the club also stumbled. After their sole season in the Scottish Premier League, they went out of business and returned to the lower leagues of



the football pyramid under fan ownership and a new name, Gretna 2008 FC (Wilson, 2008).

This example demonstrates the stark reality of being financially unstable within a sporting setting and relying on a sole benefactor. Mileson arguably only wanted to best for his club, but by doing so he left the club and the wider game in Scotland with a problem on its hands, concerned fans and clubs wondering if the Gretna story could happen to them.

It is therefore important that sport continues to be kept on a secure footing. So, how can we do this? There are many ways in which we might be able to make sport, and football specifically, more sustainable. The most obvious would be to only spend what you can afford, if a sporting organization did that then they would be financially sustainable. However, as we know, we often overspend in sport because we are seeking to win and therefore will invest more of our income, sometimes in excess of our income.

So, maybe this is where the desire for soft power and the money that it can bring into a sport or specific team comes from, a healthy injection to a bank balance that can offset some, if not all, of the losses. Now let us bring these two concepts together and discuss soft power and financial sustainability.

### **Soft Power and Financial Sustainability in Sport: A Good Match?**

Soft power and financial sustainability need to be considered together, as the potential outcomes need of soft power have to be linked with the ability to finance these goals. In this section, we will discuss how this can be both a benefit and also have a negative impact.

As you would imagine, the desire for a government to achieve soft power goals from sport can have massive benefits for the sporting organizations that fall within its field. For those less funded sports, it can provide a shot in the arm for sport in the local area, with levels of investment in the sport far exceeding what is usually available. Some sports will find this hard to turn down, as both players and administrators begin to be rewarded financially for their efforts.

In addition, governments might bid for events or mega events, which again can benefit those that are involved in a specific sport or wider sporting industry in the country or region. While in this case, the sporting organizations might not directly benefit from increasing finance, the investment in the area could give the sporting organizations the upper hand when looking at performance of players, but also recruitment of players, staff, or even hosting future events. For example, think about a football club that moves into a brilliant new stadium, they will often benefit from the above factors long after the event or mega event has moved on.

Not only can this benefit the sporting organizations, it can also benefit the local population. They can benefit from improved or new facilities and infrastructure which might encourage changes in their life and benefit future career goals or positive



behaviour related to sport, for example, healthy eating. This is, of course, not to say that all soft power and associated issues and programs that come with it are good, as we will now discuss.

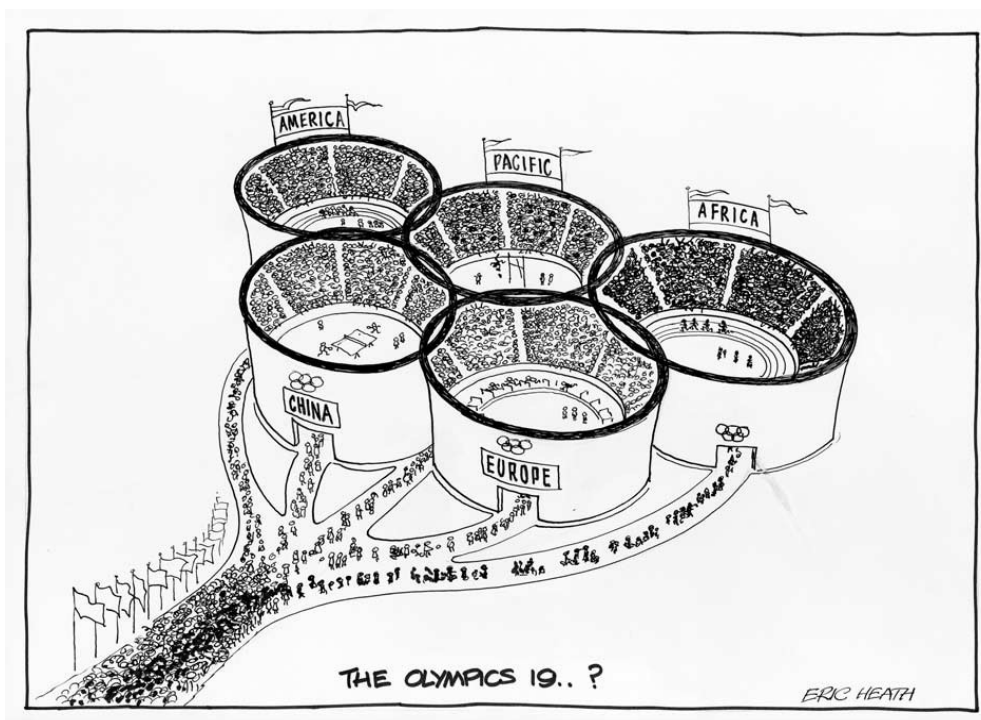
### The Negatives

The main issue when outlining soft power in sport is the link to politics. Soft power is inherently political, it is an act run by nation states to get the outcomes that they want through means that do not require force. As we have previously discussed, sport is used as a method to do just that. That puts sport in the way between those goals and how countries wish to achieve them. There is an argument that sport should not be used for political means; however, this viewpoint could be considered naïve, as the following quote makes clear.

“Sports is always to do with politics. Sports is part of our society. And the society is political” Ewald Lienen – Technical Director of FC St. Pauli (cited in Rushworth, 2022, para. 1).

The fact that sport is used as a mechanism with which political goals can be achieved is rightly concerning. Firstly, there is likely to be undue pressure placed on sport to achieve the goals it is believed it can do. This can lead to pressures on the athletes and administrators that participate in the sports, with consequences for both. Illustrated by this cartoon, published to highlight the issues at the Montreal Olympics, where boycotts in response to inaction by the IOC over Apartheid in South Africa showed the global power struggles at play when instead sport should have been celebrated.

**Figure 6: The Montreal Olympics Boycott**



Source: NZ History, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3L3NLiy>

Furthermore, it is not unfair to say that political gain will always trump sporting gain, that the leaders of a country will likely prioritise the perceived needs of a nation over the winning of sporting contests. Therefore, what happens when sport is no longer useful? Is it discarded without a second thought for those that call the pursuit their living? This is not a sustainable way to run or plan for sport and goals which could be left unfinished, causing dissatisfaction among those who did or hoped to use the facilities, rendering soft power goals or achievements meaningless.

There is also the reaction of supporters and other persons within the game to consider. While some might be welcoming of the benefits that soft power brings, others might consider it as an insult, a way of another country to unfairly influence their own. Furthermore, this is the same reaction as some fans might have when it is their team or club that is being involved in a soft power play. The reaction can be extremely negative, with fans of the club and opposition fans rallying against such moves. Away from the court of public opinion, there can also be financial issues with these types of moves. It has been observed that football teams funded by the state would often decline in performance or even meet premature ends when the funds ran out and the fans drifted away. Again, this would render any gains made by the soft power approach redundant, as fans of the club and other individuals or groups connected to the league would think poorly of those that allowed this situation to occur. This ill feeling might not just be directed at the owners (or previous owners) of the club, others might be guilty by association. For example, the league organizers and even other league members might be drawn into the fall-out, which could have an impact on their future relationship with fans and other customers. To bring this reading together, we will now outline case studies that demonstrate how soft power and financial sustainability can be used and where it might fall down and not be as effective as hoped.

## **Case Studies**

The case studies we will be looking at in this reading are the Premier League and one of their teams, Newcastle United. We will begin with the discussion of the Premier League, the top division of English football.

### **The Premier League**

The Premier League is the top division of English football and widely considered to be one of the best football leagues in the world. While its initial purpose was not to act as a soft power tool for the government and the UK in general, its success and worldwide popularity has seen it become just that. The figure below, demonstrates just how popular the league has now become.



Figure 7: Global Popularity of the Premier League



Source: Premier League, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3oDtvG4>

In addition to the figure above detailing the reach and revenue generation of the league, the following quote outlines the other important factor the Premier League contributes to the UK Government. It shows how the link between the product and soft power is achieved. "International players, by promoting interest in the League within their home countries and vice versa, help build enduring connections that support engagement between the Premier League and the international community" (Premier League, 2022, para. 4).

These platitudes have not just come from the Premier League themselves, as this quote from the article shows as it states that the impact of the Premier League on soft power has

been confirmed by the British Icon Index, which found that 87 per cent of people worldwide who were interested in the Premier League viewed the UK more positively as a result... Portland's 2019 Soft Power 30 Report also acknowledged the impact of the Premier League as a boon for British soft power. (Premier League, 2022, para. 9)

It is fair to say that the advent and continued success of the Premier League has contributed positively in this regard and has far outstripped its initial founding goals to

give teams in the league more revenue. The league has arguably never been on a more stable financial footing, the league has increased revenues from all areas, notably in terms of TV revenue, not only that, but successive governments have realised the importance of it the world over. However, there are cracks appearing as the league itself becomes a home for soft power projects.

Recently, the most popular teams in the league have themselves been used as soft power entities. A number of teams have been taken over by individuals or even companies linked to nation states as a way of capitalising on the popularity of the league. The most recent of which has been the takeover of Newcastle United by the Public Investment Fund from Saudi Arabia. We will discuss this particular example in the subsection below; however, it highlights the change in sport and how the Premier League has become wrapped up in it.

Despite this, the league has continued to grow and attract the public's attention the world over. This has resulted in the league now being worth an excess of several billion pounds, made up of sponsorship and TV rights to name a couple of revenue streams. This provides financial stability to the league and will not put the clubs at risk as the league is unlikely to collapse. It might be unthinkable that a league collapses, but it can occur. The most recent examples have been in the United States, where the rivals to the NFL, the XFL and AFL, have collapsed due to poor revenue generation. The result of this being that sporting clubs and teams in these leagues do not have anywhere to play, with bills to pay, including coaching and player salaries, they quickly find themselves in financial trouble.

### **Newcastle United**

Newcastle United are a team that play in the English Premier League and have recently been the subject of increased media attention due to their takeover by the Public Investment Fund, based in Saudi Arabia. The PIF has close links with the government of the country, but is legally a separate entity and able to own the club outright.

As a result of this link up, there have been many changes for Newcastle. Firstly, a significant influx of money has come towards the club, allowing them to sign high-profile players that previously they would not have been able to attract. Secondly, they have also invested in other areas of the club, with a new training ground said to be on the horizon. Furthermore, they have adopted a very similar looking kit to that of the Saudi Arabian national team and regularly hold training camps in the country.



**Figure 8: We need to talk about Newcastle United and Saudi Arabia**



Source: Waugh, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3L1qLAJ>

So, why is this beneficial for both the club and the investment arm of PIF? The benefit of this takeover for Newcastle begins with the financial stability of the organization. The Premier League, while a very wealthy league for its teams, has the drawback that you can be relegated out of the league. This can cause a loss of income and therefore put clubs in a worse financial state.

Those clubs that are relegated have often found it hard to bounce back from relegation, and occasionally further relegations follow as they struggle to make the books balance. Due to the increase in funding that Newcastle has received, it is now unlikely that in their current form they will be relegated and have these financial pressures bought upon them. In addition, fans often remove themselves from relegated teams with poor results and gate receipts may suffer. While this has become less important in recent times as revenue from ticket sales has been dwarfed by other revenue streams, TV rights and sponsorships to name a few, it is still an important part of the income of a club.

In fact, due to their performances in the league, they might indeed qualify for European competition, which will bring even more funds, from prize money and additional sponsorship and rights deals, and the potential for greater financial sustainability. In this regard, the takeover has been a success for the club, they have been able to financially secure their future.

However, this takeover has not been smooth sailing for Newcastle as they have received many questions regarding the nature of their relationship with the country of Saudi Arabia. Some commentators and other fans have noted that this is a clear attempt by a firm linked to Saudi Arabia to exert control over a club for the needs of soft power. This has not gone down well, with parallels linked to other football clubs such as Manchester

City and Paris Saint Germain. In addition, while there is no real suggestion of wrongdoing regarding the takeover itself, the link with a country that has been the subject of accusations of human rights violations has also caused negative attention.

This details the difficulty with administering soft power projects. Regardless of the intent or success of the project on the ground, there will always be some resistance, rightly or wrongly, from other supporters and commentators.

## Summary

In this reading, we have covered soft power, what it is and why it is used with the aim of achieving various goals. Furthermore, we have shown that there are positives and, indeed, negatives that are linked to soft power for the country engaging, but also the sport, its athletes, and administrators. The impact on financial sustainability must also be considered, and some approaches might need further consideration before efforts in this area are made. To finish the reading, we have used case studies focusing on the English Premier League and Newcastle United.

## References

- Freeman, K. (2012). Sport as swaggering: utilizing sport as soft power. *Sport in Society*, 15(9), 1260-1274. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2012.690403>
- Grix, J., & Kramareva, N. (2017). The Sochi Winter Olympics and Russia's unique soft power strategy. *Sport in society*, 20(4), 461-475. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1100890>
- Jarvie, G. (2021). Sport, soft power and cultural relations. *Journal of Global Sport Management*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24704067.2021.1952093>
- Klein, C. (2023). 10 Things You May Not Know About Jesse Owens. *History*. <https://www.history.com/news/10-things-you-may-not-know-about-jesse-owens>
- Müller, M. (2015). What makes an event a mega-event? Definitions and sizes. *Leisure studies*, 34(6), 627-642. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.993333>
- Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign policy*, (80), 153-171. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148580>
- Nye, J. S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. (2014). Putin's Rules of Attraction. *Project Syndicate*. <http://www.projectsyndicate.org/commentary/putin-soft-power-declining-by-joseph-s-nye-2014-12>
- NZ History. (2023). The Montreal Olympics Boycott. *NZ History*. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/montreal-olympics-boycott>



- Premier League. (2022). League's global support boosting UK appeal. *Premier League*. <https://www.premierleague.com/news/2440534>
- Rushworth, K. (2022). Football as a weapon of soft power: The beautiful game hiding the ugly truth. *University of Manchester*. <https://sites.manchester.ac.uk/political-perspectives/2022/07/11/football-as-a-weapon-of-soft-power-the-beautiful-game-hiding-the-ugly-truth/>
- Seymour, M. (2020). The Problem with Soft Power. *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/09/the-problem-with-soft-power/>
- Singh, J. P., & MacDonald, S. (2017). *Soft power today: measuring the influences and effects*. Edinburgh: The Institute for International Cultural Relations, The University of Edinburgh.
- Thomson, S. (2020). Soft Power: Why it Matters to Governments, People, and Brands. *Brand Finance*. <https://brandfinance.com/insights/soft-power-why-it-matters>
- Titeca, K., & Malukisa Nkuku, A. (2022). *The politics of football in Kinshasa: power, profit and protest*. University of Antwerp.
- Waugh, C. (2022). We need to talk about Newcastle United and Saudi Arabia. *The Athletic*. <https://theathletic.com/3387217/2022/06/29/newcastle-united-saudi-arabia-kit/>
- Wilson, B. (2008). Brooks Mileson. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2008/nov/05/obituary-gretna-brooks-mileson>

