CHAPTER FOUR

African Soccerscapes

how a Continent Changed the World's Game

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MAp 1 Colonial Africa, 1914. *Map by Claudia K. Walters. Source: http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/colonialism1914.jpg.*

MAp 2 Contemporary Africa and major cities. *Map by Claudia K. Walters. Source: http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/capitals.jpg.*

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nationhood, Pan-Africanism, and Football after independence

the formation in 1957 of the Confédération africaine de football (CAF) opened a new era in African soccer. The new Republic of Ghana won its independence that same year and together with CAF stimulated an optimistic pan-African vision and bolstered Ghanaian nationalism. With more than thirty African countries in FIFA by the mid-1960s, European domination of world football was challenged by African claims to equal citizenship. African nations democratized the game, at least the male version, and transformed it into a more fully global cultural form by campaigning against apartheid and mobilizing to increase the number of African participants in the World Cup finals.

By 1960, football was certainly deeply rooted in urban African popular culture, and as such, it provided a rare form of "national culture" in post-colonial Africa. The new nations staged matches as part of their independence celebrations and asserted their full membership in the international community by joining FIFA. In 1957, Stanley Matthews, one of England's all-time greats, visited Ghana, the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence, and played a series of matches in Accra and Kumasi. The Ghanaians honored Matthews in a "traditional" ceremony that conferred upon him the title of *Soccerhene* (from the Asante monarch's title of *asantehene*).[1] The following year Ghana became a member of FIFA. Togo's independence festivities in 1960 featured a game between its national team and Nigeria at a packed Municipal Stadium in Lomé. The crowd reportedly

chanted *Ablode, ablode* (Freedom) throughout the match, which ended in a 1–1 draw.[2] A few months later, having already joined FIFA, Nigeria marked its independence by hosting the Nkrumah Gold Cup at the new thirty-thousand-seat National Stadium in the Surulere neighborhood of Lagos. Ghana spoiled the party by defeating Nigeria 3–0 in the final. Similar football festivals contests were held throughout decolonizing Africa, including Uganda, Kenya, and Zambia.

The game exposed newly enfranchised Africans to the gravitational pull of the idea of nation. As historian Eric Hobsbawm remarks, "The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, even one who cheers, becomes a symbol of his nation himself."[3] For overwhelmingly male African political elites, football projected a vigorously masculine understanding of the nation. The game also carried a relatively small price tag for "territorializing identity" and providing ballast to the idea of the nation-state as a legitimate institution with a monopoly on power.[4]

As part of this political project, many African governments built new football stadiums in their capitals. In a departure from the few colonial- era stadiums, smaller facilities usually with one grandstand and an overall capacity of less than twenty thousand spectators, independent Africa's stadiums were large modern cathedrals of sport: symbols of modernity and national pride. These stadiums quickly became almost sacred ground for the creation and performance of national identities. The ritualized experience of spectatorship, together with "the transcendent characteristics of large gatherings and the emotive capacity of sport,"[5] engendered a commonality among fans, practitioners, officials, and the media that extended beyond the stadiums to include radio listeners and, in later years, television viewers as well. African stadiums became extremely valuable public spaces where, as geographer Chris Gaffney put it, "potentially disaggregated social actors [found] a common symbol, language, history, and purpose."[6]

Government ownership of stadiums directly linked them to nation-building projects, as evidenced by their names. A partial list includes Independence Stadium in Accra and Lusaka; 5 July Stadium in Algiers and 28 September Stadium in Conakry (dates of independence); Stadium of the Revolution in Brazzaville; and simply National Stadium in Lagos, Nairobi, and Dar es Salaam. In Abidjan and Addis Ababa, the national stadiums were named after sitting heads of state, Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Haile Selassie, respectively. Stadiums also advanced the conceptualization and production of

nations through the menacing presence of police officers and soldiers. "The smooth functioning of stadiums," Gaffney points out, "requires a militarized control of space and the uninterrupted functioning of state power."[7] So armed forces at football grounds in Africa served more than crowd-control purposes; they conveyed an image of government power and authority just as African nation-states began the arduous work of achieving stability, security, and legitimacy in a postcolonial world.

In the euphoric moment of independence, the mass media captured the excitement of stadium crowds and built enthusiasm for football outside of the main cities. The African press had a long tradition of sports coverage, but with the rapid expansion of literacy and the proliferation of popular dailies, newspapers such as the *Daily Graphic* in Ghana built circulation by selling both the nationalist agenda and football coverage.[8] The broadcasts of matches on radio stations—which were almost exclusively government-owned—intensified the excitement and loyalty of fans. Building on the late-colonial development of radio broadcasting, the newly independent nations invested heavily in radio and to a lesser extent television, and thus reached out to the huge audiences who were not literate. Radio coverage nourished the idea of football as a form of national culture in independent Africa.[9]

Yet newspapers were by no means the province of elites. Since early colonial times, publications had had a wide urban readership. Organs of ethnic associations, political organizations, and religious institutions, as well as the standard press, regularly included coverage of sport, as, for example, Zik's pioneering populist paper, the *West African Pilot,* did in Nigeria. African football fans developed a keen taste for the sporting press; a single copy of a daily paper could reach many readers as well as those who could have stories read to them if they could not read easily themselves. It helped, as has been noted elsewhere, that "the sports section is the most creative and emotive part of the newspaper, rich in imagery and metaphors and employing colorful language."[10] The weekly cycles of news and football were closely intertwined. Monday newspapers sold well partly thanks to the weekend match reports, results, and league standings. Tuesday through Friday, coverage of upcoming matches sustained or manufactured fans' seemingly endless appetite for sport. Coverage of international matches and tournaments tended to equate positive results on the pitch with the success of the nation- state. African newspapers and broadcasters, like their counterparts around the world, could also evoke national identity and pride by denigrating the "Other," be that a neighboring country, controversial referee, or foreign coach.

The media also knew how to appeal to local fans in culturally savvy ways. Football writers and announcers often deployed literary styles, narratives, and imagery that originated in the oral literatures of agrarian societies, thus connecting citizens in town and countryside across the nation. According to the Kenyan scholar Solomon Waliaula, the Swahili commentator Mohammed Juma Njuguna continues to do what writers and announcers did at that time, as he alternates between close accounts of the game and connecting with his audience. Njuguna does this by sending greetings to friends and listeners and using proverbs, riddles, and animal metaphors to describe the action on the pitch. He entertains the audience by dramatically changing his rhythm and tone, drawing on Swahili songs, inventing names for players, cracking jokes, and generally putting himself at the center of attention. Thus, a football commentator resembles the traditional folkteller, who "tries to frighten, delight, worry, and put the listeners on tenterhooks . . . and skillfully builds on the passages which move them the most, expanding the exciting parts and condensing or transforming the ones where the attention of the audience lags."[11]

National Leagues in the Making of Nations: Regional Patterns

Supported by the construction of national stadiums and mass media coverage, the establishment of sovereign football associations and countrywide leagues contributed to the production of nationhood and the centraliza- tion of power in independent Africa. "National contests unite towns, cities, and regions; international competitions focus everyone's identity as national citizens. Everyone who resides within the national borders—the countryside as well as the cities—shares the event."[12] In North Africa, the development of national leagues coincided with independence. As was so often the case in African football, Egypt was the first to launch a league championship in 1948–49, won by the Cairo club Al Ahly. In 1956, Tunisia and Morocco gained independence from France, and predictably, in that same year national championships replaced the city-based leagues.[13] Sudan also secured its independence, from Britain, in 1956, but civil war and the existence of the popular Sudan Cup, a playoff tournament pitting regional state champions against each other, ended up delaying the formation of a season-long league until 1963. Having aggressively linked football to the nationalist struggle, the Algerians created a national league in late 1962 soon after independence. Given the bloody eight-year war of liberation against France, it seemed fitting that the first Algerian champion in 1963 was the Union Sportive Militaire, the army team based in Algiers.[14]

National championships in North Africa shared a gaping competitive imbalance that also characterized competitions elsewhere on the continent. Two or three big urban clubs, typically based in the capital city, dominated the local soccerscape. In Egypt, for example, Al Ahly and Zamalek from Cairo won all but one of the league championships between 1949 and 1962. Similarly, Wydad Casablanca and Forces Armées Royales (Royal Armed Forces, FAR) Rabat claimed ten out of the first fourteen Moroccan titles. In Sudan, Al Hilal and Al Merreikh of Omdurman alternated as national champions for decades. Slightly greater competitive balance characterized other Maghrebi leagues. In Tunisia, the hegemony of Espérance Sportive, Club Africain, and Stade Tunisien, all based in Tunis, was only occasionally broken by Club Sportif Sfaxien and Railways Sports of Sfax, Étoile Sportive du Sahel of Sousse, and other clubs as well. In Algeria, the 1960s belonged to clubs from the capital, but in the early 1970s this began to change with the rise of Jeunesse Sportive Kabylie (JSK) of Tizi Ouzou, which won ten league titles between 1973 and 1990, while teams from Oran, Constantine, and Sétif also managed to win championships.

South of the Sahara, Ghana led the way in using football to build a na- tion.[15] President Kwame Nkrumah fervently believed in the game's capacity to transcend ethnic, linguistic, regional, religious, and generational barriers. He appointed Ohene Djan as "sports czar" in 1958. Djan took over the Ghana Amateur Football Association and organized an eight-team national league. The league's main centers were located in coastal Accra, Sekondi, and Cape Coast, and in the old Asante capital of Kumasi in the interior. From the league's inception, archrivals Hearts of Oak and Asante Kotoko were dominant. In an attempt to show off the government's power and authority, Nkrumah and Djan formed Real Republikans in 1961, a superclub modeled after the legendary Real Madrid side that had won five consecutive European Cups in 1956–60.

This team was intended to represent the best of Ghanaian football at the domestic and international level. Real Republikans obtained the right to poach the two best players from each club in the Ghanaian league, a move that enabled the all-star club to quickly challenge the Hearts/Kotoko domination. Real Republikans won the 1962–63 title, but not without controversy. In the middle of the season, Djan ordered the transfer of Liberian forward Modibo Toe from Sekondi Hasaacas to Real Republikans, even justifying the move as being "in the national interest." Despite Djan's meddling and Nkrumah's growing authoritarianism, Real Republikans

never again ascended to the top of the league. In 1966, after a coup ousted Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party, the superclub was disbanded and Hearts and Kotoko quickly reasserted their dominance.

In Nigeria no national league existed until the early 1970s. The federal government's takeover of the Nigerian Football Association in 1962 had augured well for the prospects of establishing a countrywide league. But, as historian Wiebe Boer has shown, the country's enormous size, organizational problems, political and ethnic conflict, corruption, and a vastly inadequate infrastructure undermined Nigeria's chances for success in football as in politics.[16] A military coup in 1966 and the catastrophic Biafran War (1967 – 70) further delayed the start of a national league until 1972.[17] A few years later, Nigeria finally asserted itself as a dominant power in African football.

Led by Ivory Coast, the former French colonies in West Africa also formed national leagues in the 1960s. President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, leader of the RDA party, had been a key player in forcing the dismantling of French West Africa and securing Ivoirian independence. His government, backed by booming cocoa revenues, had the political will and financial wherewithal to support the creation of a national league at independence in 1960. Clubs from the capital, Abidjan, put their stamp on the domestic game, winning an astounding forty-six out of forty-nine league titles between 1960 and 2008. Abidjan's ASEC Mimosas and Africa Sports have led the way with twenty-two and sixteen titles, respectively. Following in the footsteps of Ivory Coast, Senegal kicked off its national competition in 1964; Guinea, Togo, and Upper Volta (today Burkina Faso) followed suit in 1965; Mali and Niger in 1966; Dahomey (today Benin) in 1969; and Mauritania in 1976.

In contrast to the North African territories, the laborious creation of national sports federations in francophone West Africa had to be done from scratch because until the late 1950s these territories were incorporated within the larger French West Africa colonial federation and thus lacked the "national" infrastructures and sense of identity that had been developed in colonies such as Tunisia or Algeria. The case of Senegal is revealing of the complex relationship between domestic football and nationhood in French Africa.[18] As we saw in chapter 3, the game was so popular locally that in 1946 the first French West Africa Cup was in fact an entirely Senegalese affair. By 1955, an interdistrict championship in Senegal was under way, with teams from Dakar, Saint-Louis, Gorée, Thiès, and Rufique. For unknown reasons, clubs from the southern regions of Casamance and Kaolack did not participate, so

the interdistrict tournament was not fully "national." Thanks to its status as the country's capital and headquarters of the Senegalese Football Federation, Dakar benefited disproportionately from the construction of basic playing facilities and the training of coaches, players, and referees.

This highly centralized approach to football development in Senegal had contradictory effects. For example, under the stewardship of Raoul Diagne—the first African professional footballer in Europe (see chapter 5) and the son of Blaise Diagne, the first black African member elected to the French Chamber of Deputies—Senegal won the football tournament at the 1963 Jeux de l'amitié (Friendship Games) in Dakar. This international triumph aroused tremendous national pride in Senegal, although the overrepresentation of players from Dakar lent a metropolitan bias to the "Senegalese-ness" of the victory. Despite teaching the French a lesson on the pitch, Daour Gaye, a wise interpreter of Senegalese football, describes the trajectory of the sport in his country after independence as one of "long, slow painful decline" in the 1960s, followed by "relative stability" in the 1970s and then a deep crisis in the 1980s that was only partially masked by Senegal's solid performances in international competitions.[19]

A similar pattern unfolded in the former colonies of French Equatorial Africa and in the former Belgian Congo. There, too, nations joined FIFA and then inaugurated countrywide leagues. In the Republic of Congo, CARA and Étoile du Congo of Brazzaville stamped their authority on the league, claiming sixteen of twenty-five titles between 1965 and 1989. Other Brazzaville sides, such as Diables Noires and Inter Club, as well as Patronage of Pointe Noire on the coast, also won national championships and had loyal followings. Across the Congo River, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the colonial inheritance of widespread material poverty and almost complete lack of infrastructure in an economy based on mining exports, together with the country's massive size, made a season-long nationwide competition virtually impossible. Making matters worse, football in DR Congo was held back by the explosive political crisis that began in 1960 with independence, escalated with the Katanga secession and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba's murder, and ended in 1965 with the Belgian- and American-aided installation of dictator Joseph Mobutu. Yet in spite of terrible turmoil, the country's regional champions organized a postseason tournament for the first Congolese championship in 1963. This format has endured, with Kinshasa and Lubumbashi clubs taking every national title from 1963 through 1982.[20] AS Vita Club and CS Imana (today DC Motema

Pembe) of Kinshasa and Tout Puissant Englebert (today TP Mazembe) of Lubumbashi became the most successful and popular sides in Congo.

The case of Cameroon, with its more complicated colonial past, differed slightly. When Germany lost its African colonies after the First World War, Cameroon was divided into two League of Nations (and later United Nations) mandates, which were administered separately by France and Britain. Francophone East Cameroon established its football association in 1959 and a national championship in 1960—the year of independence. In 1961, East Cameroon (making up two-thirds of the territory) merged with Anglophone West Cameroon to form a federal republic, and in 1962 the Cameroonian Football Federation (FeCaFoot) affiliated with FIFA.[21] Political tensions between the two culturally distinct regions resulted in West and East Cameroon operating separate leagues through the first decade of independence.[22] Clubs from the two leagues faced each other only in the Cameroon Cup. Not until 1972, when Cameroon became a unitary republic, did a national league finally begin play. As in the case ofNigeria, the formation of a domestic league would later lead to the national team's entrance into the pantheon of African football, with memorable performances in the 1982 and 1990 World Cup tournaments.

Metropolitan bias shaped Cameroon's football culture much as it did in other parts of the continent. Clubs like Oryx, Union, Caiman, and Leopards from the port city of Douala, the country's largest city and its economic capital, dominated the league in the 1960s and most of the 1970s. The 1980s ushered in the golden age of Canon and Tonnerre from Yaoundé, the capital city, located in the central province. In the Cameroonian league's first thirty seasons, Douala and Yaoundé teams each won fourteen championships.

The end of British rule in the early 1960s brought several East African nations into FIFA and sparked the launch of national leagues in the region. In Kenya in April 1963, just a few months before independence, ten clubs competed in the inaugural season of the Kenya National Football League.[23] Coached by a white government sports officer, the Nakuru All-Stars from the Rift Valley edged out seven teams from the capital, Nairobi, and two sides from coastal Mombasa. Quickly, however, the familiar pattern of capital city hegemony asserted itself. Between 1965 and 1993, Nairobi's AFC Leopards and Gor Mahia won all but five championships. As we shall see below, these Nairobi clubs drew most of their supporters from rural areas and boasted dramatically different ethnic identifications. Another successful Nairobi club, without ethnic affiliation, was Kenya Breweries (today

Tusker FC), which was owned by East African Breweries and won three league titles in the 1970s. However, commercial forces, as chapter 6 will show, had a limited impact on the game in Africa until the 1980s.

In Tanzania, Dar es Salaam clubs monopolized the league from its inception in 1965. Through 1983, Simba (formerly Sunderland) won nine titles and Young Africans ("Yanga") seven. These two clubs were so powerful that they managed to operate almost autonomously despite growing encroachment in sport by the socialist government of Julius Nyerere and TANU.[24] In Uganda, the national league officially began in 1968, six years after the country's independence from Britain and nine years after it became a member of FIFA. There, too, teams from Kampala, the capital, have won thirty-five of forty titles through 2009.

The story to the south was dramatically different. There, racism, inequality, and segregation in white minority–ruled South Africa, Southwest Africa (Namibia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Angola, and Mozambique precluded the building of new and inclusive nations and developing the nation-football nexus. In southern Africa, only Zambia escaped this predicament. Following the demise of the short-lived Central African Federation (1953–63), which brought together Nyasaland (Malawi), Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia, in 1964 the Zambian people achieved majority rule and independence. That year, an African-controlled Zambian Football Association under the leadership of Tom Mtine replaced the former, white-run, Northern Rhodesian Football Association. It joined FIFA, and by 1966 the new body had gained full control over the Zambian National Football League.[25] Mufulira Wanderers and Kabwe Warriors were the clubs to beat in the 1960s and early 1970s; then Nkana Red Devils burst onto the scene in the 1980s along with Power Dynamos. In an exception to the overall trend, clubs from Lusaka, the capital, rarely challenged sides from the towns of the Copperbelt. In fact, aside from Lusaka City Council's 1964 championship, only Green Buffaloes, the Zambian Army team, which made Independence Stadium in Lusaka its home, challenged the mine teams. Between 1973 and 1981, a period of strong central government under Kenneth Kaunda, a keen football supporter, the Green Buffaloes were national champions six times.

ethnicity and nationhood

While much was achieved in the first decade of independence, African football struggled to produce a lasting sense of nationhood. This was partly

due to the game's paradoxical ability to unite participants while simultaneously dividing them. This inherent quality of team sport complicated nationalist agendas in postcolonial nations that had been artificially created by European powers and continued to be marked by cultural pluralism, class and ethnic divisions, and other social cleavages. Much to the chagrin of African governments, football fostered multiple identities. The national championships allowed citizens to choose to belong to the "imagined community" of the nation, without neglecting individual, local, ethnic, religious, and other identities.[26]

In Ghana, for instance, Asante Kotoko of Kumasi has long been identified with Asante nationalism. Asantehene Prempeh II was named Life Patron of the club in 1935. and the porcupine—the symbol of the Asante army—was adopted as the team mascot. "The name Kotoko evoked not just Asante pride, but a populist form of militant Asante nationalism, which, like the porcupine's quills, is thought to be an inexhaustible source of strength."[27] In the early 1960s, Kotoko's anti-Nkrumah reputation brought it into open conflict with presidential favorites Real Republikans as well as rivals Hearts of Oak, the Accra club, which had alleged ties to the ruling Convention People's Party.[28]

Ethnic chauvinism elsewhere on the continent militated against the construction of nationhood through football. In Algeria, a majority Arab country, JSK Tizi Ouzou, rooted in the Kabylie region, came to represent Berber identities. As a result of JSK's extraordinary success in the 1970s, its fans started to refer to the initials JSK as an acronym for *Je suis Kabylie* (I am a Kabylie). The FLN government did not look kindly upon ethnic nationalist sentiments among the Berber minority, especially at a time of growing political turmoil. It forced the club to change its name to the insipid and de-ethnicized Jeunesse Électronique Tizi Ouzou for most of the 1980s.

In ethnically and culturally diverse Cameroon, parochial affinities continue to shape the game to this day. For example, PWD Bamenda, from the Anglophone west, "carries the hopes and aspirations of most Anglophones," while Canon Yaoundé is linked to people of Beti background, Union Douala with Bamileke migrants, and so on.[29] In Nairobi, Kenya, AFC Leopards is closely tied to Abaluhya people, for whom the leopard is a mythical totem symbolizing martial masculinity and grace under pressure, while Gor Mahia is a club associated with Luo people (the name refers to an invincible Luo diviner and warrior of legendary repute).[30] The

Highlanders of Bulawayo in southern Zimbabwe acquired a reputation as the "national team" of the Ndebele minority in a predominantly Shona-speaking country.[31]

That competitive football in Africa was bound up with ethnicity is hardly surprising, and certainly not a symptom of atavistic tribalism. This was very much a local expression of a global phenomenon. In Britain, for example, the "Old Firm"—the city rivalry between Glasgow Rangers and Celtic—is widely regarded as "one of the most bitter and enduring feuds in world football," as it plays out in political, social, and religious divisions between Protestant Scots and Irish Catholic communities.[32] In Spain, Athletic Bilbao and Barcelona were and still are intimately associated with Basque and Catalan nationalism, respectively.[33] Some club identities can be more "imagined" than real, as in the intriguing case of Ajax Amsterdam's alleged "Jewishness."[34] Football can also express translocal identities, as in the case of the Al Wihdat football club, based in the eponymous Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan.[35] Football is so intimately connected to multiple identi- ties in Africa that "the meaning of sport for national identity and unity, for international visibility and prestige, and for pan-African cohesion and leverage weaves in and out of the history of independent Africa."[36] This latter process was brought into stark relief by the founding of CAF and its most prestigious competition: the African Nations Cup.

the rise of CAf and African Competitions

Immediately after gaining their freedom, African states, as a way of asserting their status as independent nation states and their membership in the global community, joined the United Nations and a series of transnational institutions, including FIFA, the International Olympic Committee, and other global sports organizations.[37] In 1950, power in world football was firmly in the hands of Europeans, who accounted for 46 percent of FIFA's membership, although South Americans were quite influential and boasted the oldest regional association, formed in 1916. Today, there are six continental confederations that influence the politics of world football.

Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, and South Africa—then the only African members of FIFA—discussed a plan for an African confederation at the 1954 FIFA Congress in Bern, Switzerland. At this meeting, FIFA officially recognized Africa as one of its six geographical zones, which automatically carried the right to a permanent seat on FIFA's executive committee. An African confederation seemed both appropriate and necessary to address

inequity in world football and to develop the game in Africa on administrative and sporting levels. "It was not an easy task to get this recognition," remembered Abdel Halim Mohammed, the Sudanese representative in attendance. "Argentina kicked against the seats given Africa and Asia arguing that the standard of football in these continents was not good enough," he said.[38] But after "a long and heated argument," the motion passed 24–17. The FIFA Congress elected Egyptian Abdelaziz Abdallah Salem to the executive committee. Africa's challenge to European domination of the sport was underway. By the early 1960s thirty-two of sixty-nine of FIFA members were African, a new reality that reflected the coming of independence and one that would radically transform football's world order.

Crucially, African assertiveness in football's corridors of power coincided with the growth of anticolonial protest movements and decolonization. This frightened FIFA's European members and some Latin American ones too. In fact, according to sociologists John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, it was "mounting awareness [among Europeans] . . . of the merging threat to their privileged position within world football's power structures" that led to the founding on June 15, 1954, of the Union des associations européennes de football (UEFA) in Switzerland.[39] At the same time, African members of FIFA decided to reconvene at the 1956 FIFA Congress in Lisbon to finalize the creation of a pan-African football body. There, delegates from Egypt, Sudan, and South Africa (represented by a white man) made progress toward that goal. Yidnecatchew Tessema of Ethiopia was unable to travel to Lisbon, but was kept informed about the latest developments. The group agreed to meet in Khartoum in 1957 to formalize the establishment of the Confédération africaine de football (Confederation of African Football, or CAF) and to host the inaugural African Nations Cup.

CAF was a trailblazing pan-Africanist institution in the era of independence. It was one of FIFA's six continental confederations, essentially the ruling body of the game in Africa. Its formation preceded by six years the founding of the Organization of African Unity, the predecessor of today's African Union. The founding meeting of CAF was held on February 8, 1957, at the Grand Hotel in Khartoum, attended by representatives from Sudan, Egypt, Ethiopia, and South Africa.[40] Fred Fell, a white South African, was invited because the South African Football Association (SAFA) had rejoined FIFA in 1952. SAFA, which excluded blacks, initially approved sending a team to Khartoum, although minutes of its meetings and press reports at the time indicated that participation in the tournament "was not received in

the Union with much enthusiasm in the first place."[41] As we will see below, African nations would soon come to rally around the issue of apartheid and spearhead a campaign to exclude South Africa from international football.

CAF's main aims were to organize international tournaments and to advance the interests of Africa in world football. FIFA executive member Abdelaziz Abdallah Salem became CAF's first president; he headed an executive committee comprising Tessema, Halim Mohamed, and Fred Fell. Assembled delegates in Khartoum formally approved rules and by-laws, set up several special committees, and created a General Assembly that would meet every two years. French, English, and Arabic were made the official languages of CAF. Over time, three linguistic and regional blocs emerged: Arabophone in the north, Francophone in the west and center, and Anglophone in the east and south.

These regional/cultural blocs demonstrated how internal tensions complicated the quest for African unity and solidarity in the game. Political, ideological, and cultural factors spiked these antagonisms. CAF's decision to locate its headquarters in Cairo rather than Addis Ababa is a case in point. Cold War divisions placed Egypt and Ethiopia in opposite camps. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser had just acquired heroic status among Third World nationalist movements as a result of the resolution of the 1956 Suez Crisis involving Britain, France, and Israel, while Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie was a staunch anticommunist who was deeply antagonistic to pan-Arab socialism—or any other kind of socialism. Beyond these ideological and diplomatic issues, perceptions about Arab attitudes of racial and cultural superiority toward darker-skinned Africans caused considerable bitterness. Yidnecatchew Tessema argued vociferously in favor of putting CAF offices in Addis Ababa, but the Egyptians ultimately convinced the Sudanese to accept that the organization's headquarters should be placed in the country of its president, who, conveniently, was Egyptian. So Cairo became the administrative capital of African football.

In sporting terms, CAF's most important task was to organize the African Nations Cup. This tournament aimed to supersede the various regional competitions that had been established earlier, which no longer satisfied fans, players, or administrators. The first Nations Cup took place at the time of CAF's official launch in Khartoum in 1957, three years before the inaugural European Nations Cup.

Before the Khartoum competition kicked off, however, the hot-button political issue of apartheid in South Africa took center stage. CAF demanded

that South Africa field a racially integrated team, but SAFA, after consulting with the authorities in Pretoria, refused to do so. The minutes of the meeting were later destroyed in a fire, and there are conflicting accounts about what happened next. CAF officials stated that they promptly excluded South Africa. Fred Fell and SAFA had a different story: they claimed they withdrew the team due to the Suez Crisis and an impending tour to Europe. In any event, South Africa's absence meant that only three teams participated in the inaugural tournament. The South African issue certainly did not disappear, however, and in fact the struggle against apartheid in football would become a powerful bond that united African nations for more than two decades.

In the 1957 African Nations Cup semifinals, with South Africa out of the tournament, Ethiopia received a bye into the final. Egypt nipped hosts Sudan 2–1 and dispatched Ethiopia 4–0 in the final thanks to an astonishing four-goal performance by striker Mohammed Diab El-Attar "Ad Diba." (Nine years later in Addis Ababa, Ad Diba refereed the Nations Cup final won by DR Congo over Ghana.) In 1959, Egypt hosted the tournament and won again. The Pharaohs defeated both Sudan and Ethiopia in a round-robin tournament in front of forty thousand ecstatic Egyptian fans at Cairo's Al Ahly National Stadium. A sporting triumph in an electric atmosphere delighted Nasser. Such victories, of course, help to explain why in independent Africa, as in most of the world, outside of military alliances, it was "in elite sport that modern states came to see the greatest political benefits to participation in international culture."[42]

The independence of sixteen African nations in 1960 increased the size of both CAF and the African Nations Cup. The 1962 tournament introduced qualifying rounds. Uganda and Tunisia advanced, and their teams traveled to Addis Ababa to meet defending champions Egypt and the host nation. Taking advantage of Addis's high altitude (twenty-five hundred meters, or eight thousand feet) and the home crowd in Haile Selassie Stadium, Ethiopia stunned Egypt in a dramatic final. Deploying an attacking 4-2-4 formation popularized by 1958 World Cup champions Brazil, the home side twice tied the game and then went on to win 4–2 in extra time. After the match, Ethiopian captain Luciano Vassalo, an Italo-Eritrean whose brother was also on the team, received the silver trophy from the hands of the emperor himself. It was a powerfully symbolic moment: the "Father of the Nation" sanctioning Ethiopia's greatest sporting victory in the capital's stadium bearing his name.

Since that fateful day, the Addis Ababa stadium, as historian Solomon Getahun has written, has often been transformed into a site for the fes- tive celebration of Ethiopian nationalism; male and female fans belt out "patriotic songs, waving the Ethiopian tri-colors," and proudly displaying their "Ethiopian cultural dress" even as regime changes have promoted dramatic ideological shifts.[43] While the 1962 African Nations Cup was, without question, the most memorable event in Ethiopian football history, it also revealed the contradictory effects of sportive nationalism. Ethiopia's winning team included nine Eritrean players (out of eleven), and so its success bolstered both Ethiopian and Eritrean nationalism. This outcome was especially important given the attempted coup of 1960 and Ethiopia's annexation of Eritrea later in 1962, a decision that begat an independence struggle that found its way into football stadiums.[44]

Not surprisingly, however, it was the great champion of pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah, rather than Haile Selasssie and Nasser, who effectively built national consciousness, patriotic pride, and pan-Africanist sentiments through football. As we saw earlier, Nkrumah empowered his "sports czar," Ohene Djan, to lead the Ghana FA and run the domestic league and Real Republikans. With the game in Ghana on a relatively sound footing, Nkrumah then hosted the six-team 1963 Nations Cup to enhance his position and that of his country as continental leaders. Like the Olympic Games, which struggled to resolve the tension of promoting international solidarity through nationalist rivalries, Nkrumah tried to capitalize on football's potential for pan-African unity while at the same time "mobilizing the youth of the nation around a common identity . . . creating pride and self-respect . . . [and] engendering patriotic sentiments amongst the Ghanaian people."[45] The nickname of Ghana's national side, the Black Stars, was inspired by Marcus Garvey's shipping line of the 1920s, which aimed to take black Americans "back home" to Africa and build transatlantic connections among peoples of African descent.

The carefully orchestrated success of the Black Stars on the pitch boosted Nkrumah's political project. That Ghana played every match in the capital city of Accra, where his Convention People's Party had strong support, surely was not a coincidence, since Kumasi, in the interior, was the heartland of Asante nationalism and opposition to Nkrumah's regime. Ghana advanced to the final against Sudan, winners of the Kumasi group. With more than forty thousand spectators packing the Accra stadium, the Black Stars won decisively (3–0), sparking epic celebrations across the country.

Proving that this victory was neither a fluke nor a gift, the Black Stars successfully defended their title two years later in Tunisia. Nkrumah's financial and political muscle was crucial in helping Ghana win back-to-back African championships. But football victories could not prolong the life of his increasingly authoritarian and corrupt rule. Less than ten weeks after the Tunis victory, a coup ousted Nkrumah. Clearly, there were limits to what football nationalism could do to sustain an unpopular regime.

Four months after the overthrow of Nkrumah, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa organized the Jeux africains (All-Africa Games) in Brazzaville. Established in Bamako, Mali, and headquartered in Yaoundé, Cameroon, this new pan-African organization had no affiliation to CAF. It sought to foster pan-African unity through sport by capitalizing on the Inter- national Olympic Committee's support for the establishment of regional Olympic-style festivals around the world. The All-Africa Games are still in existence, although the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa, based in Abuja, Nigeria, recently took over responsibility from the moribund Supreme Council. The most popular event at the 1965 Games, in which more than three thousand athletes participated, was the foot- ball tournament, which featured nineteen national teams. A huge crowd squeezed into the Brazzaville stadium to watch the final between the host nation and Mali. After a goalless draw, Congo-Brazzaville was declared the winner for having taken five more corner kicks than Mali. Despite this surprising ending, FIFA president Sir Stanley Rous wrote in his official report on the All-Africa Games football competition that "the standard of play was good and the team shewed that they had been well coached in modern methods." Together with IOC president Avery Brundage and other foreign dignitaries in attendance, Rous believed that "progress has been made rapidly to develop sport in Africa and . . . through sport Africa is being united."[46] Large crowds and media coverage of the football tournament at the All-Africa Games temporarily enhanced the status of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, an organization that has effectively ceased to exist today, but provided valuable assistance to the antiapartheid sport boycott.

In 1964, CAF launched the African Cup of Champion Clubs, or simply Champions Cup. Modeled after its European counterpart, this African knockout competition pitted domestic league champions against each other in two matches played on a home-and-away basis. Oryx Douala defeated Stade Malien 2–1 in the first final, to the delight of many Cameroonians

who, regardless of local loyalties, celebrated it like a "national" victory. Overall, in the first two decades or so of the Champions Cup, clubs from sub-Saharan African nations won fourteen of the first sixteen edi- tions of the Champions Cup, led by Hafia Conakry and Canon Yaoundé (Cameroon) with three each. Only in the 1980s did North African clubs come to dominate the competition, for reasons that will be explored in chapter six. Between 1981 and 2008, Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan clubs won twenty-two of twenty-six African club titles.[47] The immense popularity of the Champions Cup inspired CAF to create the Cup Winners' Cup in 1975 and the CAF Cup in 1992; these were merged into the new Confederation Cup in 2004.

CAF competitions afforded African political leaders yet another opportunity to publicly link themselves to major clubs and use enthusiasm for football to build popular support. In 1966, for example, thousands of Ivoirians beamed with pride as Stade Abidjan won the second Champions Cup final against Real Bamako. Houphouët-Boigny, who was present at the match, was quick to cast Stade's victory as a symbol of the political stability and economic prosperity of a country that embraced free-market, capitalist economic policies. It was common for African dictators to bestow gifts of cars, houses, and cash on championship teams, as Mobutu did in the case of Tout Puissant Englebert of Lubumbashi in the late 1960s and Sekou Touré with Hafia Conakry in the 1970s.[48]

In the meantime, the Nations Cup continued to grow. Between 1968 and 1992 the number of nations in the qualifying rounds increased from fifteen to thirty-one, reflecting the expansion in the number of inde- pendent African nations. The final tournament expanded from eight teams in 1968 to twelve in 1992, and then to sixteen in 1996. Growth stiffened competition. Between 1968 and 1976, four different nations lifted the Nations Cup for the first time: Congo/Zaire (1968 and 1974), Sudan (1970), Republic of Congo (1972), and Morocco (1976). Nigeria's title in 1980 and Cameroon's in 1984 and 1988 finally heralded the rise of two continental giants. As the Nations Cup settled into a now familiar pattern of West Africa versus North Africa, its commercial potential remained largely untapped. While the rest of the football world in the 1980s veered into the high seas of commercialization, Yidnecatchew Tessema, the Ethiopian boss of CAF, was reluctant to follow in the same path.

Tessema's life story captures the history of Ethiopian football and the trajectory of pan-Africanism in the game. His story also raises questions

about the impact of individual moral codes and modus operandi on African football. Tessema's father rose from very humble origins to become a well-known musician and jack-of-all-trades who worked at the palaces of emperors Menelik II and Iyassu. Born in 1921 in the small rural town of Jimma, Yidnecatchew Tessema attended St. George's, an elite Angli- can school in Addis Ababa, where he developed a lifelong passion for football. In 1935, he was a founder of Arada Football Club, later renamed St. George's FC, Ethiopia's most accomplished club. After working as a translator in the public works department during the Italian occupation, Tessema cofounded the Ethiopian Sports Office in 1943 and the Ethio- pian Football Association in 1948. He continued to play as a striker for St. George's and went on to captain the Ethiopian national team from 1948 to 1954.

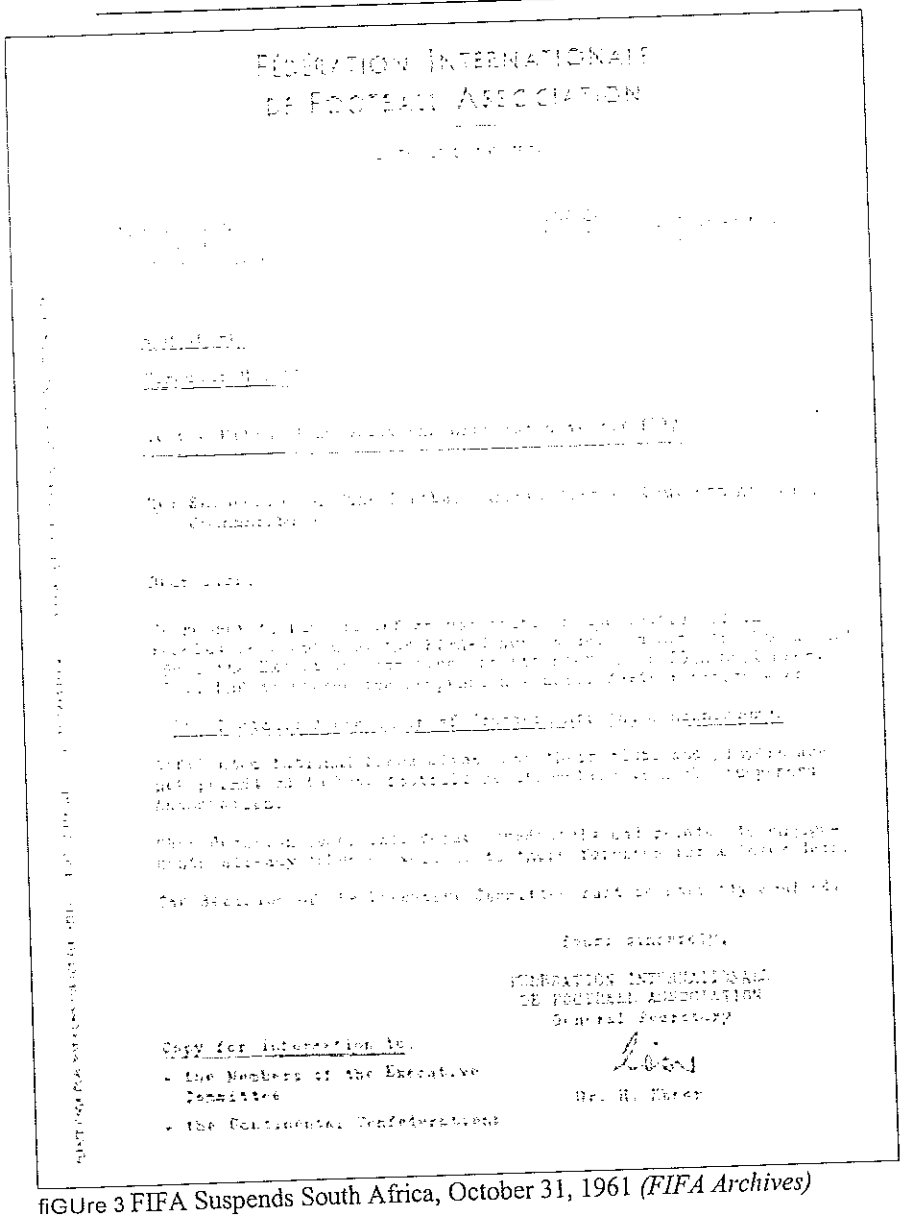
A fluent speaker of French, English, Italian, as well as Amharic and other Ethiopian languages, Tessema passionately articulated Africa's case for equality and full citizenship in FIFA, while skillfully brokering tensions within CAF among Anglophones, Francophones, and Arabophones and across the Cold War divide.[49] A founder of CAF, Tessema also served as its general secretary for fifteen years and then as its president from 1972 until his death in 1987. His speech at the CAF General Assembly in Cairo on February 27, 1974, synthesized his most cherished political beliefs: "I'm issuing a call to our general assembly that it affirm that Africa is one and indivisible: that we work towards the unity of Africa together . . . that we condemn superstition, tribalism, all forms of discrimination within our football and in all domains of life." Tessema then emphasized "that we do not accept within our organization the division of Africa into Francophone, Anglophone, and Arabophone. Arabs from North Africa and Zulus from South Africa, we are all authentic Africans. Those who try to divide us by way of football are not our friends."[50] In 1970, Tessema joined the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and in 1971 he became a member of the International Olympic Committee. At FIFA he spent much of his career, including a spell on the executive committee in 1966–72, actively supporting antiapartheid initiatives and tirelessly working to expand the number of guaranteed places for African national teams in the World Cup finals. Tessema's unwavering commitment to sport's ideals of merit, fairness, and equality reflected his embrace of the British game ethic learned at St. George and informed his skepticism about the influence of professionalism and commercialism on the game in Africa.

football and human rights: the fight against Apartheid

The acrimonious struggle to oust racist South Africa from FIFA demonstrated Africa's pivotal role in democratizing football and making it more truly global. The country's exclusion from the African Nations Cup was proof that Cold War rivalries, racial animosities, and cultural differences took a backseat to pan-African unity and solidarity in support of freedom, justice, and equality in South Africa. The apartheid regime's inflexibility strengthened the resolve of Africans and their allies. In a June 1960 letter to the renamed Football Association of Southern Africa (FASA), the minister of the interior, Johannes de Klerk (father of future state president F. W. de Klerk), wrote that

> [while] there is no legislation in this country prohibiting inter-racial competition . . . [and] whilst the Government is sympathetic towards and prepared to help non-White sporting associations which accord with the Government's policy of separate development it will not support non-White sporting activities designed to force the country to abandon the South Africa custom that Whites and non-Whites should organize their activities, in whatever field, separately Competitions between White and non-White teams within the Republic, will not be tolerated, nor will passport facilities be extended to teams composed of Whites and non-Whites, or teams from abroad, so composed, be allowed to enter the Republic. There is no objection, though, that a non-White team from South Africa competes against a White team abroad.[51]

Matters came to a head three months later at FIFA's 1960 Rome Congress. As we saw in the previous chapter, CAF and its allies in the Soviet bloc and in Asia called for the antiapartheid South African Soccer Federation to be admitted to FIFA and demanded the expulsion of the white FASA. A stalemate ensued that was resolved thanks to the adoption with overwhelming support of an antidiscriminatory clause later integrated into FIFA's constitution. This resolution stated that "a National Association must be open to all who practice football in that country whether amateur, 'non-amateur' or professional, and without any racial, religious or political discrimination."[52] FASA was given one year to change its racist ways. When it failed to do so, in September 1961 the FIFA Executive Committee



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Sir Stanley Rous
President

fiGUre 3 FIFA Suspends South Africa, October 31, 1961 *(FIFA Archives)*

suspended South Africa. But this by no means indicated strong FIFA support for the campaign against football apartheid.

The election of Sir Stanley Rous as FIFA president in 1961 forced CAF to flex its pan-Africanist muscles once again. An English schoolmaster with three decades of experience as Secretary of the English Football Association

and a genuine sympathy for white South Africans, Rous personified the conservative and Eurocentric nature of FIFA. In January 1963, he and Joseph Maguire of the United States made a two-week-long official visit to South Africa to evaluate whether any changes had taken place to justify lifting sanctions. During their stay, Rous and Maguire steadfastly refused to meet with representatives of antiapartheid football organizations, branding them "political agitators." The FIFA dignitaries spent much of their time in the company of white football officials and their supporters. In the end, Rous's official report to FIFA came to the astonishing conclusion that "there is no wilful discrimination on the part of FASA in respect of any organization in South Africa."[53] On the basis of the Rous Report, FIFA's Executive Committee in 1963 reinstated South Africa.

CAF officials were outraged. The organization issued a statement lambasting FIFA and Rous. At a hastily convened special congress in Cairo that year, the pan-African body unequivocally rejected any contact with South Africa and warned FIFA that it would call for South Africa's expulsion unless "its obnoxious apartheid policy [was] *totally* eliminated" at the 1964 Congress in Tokyo. Working with the South African Soccer Federation in Durban and the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee in London, CAF aggressively campaigned for South Africa's expulsion. It received assistance from Asian countries and from the Soviet Union, which was described by a sports official from Guinea as "the first country in which equality of people, regardless of their skin color, social position and religion was proclaimed."[54] At the 1964 FIFA Congress, the CAF motion was downgraded to a suspension, but it passed by a large margin. African unity had won the day. Acknowledging Africa's growing political power, FIFA awarded the African representatives another seat on its executive committee and a vicepresidency.

The events at FIFA bolstered the sport boycott against South Africa by demonstrating that racial discrimination violated the constitutions of international sport's governing bodies. In the wake of football sanctions, the boycott movement went on to gain wide support in the court of world public opinion and eventually among sport administrators too. South Africa was not allowed to participate in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics and was then expelled from the Olympic movement in 1970. Sporting isolation stood as a forceful global indictment of apartheid, and the country would not return to world football and the Olympics until 1992.

As the largest voting bloc in FIFA, an organization in which each member nation had one vote, Africans were in a particularly strong position to

influence the fight against apartheid in southern Africa. In 1972, for instance, Tessema used the upcoming FIFA presidential election in 1974 to counter Rous's ongoing attempts to get South Africa reinstated. Tessema threatened to deny João Havelange, the Brazilian businessman and sports administrator, the African votes needed to win the election against Rous if he did not withdraw Brazil from the 1973 South African Games, the "apartheid Olympics" organized by Pretoria and sponsored by Shell Oil.[55] Havelange immediately realized that he needed to back the antiapartheid movement to defeat Rous, and so he withdrew Brazil from the Games. By backing the sport boycott against South Africa (and also Rhodesia/Zimbabwe), Havelange secured Africa's votes and won the FIFA presidency in 1974.

African football Arrives on the World Stage

Africa had arrived as a major power broker in world football, but the struggle for equality and citizenship continued. CAF turned its attention to prying open the doors to the World Cup finals. By 1964 no African nation had played in the tournament since Egypt in 1934. The 1962 World Cup in Chile featured eight European teams and four South American ones. Africa, Asia, North America, and the Caribbean had no guaranteed places in the finals, so the only way they could qualify was via playoffs against European or South American teams. When a terrific Morocco side lost a qualification playoff to Spain in 1962, Africans' patience ran out. With Ohene Djan spearheading the campaign, CAF threatened to boycott the 1966 World Cup in England unless FIFA guaranteed Africa a place in the finals. "'We are not asking this as beggars,' Djan declared. 'We are putting forward just and moderate demands, taking account of the huge progress made in our football.'"[56] FIFA responded by fining CAF five thousand Swiss francs. Tessema had this to say about the governing body's decision: "FIFA has adopted a relentless attitude against the African Associations and its decisions resemble methods of intimidation and repression designed to discourage any further impulses of a similar nature. In our opinion, the African National Associations . . . really deserved a gesture of respect rather than a fine."[57]

An African boycott of the World Cup ensued. The legitimacy of African claims and North Korea's top eight finish in 1966, an excellent result by a nation at the margins of world football, eventually influenced FIFA's decision to finally guarantee Africa a berth in the 1970 World Cup finals in Mexico. As Africa's first World Cup representative in nearly four decades,

Morocco performed respectably. In the next World Cup in West Germany in 1974, Africa was poorly represented by Zaire, which lost all three matches by a combined score of 14–0. As a result of this debacle, Mobutu shunned the side upon its return to Kinshasa and withdrew his financial and political support from the national team. In 1978 in Argentina, Africa's fortune took a positive turn as Tunisia became the first continental side to win a match in the World Cup finals, a decisive 3–1 victory over Mexico. The Eagles of Carthage then narrowly lost to Poland and held world champion West Germany to a scoreless draw.

Outside of the World Cup, African teams performed well in Olympic football tournaments (amateur-only until 1984), where they had three guaranteed places (out of sixteen) beginning in 1964. Some of the most notable African accomplishments in the Olympics include Ghana reaching the 1964 quarterfinals, Nigeria drawing with Brazil in 1968, and Zambia sensationally beating Italy 4–0 in 1988. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, African national teams had proven that they could hold their own on the world's stage. The Olympic triumphs of Nigeria in 1996 (against Argentina) and Cameroon (against Spain) in 2000 would confirm this new reality.

FIFA's new youth competitions further sharpened Africa's image as an emerging power in world football. These tournaments were a key component of Havelange's ambitious plan to develop the game in the poorer countries. This strategy paid political dividends for Havelange and generated financial profits for FIFA and its major corporate partners, Adidas and Coca-Cola.[58] Nigeria won the maiden Under-16 World Championship in China in 1985. This achievement was soon followed by a remarkable three consecutive world titles for sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana won in 1991 (when it became an Under-17 tournament), Nigeria in 1993, and Ghana again in 1995. In 2007, Nigeria claimed its third world crown at this level. Ghana and Nigeria also did well in the Under-20 World Youth Championships, the former finishing second in 1993 and 2001 and the latter matching this result in 1989 and 2005. In addition, Nigeria, Mali, and Egypt have each earned third-place honors on one occasion.

Africa's improving performances on the pitch and growing political influence in FIFA produced a steady increase in the continent's guaranteed berths in the World Cup finals. The 1982 World Cup in Spain was a watershed event. Africa fielded two teams in the twenty-four-team tournament, and Algeria and Cameroon performed admirably. Algeria defeated West Germany to give Africa its first-ever World Cup victory against European

opposition, and only a highly controversial result between Germany and Austria kept Algeria from advancing to the second round of the competition.[59] Cameroon surprised the world with an inebriating combination of skill, physicality, and *savoir-faire*. "The Indomitable Lions," as the Cameroonian national team is known, did not lose a match in a tough first-round group with eventual champion Italy and third-place finisher Poland, but were eliminated on goal difference. The African contingent at the World Cup finals grew to three in 1994, the year Nigeria came within a few minutes of defeating Italy in the round of sixteen. When the World Cup expanded to thirty-two finalists in 1998, Africa had five teams: Cameroon, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, and Tunisia. In 2010 in South Africa, the first World Cup on African soil will feature six African teams, including the host nation. But growing international respectability for African soccer had an unfortunate side effect: it greatly accelerated player migration overseas, a process analyzed in the next chapter.

Football: A Sociology of the Global Game (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 127–45; Pierre Lanfranchi, Christiane Eisenberg, Tony Mason, and Alfred Wahl, *100 Years of Football* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004), 152–59; Jonathan Wilson, *Inverting the Pyramid: A History of Football Tactics* (London: Orion, 2008).

4. Mike Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 55.

45. See Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution*, 126.

46. Saadallah and Benfass, *La glorieuse épopée*, 241.

47. Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution*, 232.

48. Lanfranchi and Wahl, "Immigrant as Hero," 127.

49. In 1982 in Spain, Mekhloufi was the manager of the Algerian side that reached its first World Cup finals victory against West Germany.

50. This section summarizes material from several chapters of my *Laduma! Soccer, Politics, and Society in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004).

51. "Race" is a historical and social construction bound up with and shaped by history, but racial identities were (and continue to be) crucial in South African life. Use of such racial terms does not imply an endorsement. On racial classification in South Africa, see Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa," *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (2001): 87–113.

52. For further analysis, see Alegi, *Laduma!* chaps. 6–8; and Paul Darby, "Stanley Rous's 'Own Goal': Football Politics, South Africa and the Contest for the FIFA Presidency in 1974," *Soccer and Society* 9, no. 2 (2008): 259–72.

53. Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 75–76.

chapter four Nationhood, Pan-Africanism, and Football after Independence

1. "Soccerhene" photo in *Daily Graphic*, May 23, 1957; and Stephen Borquaye, *The Saga of Accra Hearts of Oak Sporting Club* (Accra: New Times Press, 1968), 50.

2. *West African Pilot*, April 28, 1960. Two days after the Togo-Nigeria match, Cameroon played Nigeria, but the game ended prematurely (with the score tied 0–0) when the Cameroonians stormed off the pitch in the second half in protest over a penalty awarded to Nigeria.

3. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 143.

4. Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 25–40.

5. Christopher T. Gaffney, *Temples of the Earthbound Gods: Stadiums in the Cultural Landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 26. For a recent history of stadiums in the United States, see Ronald Trumpbour, *The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

6. Gaffney, *Temples of the Earthbound Gods*, 26.

7. Ibid., 29.

8. See Louise M. Bourgault, *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

9. On the links between popular culture, broadcast media, and nationhood in colonial Africa, see Marissa Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).

10. Tamir Sorek, *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 82.

11. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 34; Solomon Waliaula and Basil Otong'o, "The Contemporary Oral Performance: The Case of the Radio Football Commentator" (unpublished manuscript, Moi University, 2009). My thanks to Solomon Waliaula for sharing his excellent work on Kenyan football.

12. Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness: Brazil's Passion for the World's Most Popular Sport* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995), 19.

13. Cf. Gareth Stanton, "Chasing the Ghosts: Narratives of Football and Nation in Morocco," in *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community*, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 150–55.

14. African governments' "national development" strategies strengthened the relationship between football and articulations of nationhood. In the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, new sport and physical education programs in schools relied heavily on football due to its low cost and boys' passion for the game. Soviet use of "soft" power in Africa during the Cold War encouraged the use of sport as an "important element of national pride and social development, and an important factor of national unity." Baruch A. Hazan, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York: Africana, 1987), 267.

15. Information on Ghana comes mainly from Ken Bediako, *The National Soccer League of Ghana: The Full Story, 1956–1995* (Accra: Bediako, 1996); Kevin S. Fridy and Victor Brobbey, "Win the Match and Vote for Me: The Politicisation of Ghana's Accra Hearts of Oak and Kumasi Asante Kotoko Football Clubs," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47, no. 1 (2009): 1–21; and Paul Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism, and Resistance* (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 35–38.

16. Wiebe Boer, "Nation-Building Exercise: Sporting Culture and the Rise of Football in Colonial Nigeria" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2003).

17. A historic visit by Santos and Pelé in 1969 brought Nigeria to a standstill. The matches led to a temporary ceasefire between federal troops and Biafran forces.

18. This discussion of Senegal is based on Daour Gaye, *Crises et perspectives du football sénégalais* (Saint-Louis: Xamal, 1999).

19. Ibid., 22, 36–37.

20. Bangela Lema, "Sport in Zaire," in *Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook*, ed. Eric A. Wagner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), 229–47.

21. Arnold Parmenborg, *How to Win a Football Match in Cameroon* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2008), 23.

22. Ibid., 23.

23. Hyder Kindy, *Life and Politics in Mombasa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), 104. Additional information gleaned from Godia in *Sport in Asia and Africa*, and Solomon Waliaula, "Wrangling in Kenyan Football: A Symptom of Displaced Identity" (unpublished manuscript).

24. Dean E. McHenry, "The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 18, no. 2 (1980): 237–56; Tadasu Tsuruta, "Simba or Yanga? Football and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam," in *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging Metropolis*, ed. James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton, and Yusuf Lawi (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2007), 198–212.

25. Fidgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene* (Lusaka: LIPPUHO, 2006).

26. Bea Vidacs, "Football in Cameroon: A Vehicle for the Expansion and Contraction of Identity," in *Football Culture: Local Contests, Global Visions*, ed. Gerry G. T. Finn and Richard Giulianotti (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 100–117.

27. Fridy and Brobbey, "Win the Match and Vote for Me," 5.

28. For example, Asante Kotoko claims that in 1962 Hearts and Real Republikans played a "fixed" 0–0 match that denied the Kumasi club the title by a single point. Earlier in the season, Kotoko had almost withdrawn from the league as a result of losing its star players Dogo Moro and Baba Yara to Real Republikans. On the controversy, see Bediako, *National Soccer League of Ghana*, 13–14.

29. Vidacs, "Football in Cameroon," 61.

30. Solomon Waliaula, "The Role of Football Cultures in Performing/Constructing Identities to Foster Peace and Stability in the 21st-Century Kenyan Society" (paper presented at the Kenya Oral Literature Association Symposium, 2008), 10–12.

31. Richard Giulianotti, "Between Colonialism, Independence and Globalization: Football in Zimbabwe," in Giulianotti and Armstrong, *Football in Africa*, 80–99.

32. Quotation is from David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008), 70. For more details, see William James Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984); and *The Old Firm in the New Age: Celtic and Rangers since the Souness Revolution* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1998).

33. Phil Ball, *Morbo: The Story of Spanish Football* (London: WSC Books, 2001); John Walton, "Basque Football Rivalries in the Twentieth Century," in *Fear and Loathing in World Football*, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 119–33; Jeremy MacClancy, "Nationalism at Play: The Basques of Vizcaya and Athletic Club de Bilbao," in *Sport, Ethnicity and Identity*, ed. Jeremy MacClancy (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 181–99; Jimmy Burns, *Barca: A People's Passion* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998).

34. Simon Kuper, *Ajax, the Dutch, the War: Football in Europe during the Second World War* (London: Orion, 2003).

35. Sorek, *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State*, 1–2.

36. William J. Baker, "Political Games: The Meaning of International Sport for Independent Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York: Africana, 1987), 274.

37. John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the People's Game* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 3.

38. "CAF Is Born," *CAFoot* 88 (February 2007): 15.

39. Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 29.

40. Those in attendance were Ahmed Rahma, Ahmed Ali Singawi, Ahmed Aidrous, Abdel Rahim Sheddad, and Abdel Halim Mohamed (all from Sudan); Moctafa Kamel Mansour, Galal Koreitem, Mourad Fahmy, Abdallah Abdelazim Salem, and Youssef Mohamed (Egypt); Yidnecatchew Tessema, Aman Andom, and Gegeyehu Dube (Ethiopia); and Fred Bell (South Africa).

41. SAFA, *Minutes of Special General Meeting*, October 27, 1956; "S.A. out of Khartoum Tournament: How Rangers Can Ask for Tour of Europe," *Rand Daily Mail*, December 29, 1956, cited in Chris Bolsmann, "White Football in South Africa: Empire, Apartheid and Change, 1892–1977," in *South Africa and the Global Game: Football, Apartheid and Beyond*, ed. Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

42. Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 179.

43. Solomon Getahun, "Introduction: A Short History of Sport in Ethiopia," (unpublished manuscript, 2008).

44. Alex Last, "Containment and Counter-Attack: A History of Eritrean Football," in Giulianotti and Armstrong, *Football in Africa*, 27–40.

45. Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA*, 36.

46. "Report by the President on the First African Games," July 1965, FIFA Archives, Zurich. I am indebted to Chris Bolsmann for sending me a copy of this document.

47. For various reasons, clubs from eastern and southern Africa never established a winning tradition, the 1995 champion Orlando Pirates from South Africa proving the exception to this trend.

48. Mobutu also bankrolled the national team, known as the Leopards, which won two African Nations Cup titles and qualified for the 1974 World Cup finals in Germany. Mobutu also sponsored the 1974 heavyweight championship boxing match in Kinshasa between Mohammad Ali and George Foreman, known as the "Rumble in the Jungle."

49. Biographical information on Tessema from http://www.tessemas.net (accessed February 17, 2009) and Paul Dietschy and David-Claude Kemo-Keimbou, *Le football et l'Afrique* (Paris: EPA, 2008), 196–97.

50. CAF Minutes, cited in Dietschy and Kemo-Keimbou, *Le football et l'Afrique*, 197.

51. Ministry of the Interior (South Africa), letter to FASA, June 20, 1960.

52. FIFA, Minutes of the XXXIInd Ordinary Congress, cited in Paul Darby, "Stanley Rous's 'Own Goal': Football Politics, South Africa and the Contest for the FIFA Presidency in 1974," *Soccer and Society* 9, no. 2 (2008): 263.

53. FIFA, "Report of the Visit of Sir Stanley Rous and Mr. J. Maguire to South Africa," (1963), 4; Rous Papers, University of Brighton. My thanks to Alan Tomlinson for access to this document.

54. Baruch A. Hazan, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa," in Baker and Mangan, *Sport in Africa*, 267.

55. Darby, "Stanley Rous's 'Own Goal,'" 258. For an overview of the 1973 South African Games, see Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 99–104.

56. M. Katimia, "The Fight for Recognition," *African Soccer*, no. 35 (June 1999): 54.

57. Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA*, 53

58. For details, see Andrew Jennings, *Foul! The Secret World of FIFA: Bribes, Vote Rigging and Ticket Scandals* (London: HarperCollins, 2006); and Barbara Smit, *Pitch Invasion: Adidas, Puma and the Making of Modern Sport* (London: Penguin, 2007).

59. Germany scored early and won a famously uneventful match 1-0, thus ensuring that both teams advanced to the second round. In response to widespread allegations of a "fix," FIFA decided to kick off the last round of World Cup matches in each group simultaneously.

chapter five Football Migration to Europe since the 1930s

1. Evariste Tshimanga Bakadiabu, *Le commerce et la traite des footballeurs africains et sud-américains en Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 114–15.

2. Raffaele Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographical and Cultural Aspects," *Afrika Spectrum* 41, no. 3 (2006): 411.

3. Tshimanga Bakadiabu, *Le commerce et la traite*; and Joseph Arbena, "Dimensions of International Talent Migration in Latin American Sports," in *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World*, ed. John Bale and Joseph Maguire (London: Frank Cass, 1994), 99–111.

4. T. J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 264. These recent numbers are far larger than those of the colonial era, as discussed in Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa," *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 198, 200.

5. For data on remittances, see United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), "Remittances Forum: Africa," http://www.ifad.org/events/remittances/maps/africa.htm (accessed June 1, 2008); and Gerdin Sander and Samuel Munzele Maimbo, "Migrant Labor Remittances in Africa: Reducing Obstacles to Developmental Contributions," Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 64, World Bank, November 2003, http://www.worldbank.org/afr/wps/wp64.pdf (accessed June 1, 2008). Countries like Ghana are estimated to have 12 percent of their population living abroad; cited in Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora."

6. Joseph Maguire and John Bale, "Introduction: Sports Labour Migration in the Global Arena," in Maguire and Bale, *Global Sports Arena*, 2; Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (Routledge, 2005); Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora."

CHAPTER FIVE

African Soccerscapes

how a Continent Changed the World's Game

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MAp 1 Colonial Africa, 1914. *Map by Claudia K. Walters. Source: http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/colonialism1914.jpg.*

MAp 2 Contemporary Africa and major cities. *Map by Claudia K. Walters. Source: http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/capitals.jpg.*

CHAPTER FIVE

Ch A pter five

Football Migration to europe since the 1930s

Mi Ch A el eSS ien and Albert Youmba were talented African players who had decidedly different fortunes in the European football world. Essien, whose father was an elite footballer, grew up in Accra, Ghana. At the age of thirteen he joined Liberty Professionals, and in 1999 he came to the attention of European talent scouts when he proved decisive in Ghana's third-place finish at the Under-17 World Championships in New Zealand. The following year, SC Bastia in France signed him on a free transfer and three years later sold him to Olympique Lyonnais for 8 million euros (approximately 7 million dollars). Essien and Lyon won two consecutive league championships. In 2005, the French club made a huge profit by trading Essien to Chelsea for about 26 million pounds (47 million dollars). At the time this was the largest fee ever paid for an African footballer, and it made Essien a millionaire.

The Cameroonian Albert Youmba had a dramatically different experience.[1] In the 1990s, he met a shady European agent in Cameroon who lured him to Le Havre Football Club, the oldest club in France, with promises of great riches. In pursuit of his dream of playing in Europe, Youmba dropped out of high school against the wishes of his parents and left for France on a tourist visa. After a short trial period, Le Havre did not sign him. Youmba's "agent" disappeared. Penniless, homeless, and without a work permit, the young Cameroonian chose the life of an illegal immigrant rather than face potential embarrassment and shame if he returned home. "When you come back from Europe," said Samuel Ojong, a Cameroonian who recently played

in France and Switzerland, "people ask you what you have been up to. You can't stay here for two years and come back empty-handed. Even if you don't have a contract anymore, it's better to stay."[2] Essien and Youmba represent the dramatically different experiences of African footballers overseas.[3]

Football migration was part of a larger movement of labor from Africa to Europe and beyond that has intensified greatly in recent years. From 1981 to 2001, the number of African athletes, musicians, artists, white-collar professionals, entrepreneurs, and manual laborers "living in the European Union increased by about 70 percent, from 700,000 to 1.2 million."[4] According to recent data, more than thirty million Africans live abroad (including other African countries) and send remittances home that contribute crucial income to households and represent on average about 5 percent of national gross domestic product.[5] In the context of Africa's five-hundred-year history of global migration, forced and voluntary, the overseas movement of athletes is not surprising. But the intensity and volume of recent migration are unprecedented, and represent a significant brain drain and muscle drain.

Footballers, like African workers in general, have been part of the increasing flow of permanent migrants, which has "grown in volume and significance since 1945 and most particularly since the mid-1980s."[6] The movement of African players to Europe, and more recently to Asia and North America, has grown exponentially over the last two decades. For example, between 1996 and 2000 the number of Africans playing in European professional leagues increased from about 350 to more than 1,000. Today, there are dozens of Africans playing in leagues in the Persian Gulf states, India, China, Vietnam, and South Korea, and more than 30 competing in Major League Soccer in the United States.

Like many white-collar workers in the African diaspora of the last half century, male footballers were (and are) mainly economic migrants.[7] This muscle drain is a legacy of colonial capitalism, under which imperial powers used colonies as reliable sources of crops and minerals for processing in Europe. Football was no different. "The clearest example . . . during the colonial period," as sport scholar Paul Darby has pointed out, "was the mining and export of indigenous football talent for consumption on the European football market."[8]

The athletes were not passive victims. Migration also represented their effort to find opportunities, economic, educational, and professional, a motivation "common to both colonial and post-colonial African dispersions" in and out of sport.[9] Africans typically migrated to the former

metropoles or to countries where they would find themselves more comfortable in terms of culture and language.[10] Most important, African athletes have played a key role in giving the culture of football a global character. Their experiences illustrate some intriguing ways in which Africa has participated in "a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe."[11]

football Migration from the Colonial period to the 1970s

Before decolonization in the 1960s, France received the bulk of African football migrants. From the dawn of professional football in France in the 1930s, francophone Africans found their way to metropolitan clubs. Most migrants were from the French territories of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia in North Africa, also known as the Maghreb, where the game had acquired widespread popularity by 1920.[12] In Algiers, for example, there were more registered football players (13,494) in the late 1930s than in Paris (13,448). Both European settlers (*colons*) and indigenous Algerians enjoyed the game, mostly in segregated clubs and leagues, as was common throughout colonial Africa. Several colons played for French clubs and the national team.[13] The special status of Algeria as an overseas department of France, rather than a colony or a protectorate, further encouraged the movement of Algerian workers, students, and footballers to the colonial metropole. There were at least eighteen Algerians in the French first division in 1937.[14]

But the first African professional footballer in France came from Senegal, not the Maghreb. His name was Raoul Diagne, and he was the son of Blaise Diagne (1872–1934), a colonial civil servant who became the first black African member elected to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1914, and a French mother. As a Western-educated young man, Blaise Diagne had hoped to take advantage of France's assimilation policy, but he was repeatedly overlooked for promotion and became a proponent of African civil rights. The French punished him by posting him to faraway places such as Madagascar and French Guyana.

Blaise's son Raoul was born in French Guyana in 1910. He honed his football skills at elite schools in Senegal before immigrating to France at the age of twenty to pursue his studies. A big central defender (six feet, one inch and 175 pounds), Diagne joined the amateur Racing Club de France in 1930. Two years later, Diagne moved up to the professional ranks with Racing Club de Paris, winning the league and cup "Double" in 1936, as well as the French Cup in 1939 and 1940. Most famously, Raoul earned the

distinction of becoming the first black player to play for the French national team. He won eighteen caps (denoting the number of international appearances for one's country) and played against Italy and Belgium in the 1938 World Cup, which France hosted.

By including blacks in Les Bleus, France sought to demonstrate the success of its "civilizing mission" and the allegedly positive aspects of colonial rule. The acceptance of black footballers as representatives of the French nation has also been explained in terms of the game's lower status than rugby and cycling, both of which excluded blacks, perhaps they were perceived as more deeply symbolic of French identity and character. During the war Diagne moved to Toulouse and won four consecutive regional titles before closing his professional career with Annecy in 1946. He then returned to Dakar as a player/coach for US Gorée and became active in coaching development programs in French West Africa. After Senegal's independence from France, Diagne was named the first head coach of the national team. In 1963 in Dakar, he coached Senegal to its first victory against France (2–0) in the Jeux de l'amitié (Friendship Games) and thus became a na- tional hero.[15] Diagne oscillated between his Senegalese roots and French cultural identity for much of his life. He returned to France to work as a technical consultant for various football programs into the 1970s.[16]

Unlike Diagne and other early African sporting migrants, Larbi Ben Barek moved to Marseilles in 1938 exclusively to play professional football.[17] Born in Casablanca in 1917, Ben Barek came from humble circumstances—his father repaired boats. He learned the game in the streets like most boys. After kicking about with neighborhood teams, Ben Barek joined second-division club Ideal. He did extremely well against elite teams in the North African Cup, and as a result, the Union Sportive Marocaine (USM), a prestigious Moroccan club, recruited the precocious teenager into its ranks. In 1937–38, Ben Barek led USM to both the local championship and the North African Cup. He caught the attention of French scouts in April 1937 in Casablanca with a dazzling performance for Morocco against the France "B" or second team. Olympique Marseilles quickly signed him to a contract that paid him fifty times more than he earned as a member of the cleaning staff at the gas company.[18] The young Moroccan forward, now known as the "Black Pearl," scored twice in his French league debut.

After less than four months, Ben Barek earned a call up to the French national team. In his first match for France in Naples, on December 4, 1938, Ben Barek played alongside Diagne. Les Bleus lost 0–1 to world champions

Italy. In January 1939, the Moroccan star scored a hat trick (three goals) against Poland in Paris. With war fast approaching, Ben Barek went back to Morocco, where between 1940 and 1945 he and his USM club won four league titles and a North African Cup. At twenty-nine, Ben Barek resumed his pro career in 1946 in Paris, this time with Stade Français. Two years later, Atletico Madrid paid the astonishing sum of 1 million pesetas (thirty-seven thousand dollars) to acquire his services—then the highest transfer fee in the history of Spanish football. It turned out to be a very good investment. Ben Barek's goals guided Atletico to consecutive Spanish league titles in 1949–50 and 1950–51. Two years later, he went back to Marseilles. His stellar career ended with a loss to Nice in the 1954 French Cup final. Ben Barek eventually returned to Morocco, where he was involved with local clubs and the national team. But sadly, he died in 1992 in Casablanca "alone and in squalor."[19] French audiences had mixed, even contradictory reactions to black players. In the case of national team members Diagne and Ben Barek, Laurent Dubois argues that French fans probably saw these Africans as French, though probably not as equals.[20]

The postwar years ushered in a new era of African football migration to Europe.[21] Between 1945 and 1962, 117 North Africans played professionally in France.[22] Nearly two-thirds of the players from the Maghreb were Algerians, almost a third were Moroccans, and a small minority came from Tunisia. Following in the footsteps of Diagne and Ben Barek, twelve North Africans represented France internationally in the 1950s, including Abdelaziz Ben Tifour, Rachid Mekhloufi, and Moustapha Zitouni, all of whom abandoned Les Bleus in favor of the Algerian National Liberation Front's "national team" in 1958 (see chapter 3).

As the stream of migrants grew, the sources of African talent became more numerous and diverse. West Africans played a pivotal role in this process. The scarcity of finances available to many French clubs after the war made players from the French West African federation an extremely attractive source of cheap labor. Also, a new rule prohibiting foreign players in France after 1955 stimulated the migration of colonial subjects, who, as "citizens of empire,"[23] were exempted from the ban to the metropole—a tangible way in which "Greater France" manifested itself. African students in France continued to serve as a reservoir of talent for metropolitan clubs. The lack of professional leagues in Africa also pushed top African play- ers overseas. As a result, the number of sub-Saharan African footballers increased from a handful in 1955 to more than forty by 1960.

Ivory Coast was an especially reliable supplier of talent. The formidable striker Jean Topka of Africa Sports Abidjan joined Montpellier in 1955 at the age of twenty-one; he scored 75 goals in 170 games in his first six seasons (two each with Montpelier, Olympique Alès, and Racing Club Paris). Recurring knee injuries led to a premature retirement and a return to Abidjan, where Topka would coach Africa Sports and then the Ivoirian national team, the Elephants. In 1956, FC Sète signed eighteen-year-old forward Ignace Wognin Otchonou from ASEC Abidjan. In ten seasons with four clubs, the prolific Ivoirian scored 103 goals. Another Abidjan tal- ent was Touré Sekou of Africa Sports. In his fourth season in France, Sekou led the league in scoring in 1962 with twenty-five goals for Montpellier.

Ivory Coast was not the sole West African provider of athletic labor to France. For example, midfielder René Gaulon (originally from Benin but recruited from Sporting RC Dakar) played twelve seasons for Stade Français, Red Star, and Rennes. Oumar "Barrou" Keita and Bassidiki Touré, both from Mali, had long careers (twelve and fifteen seasons, respectively) for various French clubs. Karimou Djibrill from Togo won two league titles and two Cups in eight seasons with AS Monaco. Boubacar Bèye from Senegal had two seasons with AS Monaco in the late 1940s.[24]

Cameroon, like Ivory Coast, was a rich reservoir of low-cost labor for post-war French football. At the time, many players still went to Europe, mainly to study or work, not to become professional athletes. Eugene N'jo Lea, for instance, migrated at the age of twenty and initially played at amateur level while studying for a law degree. That changed in 1954–55 when he signed a professional contract with Saint-Étienne. An athlete with rich and diverse interests and talents, N'jo Lea was fond of jazz, "played the trumpet, loved reading Kafka and managed to receive his PhD in law as well as a league title with St. Etienne."[25] He won the 1956–57 league title with Saint-Étienne, scoring 29 goals in 32 matches. In seven full seasons in France, including two with Olympique Lyonnais, N'jo Lea amassed 93 goals in 182 matches. He also helped to found the French Players' Union in 1961.[26] N'jo Lea's son later played in France, as did José Touré, son of Bakou Touré, French champion in 1980 and 1983 with Nantes and an Olympic champion with France in 1984. In the wake of N'jo Lea's achievements other Cameroonians proved themselves in France, including Yegba Maya "Joseph" (scorer of nearly 150 goals for various teams from 1962 to 1976), Fréderic N'Doumbe Mondo, Samuel Edimo N'Ganga, Emmanuel Koum, Zaccharie Noah (father of tennis champion Yannick Noah and grandfather of professional basketball player Joachim Noah), and Gabriel Abossolo.

The increasing visibility of African players, however, could not mask racial discrimination against them. Racism in France manifested itself in different ways. For example, wage inequities long affected Africans, especially in the first years of their careers. At stadiums across European fans sometimes heaped racial insults on black players, waving bananas and making monkey sounds—a practice that is still far too common today.[27] On the pitch, a culture of "stacking" led to players being disproportionately assigned certain playing positions based on ascribed racial or ethnic characteristics.[28] Black footballers were perceived as fast, agile, and reactive, but lacking in leadership skills, tactical intelligence, and self-control.[29] Much as black players were denied opportunities to play quarterback in American football, stacking in France led to Africans being regularly played in wide positions, or as strikers. In 1937, for example, none of the eighteen, mostly Algerian, Africans who played in France occupied central positions such as goalkeeper, center-half, and inside forward. Data on seventy-five sub-Saharan Africans who competed in the top two divisions in France in the 1950s and 1960s show that forty-nine were strikers (65.3 percent), eighteen were midfielders (24 percent), eight were defenders (10.7 percent), and none were goalkeepers.[30]

While racialized stereotypes about African abilities developed quite early in France, they seem to have appeared later in Britain. "After 1945," football historian Phil Vasili writes, "with the greater number of migrant Black footballers, playing against the backdrop of an increasingly racialized political environment, certain myths emerged as to this 'new' generic type."[31] These myths resembled French and American ones: that Africans and West Indians lacked decision-making ability and were "fast and fancy, but lacking in 'bottle' and unable to perform in the cold." Sociologist John Maguire discovered that in the ninety-two clubs of the English Football League in the mid-1980s the ratio of black goalkeepers, centerbacks, central midfielders, and center-forwards to those occupying noncentral positions was nearly three-to-one, but with white players the ratio was almost one-to-one. Maguire also notes that "whereas blacks make up 7.7 per cent of the total number of players, they make up 4.5 per cent and 10.5 per cent of central and noncentral positions, respectively."[32] Ultimately, stacking harmed generations of black players and European teams; it reproduced racial myths of blacks being "natural" athletes but not intelligent enough to be decision makers, thus precluding many talented individuals from advancing into coaching careers and football administration. Only in 2008,

when Blackburn Rovers hired former Manchester United star Paul Ince, did a black manager take the helm of a club in the top flight of English football. "There's an unconscious racism," Viv Anderson, the former England defender, told the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper. "It used to be thought that black players were flair players—that you couldn't be in a position of responsibility I think there is a preconception now that they can't perform in the boardroom."[33]

Given the challenges of racism and economic inequality, the sporting accomplishments of Africans in France go a long way toward explaining the gradual increase in migration to Europe during the 1970s. François M'Pele (b. 1947) from Brazzaville, Congo, was one of the top strikers in France. He scored 130 goals in 350 first division matches in thirteen seasons for four different teams. M'Pele also married a French (Corsican) woman and acquired dual citizenship. But he chose to represent Congo-Brazzaville in international football, leading his country to its only African Nations Cup title in 1972. After retiring in 1982, M'Pele returned to Brazzaville and opened a French bakery. Another gifted striker of this era was the Ivoirian Laurent Pokou, who made his way from ASEC Abidjan to Rennes in 1973. A crafty dribbler and opportunistic finisher, Pokou arrived having set an African Nations Cup record with fourteen career goals in thirteen matches for Ivory Coast in the 1968 and 1970 tournaments. Unfortunately, a series of knee injuries sharply curtailed his playing time at Rennes and later at Nancy.

If M'Pele and Pokou added to the self-confidence and growing legitimacy of African football, then Salif Keita turned out to be the first African superstar in Europe. Born in 1946 in Bamako, the son of a truck driver, he was plucked from a neighborhood team by the prestigious Real Bamako club. Known by the nickname "Domingo," after a local movie star, Keita made his first division debut at seventeen and was capped soon after. Quick, elegant, and strong, the five-foot, ten-inch Keita asserted himself locally as a prodigious scorer with Stade Malien and Real Bamako, runners-up in the African Champions Cup in 1965 and 1966, respectively. He helped Mali reach the final of the inaugural All-Africa Games in Brazzaville in 1965. Keita's magnificent performances led to a transfer to Saint-Étienne in France in 1967. At Saint-Étienne, Keita joined fellow Africans Rachid Mekhloufi (Algeria) and Frederic N'Doumbé (Cameroon) in a formidable attack.

With Keita, Saint-Étienne won three consecutive league titles (1968–70) and two French Cups (1968, 1970). In 1970, he was named African Player of the Year by the French magazine *France Football*. In 1970–71, Keita scored

virtually at will for Saint-Étienne: 42 goals in 38 matches! Olympique Marseilles acquired his services in 1972, the same year that Keita led Mali to second place in the African Cup of Nations (losing the final to M'Pele's Congo-Brazzaville). Keita struggled to adjust to Marseilles's risk-averting tactics and physically aggressive style of play, yet still managed to find the net ten times in eighteen appearances. When Marseilles demanded that he take up French citizenship to make room for another foreign player (only two were allowed), Keita refused. Having amassed 135 goals in 168 matches in France, he was traded for nearly five hundred thousand dollars to Spanish club Valencia in 1973. Keita tallied 23 goals in 74 games over three seasons in Spain, the lower total partly due to his being played out of position on a regular basis. His nomadic journey continued across the border in Portugal with Sporting Lisbon, and finally across the Atlantic for two seasons with the New England Tea Men of the North American Soccer League. Today, Keita is a successful businessman in Bamako and runs the Salif Keita Football Academy (see chapter 6). Keita's outstanding career was built on exceptional scoring abilities and a calm temperament, as well as the achievements of earlier generations of African football migrants.

Postwar Portugal's voracious appetite for African talent resembled France's.[34] The status of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe as "overseas provinces" of Portugal eased the movement of players out of Africa. Portugal's treatment of its African colonies was similar to France's handling of Algeria and its island colonies in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean, and Pacific. In the 1940s and 1950s, Portuguese clubs regularly toured Mozambique and Angola in the off-season, where they encountered stiff competition from local teams. Metropolitan clubs such as Sporting Lisbon, Benfica, and Porto set up branches in Luanda and Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) to recruit local players and to foster greater interest in and allegiance to Portugal among colonial populations.

While only a few Africans had played in Portugal before the Second World War, more than two dozen arrived in the early 1950s.[35] Probably the pioneer of this new era was FC Porto's eighteen-year-old Miguel Arcanjo, signed from Nova Lisboa (now Huambo) in Angola in 1951. Arcanjo was an educated "son of a colonial civil servant employed in the agricultural division office" and a former seminarian.[36] At first he continued his studies, but by 1953 the defender was a full-time professional. He became a regular starter at Porto and went on to earn nine caps for Portugal. Arcanjo's presence in the heart of the national team's defense had political implications in the

sense that it allowed Portugal, like France, to use him as evidence of the so-called positive aspects of colonialism. Arcanjo and other Africans also seemed to legitimize the myth of *lusotropicalism*, the theory that Portugal was unique among colonial powers because its culture naturally produced multicultural societies free of racism and segregation. The gradual Africanization of Portuguese football was symbolized by the inclusion of four Africans in a World Cup qualifier in December 1957, which Portugal lost against Italy in Milan. Sitting out that match was a Mozambican striker named Lucas Sebastião da Fonseca, known as "Matateu," a gifted striker who had scored a goal in Portugal's 3-0 victory over Italy a few months earlier in Lisbon.

Matateu was the first sub-Saharan African to gain widespread notoriety in post-war Europe.[37] Born in Lourenço Marques in 1927 into a working-class family, he was known in Maputo for stellar performances with Primo de Mayo, a local club controlled by Lisbon's CF Os Belenenses. In 1950, a Brazilian scout saw Matateu score for a Lourenço Marques representative side against Benfica, Portugal's glamour club. Impressed with Matateu's scoring instinct, grace under pressure, dynamism, and ability to shoot well with both feet, the scout enthusiastically recommended him to Belenenses. Matateu signed with this Lisbon club in 1951 and endeared himself to fans by scoring twice in his league debut, a dramatic 4–3 victory over city rivals Sporting. In 1953 and 1955, Matateu led the Portuguese league in scoring, with twenty-nine and thirty-two goals, respectively. Between 1952 and 1960 he made twenty-seven international appearances for Portugal, scoring thirteen goals. Injuries and age led to a gradual decline. In 1962, Matateu moved to second-division side Atletico, with whom he would later enjoy a final taste of top-flight football.[38]

Matateu's extraordinary achievements began to soften Portuguese prejudice against black footballers. By the early 1960s there were about thirty Africans playing in Portugal, and more were selected for the national team. This Africanization was made possible because dictator Antonio Salazar granted *assimilado* (assimilated, or "civilized") status to culturally "Europeanized" Africans, such as elite footballers. (In 1961, all colonial subjects were recognized as citizens.) Not all naturalized Africans in Portugal hailed from Lusophone Africa. The unusual case of David Julius, a South African, was particularly interesting. Classified as "Coloured" by the apartheid regime, Julius asserted himself as a top midfielder in the multiracial South African Soccer Federation (see chapter 3). Given the very limited prospects

for a black footballer in apartheid South Africa, Julius left for Lourenço Marques in 1956 with the hope of being recruited by a Portuguese club; Sporting Lisbon signed him almost immediately. Julius soon acquired Portuguese citizenship and a new name: Julião. He went on to earn six caps for Portugal. In 1958, Sporting welcomed another mixed-race player from Lourenço Marques: nineteen-year-old Rosario Hilario da Conceiçao ("Hilario"). In thirteen seasons with Sporting, the steady, reliable central defender won three league titles and three cups. Hilario earned forty caps and participated in the 1966 World Cup, which saw Portugal defeat two-time defending champions Brazil and finish a stunning third.

That memorable team featured two black players from Lourenço Marques who raised Portuguese football to unprecedented heights. Recruited through Benfica's feeder team, Desportivo, Mario Coluña (b. 1935) played 715 times for the Lisbon club between 1954 and 1970, winning ten league championships, six national cups, and two European Cup trophies. He scored in both European finals against Barcelona in 1961 and Real Madrid in 1962. Coluña played in two more European finals with Benfica, losses to AC Milan in 1963 and Internazionale in 1965. Capped fifty-eight times (with eight goals), Coluña achieved international recognition as midfield anchor and captain of Portugal's 1966 World Cup team.[39]

But it was Eusebio da Silva Ferreira, known as Eusebio, who captured the imagination of world football. He became the first African player to acquire global fame. Nicknamed the "Black Panther," Eusebio grew up kicking makeshift footballs in the streets of a shantytown on the outskirts of Lourenço Marques. He idolized Coluña, who was seven years older than he. In his teens, Eusebio went for a trial at Benfica's Mozambican club Desportivo, but was rejected because he did not have proper boots. So Eusebio ended up joining Sporting in Lourenço Marques instead. His big break came when he scored twice against Ferroviária de Araraquara from Brazil, which was touring Mozambique. José Carlos Bauer, the Ferroviária coach and a former member of Brazil's World Cup team, recommended Eusebio to Bela Guttmann, the Hungarian coach of Portuguese superclub Benfica. Guttmann was an ardent believer in overseas players and an emigrant himself.

And so in 1961 Benfica signed Eusebio for seventy-five hundred pounds. Fast and strong, he had the rare combination of mobility, long-range shooting ability, and a striker's instinct close to goal that made him "perhaps the archetype of the modern football player."[40] "In 13 seasons with Benfica

between 1961 and 1975, Eusebio achieved almost everything the game could offer."[41] His honors included seven league titles, two Portuguese cups, and a European Cup. Eusebio was awarded the prestigious European Footballer of the Year award in 1965—he was the only African so recognized until George Weah in 1995—and was the top scorer, with nine goals, at the 1966 World Cup. He became a national hero in Portugal and was idolized throughout Africa. Eusebio's career numbers were impressive: 317 goals in 301 games for Benfica, and 41 goals in 64 games for the national team—a record yet to be surpassed.

Eusebio was instrumental, together with Pelé, in elevating the status of black players in world football, but the experiences of players like Carlos Alhinho and Fernando Freitas were probably more broadly representative of African migrants in Portugal. Originally from the Cape Verde Islands, Carlos Alhinho signed for Academica de Coimbra in the mid-1960s. He earned a university degree in agrarian engineering, transferred to Sporting Lisbon, and was then called up by the national team. Like many African migrants in Europe, he married a local woman. Alhinho's itinerant career took him to Real Betis in Seville, Spain, and then RWD Molenbeek in Belgium. After a very difficult year in Belgium, he and his family returned to Lisbon, this time to play for Benfica. When his career ended, Alhinho opened a sporting goods store and then coached the Angolan and Cape Verdean national teams.[42] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Fernando Freitas from Lobito, Angola, played for Porto and Portugal. As in Alhinho's case, football wages rewarded Freitas with a middle-class lifestyle and capital to invest in business ventures after retiring from the game.

Ultimately, just as Portugal's African colonies boosted the country's economic development and helped to bring an end to military dictator- ship in 1974, so African labor enriched Portuguese football by providing inexpensive talent and infusing it with greater cultural diversity. As a result of the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe in 1974–75, "the migration of [African] footballers became more complicated legally but continued at a similar pace and rhythm."[43] By 1984, when Portugal reached the semifinals of the European championships, the top three Portuguese leagues featured 340 foreigners, many of them Lusophone Africans.

The postwar migration of Africans to Europe centered on France and Portugal, but it also reached Britain and Belgium.[44] England had been home to the first black professional footballer in the world: Ghanaian

goalkeeper Arthur Wharton at Preston North End in 1886.[45] Several Egyptian student-athletes had followed Wharton in the 1910s and 1920s, including Hassan Hegazi, Tewfik Abdallah, and Mohammed Latif. What Vasili described as the "historic unwillingness of British clubs to consider African players" slowly began to change in the mid-1950s and early 1960s.[46] The first African to sign a professional contract was twenty-seven-year- old Teslim "Thunder" Balogun from Lagos, Nigeria. After touring England with the Nigerian "national" team in 1949 (see chapter 3), Balogun joined Peterborough United of the Midlands League in 1955. His wages were meager, and the club found him a day job as a printer. The powerful six-foot, two-inch forward won the hearts of local fans despite not playing a single first-team match. Traded to Third Division Queen's Park Rangers, he scored in his debut against Watford and added four more in fifteen games in 1956–57. Balogun then spent a season with Holbeach in the East- ern Counties League before returning to Nigeria in 1958 to work as a coach for the Western States Sports Council. He died in 1973, and a stadium in Lagos was recently named after him. In 1960, Tranmere Rovers acquired twenty-one-year-old Elkanah Onyeali. His four goals against Dahomey (now Benin) in 1959 still stand as a single-match record for the Nigerian national team. Like many athletic migrants of this era, Onyeali made edu- cation his priority. "My father at home in Nigeria would be very angry with me if he found out I was playing football rather than studying," he once explained to his club after missing a midweek game. In his only English season, Onyeali bagged eight goals in thirteen games, but he then moved to the United States to continue his education. The third Nigerian interna- tional to go to England was Francis Feyami, who lasted only three months with Cambridge City in 1961. The same club then signed the Ghanaian John Mensah in 1964. A common thread running through the experiences of all these West African migrants to Britain was that they were temporary migrants and "came primarily to learn a trade or profession, rather than to earn a living from playing football."[47]

Between 1956 and 1961, three black South Africans made it into English football: Steve Mokone, Gerry Francis, and Albert Johanneson. The first to arrive was Mokone in 1956–57. Nicknamed "Kalamazoo" after a popular American hit song, he featured in just four matches (one goal) for Third Division Coventry City, including one against Balogun's Queen's Park Rangers. Mokone's flair and finesse clashed with the dour, direct style of play of the English. "I never did learn to like the British way of

playing soccer," Mokone recalled. "It was a kind of 'kick and run' game. For me, soccer was and is an art form in which each individual player can express style and technique."[48] Soon Mokone moved on to Heracles Almelo in the Dutch Third Division. He made an immediate impact: Heracles won promotion into the Second Division, and Mokone became a local hero. He helped to recruit fellow South Africans Darius "Ndaru" Dhlomo and Herbert "Shordex" Zuma from Durban. Both Dhlomo and Zuma remained in the Netherlands at the end of their sporting ca- reers, unwilling to return to the humiliation and indignity of apartheid. Mokone's career continued with brief stints in Britain, Italy, and finally Southern Rhodesia.[49]

The next black South African to go to England was Gerry Francis, a twenty-three-year-old winger classified by apartheid regulations as "Coloured." Signed by Leeds in 1957, Francis took two years to earn the distinction of becoming the first black South African to play in the English First Division. In four seasons he made fifty appearances and scored nine goals. In 1961, Francis moved to York City in the Fourth Division, and he later played at Tonbridge in the Southern League. Although used spar- ingly at Leeds, Francis paved the way for the arrival, also in 1961, of Albert "Hurry-Hurry" Johanneson, another "Coloured" South African. This fast winger from Germiston, near Johannesburg, broke into the Leeds starting lineup right away. In 1963–64, he led the team in scoring with fifteen goals as Leeds won promotion to the First Division. Between 1964 and 1966, Johanneson scored twenty-four goals in sixty-four games, well above aver- age for a nonstriker. In May 1965, he made history as the first black player to participate in an FA Cup final (Leeds lost to Liverpool 0–1). After that game Johanneson's career entered a steady decline. He played fewer than fifty matches due to a combination of injuries, isolation, and alcohol abuse. After an undistinguished season with York City, in 1970– 71, Johanneson retired from football. He died alone and in poverty in a housing project in Leeds at the age of fifty-three.[50] In 1994, Leeds resuscitated its South Afri- can connections when it signed striker Phil Masinga and central defender Lucas Radebe, the first South African captain of an elite English club.

The case of South Africans in Britain brings into sharp relief the racial and cultural dynamics that have underpinned the history of football labor migration. It is instructive, for example, to compare the considerable dif- ficulties faced on and off the pitch by African migrants, and black players generally, with the smooth integration of white South Africans into the

culture of the British game. White South Africans first came to the attention of the British during tours of South Africa by English and Scottish professional sides in the late 1920s and especially during the Great Depression. In the 1930s, Gordon Hodgson scored 240 goals for Liverpool and played three times for England. At Liverpool Hodgson played with Arthur Riley and several other white South Africans. Charlton Athletic coach Jimmy Seed signed at least thirteen white South Africans after the war.[51] The best known were John Hewie, who played 495 times for Charlton (1949–58) and represented Scotland nineteen times, and Eddie Firmani, who later scored 125 goals for Italian clubs Sampdoria, Inter, and Genoa. The Capetonian's Italian ancestry also allowed Firmani to play three times (scoring twice) for the Italian national team. Several white South Africans also signed with various Scottish clubs.

That many white South Africans either held British citizenship or could easily obtain it allowed them to circumvent the English league's restrictions on foreign players. Moreover, racial and cultural solidarity soldered bonds of friendship among whites. Jimmy Seed, for instance, believed that "white South Africans would fit in to the dressing-room/training-ground environment and settle comfortably in Britain. [The whites] were 'one of us' while their Black countrymen were not."[52] Only in 1979 did black players—Viv Anderson and Laurie Cunningham—finally wear the England jersey at senior level. While France capped African-born players like Jean Tigana and José Toure (Mali) in the 1980s and Basile Boli (Ivory Coast), Marcel Desailly (Ghana), and many others in the 1990s, England had yet to cap an African-born player as of 2009.

African football migration to Belgium resembled trends elsewhere in Europe. By 1960, Belgium's top two divisions counted about thirty Africans in its ranks.[53] As in other European countries, migrants came largely from colonial possessions. Congo's Paul Bonga Bonga, a defensive midfielder from Kinshasa, was possibly the most accomplished. Born in 1933, Bonga Bonga played for Standard Liège between 1957 and 1963, winning three Belgian league titles before moving over to Olympique Charleroi. Julien Kialunda, born in Matadi, Congo, in 1940, earned the nickname "Puskas" (after the legendary Hungarian player) on the pitches of Kinshasa. In the late 1950s, he signed for Royale Union Saint-Gilloise before joining RSC Anderlecht, perhaps the country's most prestigious club, in 1965. By this time the Congo government's restrictions on player exports and the Belgian authorities' ban on foreign players curtailed the number of Africans in Belgium.

After the repeal of the ban on foreign players in 1978, the Belgian league acquired new appeal as a destination for African migrants. Limited finances led local clubs to sign young Africans so as to keep costs down and generate profits through resale in the European market. African footballers were also pulled to Belgium by liberal citizenship laws that allowed any person at least eighteen years of age with three years of residency in Belgium to be naturalized. As a result, between 1985 and 1995 at least 126 Africans, 48 from the Congo, played in the top two divisions. As a less competitive environment than England, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, the Belgian leagues enabled many young Africans to develop technically, tactically, and physically. They also offered a place in which to cope with culture shock and adjust to European attitudes toward immigrants.[54] "African footballers try to ignore the racial abuse they encounter Other adjustments are actually more drastic: to a new way of dealing with people, to the weather, to European eating habits and to the different way of playing football."[55] The presence of many Congolese migrants in Belgium suggests the extent to which football relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Belgium are an expression of neocolonialism.

After 1980: increased Movement of Africans in the era of Commercial football

The flow of African footballers to Europe increased in the 1980s and 1990s, a trend some labeled a "New Scramble for Africa."[56] Regulatory changes quickened the pulse of migration. Many European leagues began to allow a small number of foreigners per team, usually no more than two or three (though citizenship rules differed from country to country). In 1981, FIFA introduced a rule that forced all clubs to release their players for international duty. This rule made it easier to implement article 3 of the FIFA constitution, which states that every citizen of a member nation is eligible to play for his (or her) country. Then, in 1982, CAF rescinded a rule imposed in 1965 that limited the number of overseas-based players on national teams to two.

The result of this lowering of barriers to movement to and from Africa was an increase in the number of Europe-based African players in the African Nations Cup, as well as the World Cup and other international tournaments. This oscillating flow of elite players between African nations and European clubs changed the way the African game was played and how it was perceived internationally. Greater access to football via television and

video recorders, together with a steady influx of European coaches, aligned African football with global trends, whereby "organization, the avoidance of mistakes, the ability to take chances and the reduction of risk seem to be the aim of all teams in major championships."[57] Suffocating defense, constant running, collective movements, and declining individual creativity tended to standardize styles of play. "I think there was more individual brilliance in my day," said Salif Keita, the former African Footballer of the Year, "but the teamwork and collective movement is so much better now."[58]

A dramatic improvement in African teams' performances in international tournaments nourished Europe's gluttonous demand for players. As noted in chapter 4, the 1982 World Cup proved to be a transformative event for the African game. Global satellite television broadcasts of Algeria and Cameroon's exploits against Germany, Italy, and other top teams displayed Africa's world-caliber technical, tactical, and physical skills. Africa's dazzling success at youth level further stimulated European interest in young African players, as Nigeria and Ghana each won two junior world championships.

Africa's success on the world stage and expanding media coverage of world football prompted an exodus of elite players from the continent after 1982. A review of the list of African Footballer of the Year recipients bears this out. Between 1971 and 1981 every winner of the award played for a club in Africa. Between 1982 and 2007, however, all but two of the winners played in European clubs.[59] The Algerian attacking midfielder Rabah Madjer and the veteran Cameroonian striker Roger Milla reaped immediate rewards. Having scored in Algeria's historic win over West Germany, Madjer played for Racing Club Paris and then FC Porto. He scored a mesmerizing backheel goal against Bayern Munich in 1987 to help Porto win the European Cup—the first triumph for a Portuguese side since Benfica's twenty-five years earlier.[60]

Roger Milla, more than Madjer, came to embody African football's rising fortunes on the global stage. Born Albert Roger Miller in 1952 in Yaoundé, Milla won national titles with Leopards of Douala in 1972 and 1973. He moved to Tonnerre de Yaoundé in 1974 and led the club to victory in the inaugural African Cup Winners' Cup in 1975. In 1976, Milla was named African Footballer of the Year. By 1978 he was in France, first with Valenciennes and then with AS Monaco. Milla's transfer to Corsican side Bastia in 1980 brought him success. In his first season, he scored a magnificent goal in the final to help Bastia win its only French Cup title. Between 1984 and

1989, Milla had spells with second-division St. Étienne and Montpellier before leaving for well-paid semiretirement with a club in Reunion. In eleven seasons in France, he tallied a respectable 111 goals in 310 games.

But it was as Cameroon's leader that the charismatic Milla put an indelible mark on the history of the game. He played in three consecutive African Nations Cup finals, twice winning the title in 1984 and 1988. Most impressively, at the 1990 World Cup finals in Italy, the thirty-eight-year-old Milla scored four goals, celebrated with distinctive dances, and spearheaded Cameroon's run to the quarterfinals—the best result by an African team in the competition until it was equaled by Senegal in 2002. Cameroonian president Paul Biya lured Milla out of retirement for the 1994 World Cup tournament in the United States. Despite Cameroon's disappointing performance, Milla broke his own record as the oldest player to score in a World Cup match.

Milla's generation included many other prominent players, including his compatriot and goalkeeper Joseph Antoine Bell; Jules Bocande and Oumar Gueye Sene from Senegal; and Kalusha Bwalya, the greatest Zambian player in history. Bwalya's hat trick against Italy in the 1988 Olympics in Seoul led to very successful years with Cercle Brugges in Belgium and PSV Eindhoven in the Netherlands. Another important Zambian was Charles Musonda, who went to Anderlecht with Stephen Keshi of Nigeria.

The player who arguably had the most impact on European football at the time was Abedi Ayew "Pelé." The Ghanaian attacking midfielder won the African Footballer of the Year three times in a row (1991–93). Born in 1964 into a poor family near Accra, Abedi Pelé began his career in 1978 with Real Tamale United. His nickname celebrated his extraordinary skills and knack for game-breaking plays. He played in Ghana's victorious 1982 African Nations Cup campaign in Libya, then left for the Persian Gulf, which made him wealthy at a young age. He returned to West Africa in 1984, first with Dragons of Ouémé (in Benin) and then back home with Real Tamale. In 1985, Abedi Pelé answered the call from French second-division club Niort, which was followed by a move to Mulhouse. Olympique Marseilles acquired him in 1987 and loaned him to Lille for two seasons. Upon his return to Marseilles, Abedi Pelé became a pivotal member of the prodigious team that won two league championships and the UEFA Champions League in 1993 (a new version of the European Cup). He continued his career with several clubs in France, Italy, Germany, and the United Arab Emirates before hanging up his boots in 2000.

Abedi Pelé's decline coincided with George Oppong Weah's rise to worldwide fame. Born in Monrovia, Liberia, in 1966, he launched his career with the capital's most prestigious clubs, Mighty Barolle and Invincible Eleven. Weah then moved to Cameroon, where he won the 1988 national championship with Tonnerre Yaoundé, notching fifteen goals. After just one season in Cameroon, Weah signed with AS Monaco in France. He would play four seasons with AS Monaco and then three with Paris St. Germain, scoring 79 times in 199 league games. Nineteen ninety-five was a magical year for Weah. Paris St. Germain won the domestic treble (League championship, FA Cup, and League Cup) and reached the semifinals of the glamorous Champions League, and Weah was crowned the undisputed king of world football, winning the African, European, and World Player of the Year awards. A multimillion-dollar deal with AC Milan brought him to Italy, where he went on to win two national titles in the late 1990s. While in Milan, Weah learned a valuable lesson from Silvio Berlusconi, the Italian media magnate-cum-politician and president of AC Milan, about transferring football success and popularity into political power.[61] After his retirement in 2003, following short spells in England, France, and then the United Arab Emirates, Weah embarked on a career in politics in post–civil war Liberia.

Weah's rise to global fame had seemed to bring a glimmer of hope to Liberians suffering from the devastating conflicts of the 1990s. In Weah's words, "football is the only thing that people have to forget the war." Nelson Mandela at the time called the Liberian striker an icon of "African pride."[62] As the civil war finally ended, Weah capitalized on both his heroic status in Liberia and appeal among international NGOs (including FIFA) to announce his candidacy for president in 2004. Taking a page out of Berlusconi's playbook, Weah used his newly established Royal Communications media outlets (a TV channel and radio station) to mobilize support for his new party, the Congress for Democratic Change. The 2005 election results, however, revealed the limits of Weah's football-politics. While the young men who formed the core constituency of football fans voted for their hero, most women and better-educated Liberians supported his opponent, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who won by 20 percentage points.

Finally, Nwankwo Kanu was another West African football star to strike gold in Europe. Born in 1976 in Owerri, Nigeria, Kanu became a pro soccer player at fifteen with Federation Works. Kanu's five goals during Nigeria's triumphant campaign at the 1993 Under-17 World Championships in

Japan earned him a lucrative contract with Ajax Amsterdam, which paid Iwuanyanwu National a transfer fee of about $300,000. Kanu and Ajax won the 1995 UEFA Champions League and three Dutch league titles. Ajax traded Kanu to Inter Milan in 1996 for a sum more than ten times what the Amsterdam club had originally paid. That summer, Kanu also captained Nigeria to the gold medal in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics and was later honored as the African Footballer of the Year. At the peak of his career, a routine medical exam in Milan revealed a life-threatening health problem, a defective heart valve. After a successful operation in the United States, Kanu eventually return to football. But he played just eleven matches in three seasons at Inter. In 1999, Arsenal paid Inter more than 4 million pounds and offered Kanu a princely salary of nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds (after taxes, and excluding bonuses and endorse- ments). Kanu temporarily revived his predatory ways and was again voted the best player in Africa in 1999. Crowded out of Arsenal's star-studded lineup after six seasons, he transferred to West Bromwich Albion in 2004 and then to Portsmouth in 2006. Kanu scored the only goal in Portsmouth's 2008 FA Cup final win over Cardiff City.

The remarkable accomplishments of Milla, Abedi Pelé, Weah, and Kanu fed Europe's ravenous appetite for African talent precisely at the same time that a commercial boom revolutionized European and world football. This combination greatly accelerated the pace of African migration in the 1990s. The spread of satellite, cable, and digital technology in television and the emergence of private, subscriber-based networks in Europe fueled football's commercial explosion (see chapter 6). The launch of the UEFA Champions League and the English Premier League in 1992, for instance, ended the era of limited live football on television. It vastly increased the value of football broadcasting rights, so that by 2000 "the largest leagues were collectively generating about $2 billion per season from the sale of live rights."[63] Club revenues were no longer generated mainly from sponsors' logos on uniforms, stadium advertisements, and ticket sales. The European Union's 1995 *Bosman* ruling, which eliminated barriers to player movement between member nations and introduced free agency (i.e., freedom to sign with another team upon expiration of previous contract) resulted in huge salary increases for elite players. Among the top players in Africa, *Bosman* further reduced the appeal of spending one's career in local leagues. Even the budgets of relatively wealthy clubs like Al Ahly and Zamalek Cairo, Raja and Wydad Casablanca, Esperance and Club Africain Tunis, Kaizer

Chiefs and Orlando Pirates in Johannesburg often amounted to one-third of those of minor French Ligue 1 clubs.[64]

Deepening financial inequality *within* European football boosted demand for cheap labor from Africa and Latin America. Manchester United, Chelsea, AC Milan, Juventus, Real Madrid, Barcelona, and the other megaclubs that devour nearly 80 percent of football revenues bought formidable foreign players almost at will. But the majority of European clubs, those with smaller fan bases in lower divisions or outside the "Big Five" leagues experienced much more modest revenue growth and struggled to cope with rising operational costs. Under enormous pressure to balance the books and remain competitive, ordinary clubs developed a business strategy focused on cutting costs and generating profits by purchasing inexpensive young talents in Africa (and Latin America) and later reselling them at higher prices on the European market. The vertiginous growth of African migration in the second half of the 1990s was incontrovertible: from about 350 in 1996 to around 1,000 in 2000.[65] The centrality of African players to football economics is reflected in the fact that in 2006 nearly one-fifth of players moving *between* European leagues were Africans.[66] The growing use of immigrant labor and the glaring disparity between elite and ordinary clubs illustrated how "the economics of European football offered a microcosm of the wider transitions and inequalities of twenty-first century capitalism."[67] In this context, African and Latin American football players have had much in common since the 1980s. They fulfill a similar economic function, experience high rates of out-migration, and retain cultural ties to their home countries.

The latest trends in football migration from Africa to Europe reveal two major changes. First, as table 2 illustrates, West Africa has replaced North Africa as the main exporting region.[68] Data from 2002–3 show that the leading exporters were Nigeria and Cameroon, with players in thirty-two and twenty-seven UEFA leagues, respectively.

The second transformation has to do with the declining age ofmigrants. In 2002–3, the average age of 708 Africans listed in the top eight UEFA leagues was 19.2 years, compared with 24.5 for European migrants. (In earlier times, immigrants had tended to be in their early twenties.) Younger Africans like Albert Youmba, cited at the beginning of this chapter, are extremely vulnerable and more likely to be exploited by agents and coaches.[69] According to a 1999 report of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the situation had turned so grim at the dawn of the millennium

TABle 2 counTry oF origin And nuMBer oF AFricAn PlAyers in ueFA leAgues (2002–3)

nigeria	214 (16.6%)
Cameroon	145 (12.6%)
Ghana	106 (9.2%)
Senegal	92 (8%)
ivory Coast	71 (6.2%)
Morocco	48 (4.2%)
Guinea	44 (3.8%)
dr Congo	44 (3.8%)
South Africa	43 (3.7%)
Angola	37 (3.2%)
rep. Congo	28 (2.4%)

"that there was a danger of effectively creating a modern day 'slave trade' in young African footballers."[70] This disturbing reality led to a new FIFA rule in 2001 that imposed age limits on international transfers. However, the rise of football academies and other avenues of trade enabled individuals to circumvent these well-meaning regulations, thus adding to the talent drain and the weakening of domestic football in Africa (see chapter 6).

Even with these recent transformations, colonial legacies endured. France, Portugal, and Belgium remain the largest importers of African players, although Germany has joined this group. France continues to lead Europe with 207 Africans in the professional ranks (18 percent of the total number of Africans in Europe). Germany, due to its liberal immigration policy and labor needs, is second with 157 Africans (13.6 percent), although more than 80 percent play in lower-division clubs as compared to only 53 percent in France. Belgium has consolidated its position as a leading importer: 131 Africans (11.4 percent) make up close to half of all foreigners in Belgium, and most compete in the First Division. Portugal is fourth with 92 Africans (8 percent), half of them in the top flight. Former colonial powers Italy, England, and Spain import Africans as well. In 2003, Italy had 82 (7.3 percent), but only 10 were in top clubs; England 48 (4.2 percent), with half in the Premier League; and Spain 21 (1.8 percent), but just 5 in the elite league.[71]

Television, radio, print, and electronic coverage of the extremely wealthy English Premier League and the UEFA Champions' League, and to a lesser extent leagues in Spain, Italy, and France, has created the perception that the relatively small number of highly paid and prominent players is typical of the broader impact of Africans on European football. Constant

broadcasts of matches and highlights feature stars like Freddy Kanouté (Mali/Sevilla), Samuel Eto'o (Cameroon/Inter), Emmanuel Adebayor (Togo/Manchester City), and Didier Drogba (Ivory Coast/Chelsea) perforating defenses and stylishly celebrating goals. Global television audiences regularly enjoy watching midfielders like Michael Essien (Ghana/Chelsea), Yaya Touré (Ivory Coast/Barcelona), and Mohamed Sissoko (Mali/Juventus) perform alongside many of the best players in the world. African media feed into the image of migration to Europe as the way to material riches and professional success. By reporting extensively on Africans in European clubs and showing the celebrity lifestyles of Eto'o, Drogba, and other millionaire athletes, local media fuel young Africans' aspirations to "make it" overseas.

What the media overlook is the existence of a soccerscape in which most African players labor in middle- and lower-tier European leagues. As the work of sociologist Raffaele Poli has demonstrated, Africans make up the majority of foreigners in Romania and Malta;[72] they represent nearly a third of the foreigners playing in Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Sweden, and Denmark. Africans are also increasingly present in the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Greece, Israel (a member of UEFA), Russia, and Norway. The diversification of destinations signals the growing importance of multistage migration within Europe. This internal circulation, according to Poli, "can be defined as a sequence of short stays in different clubs in order to take advantage of geo-economical discrepancies existing between country leagues, in a context of a labour market in which the ability to move is a capital to be exploited."[73]

Today, a globally recognized and extraordinarily well-paid elite group of millionaire African superstars in Europe coexists with "a kind of professional-football *lumpenproletariat* with career patterns and privileges as distinct from [the superstars] as the movie extra is from the Hollywood star."[74] Football and society in the age of migration are inextricably linked. "Linkages between global cities and distant hinterlands create paradoxes," Lanfranchi and Taylor note, "wherein enormous wealth and highly skilled and remunerated professional employment uneasily coexist with growing low-paid and unskilled service industry employment and developing world-like employment conditions in underground industries."[75]

It is possible to estimate that for about one-third of Africans, multiple transfers in Europe have led to upward mobility and, in a small number of highly visible cases, great success. Mahamadou Diarra from Mali is a case in point. Born in Bamako in 1981, this defensive midfielder arrived as a

teenager at OFI Crete and went on to spend three years at Vitesse Arnhem in the Netherlands. His next stop was Lyon, where he won four consecutive French titles. In 2006, Real Madrid paid Lyon 26 million euros for Diarra, an investment immediately rewarded with consecutive national championships in 2007 and 2008.

But American journalist Franklin Foer's story of Edward Anyamkyegh is probably more representative of the latest trends.[76] A Nigerian from the southeastern part of the country, Anyamkyegh represented his country in the 1995 Under-17 World Cup and in the 1999 African Youth Championship. An agent from Ivory Coast organized a trial for him at Bordeaux, which ended with Anyamkyegh's return home, while the intermediary pocketed five thousand dollars intended for the player. After suffering a serious thigh injury, he revived his dream of European football by scoring the winning goal for BCC Lions in the 1997 Nigerian Challenge Cup final. Buoyed by an older brother's success at Queen's Park Rangers in London, Anyamkyegh signed an eighteen-month contract with Sheriff Tiraspol, a team in the former Soviet Republic of Moldova, which already had two Nigerians on its payroll. Before his contract expired, Sheriff sold him to Karpaty Lviv in Ukraine for five hundred thousand dollars and a tidy profit. An eighteen-year-old compatriot, Samson Godwin, soon joined the twenty-three year-old Anyamkyegh in Lviv.

The two Nigerians had difficulties integrating into the team and adjusting to life in a city of eight hundred and fifty thousand people with only fifty Africans. News reporters, fans, and even children on the streets made audibly offensive remarks; teammates "complained to team officials 'that they didn't want to play with monkeys.'" Beyond crude racism, the Nigerians also had to cope with Lviv's inhospitable climate. "It's hard for the African players to adapt," said the Serbian coach, "especially when you have training sessions at minus 25. It's hard for us continental people. I can't imagine for them." Anyamkyegh eventually left Ukraine for Finland, where he currently plays for Palloseura Kemi Kings in the Second Division. The thirty-year-old Nigerian adapted to the modest lifestyle of a Scandinavian semiprofessional rather than return home. Anyamkyegh exemplifies the resilient migrants who survive in Europe by playing for minor clubs in marginal leagues. Players unable to sign such contracts usually vanish from European football altogether.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, "it [became] almost every aspiring African footballer's dream: to catch the eye of a foreign scout and be called

to the riches and glories of the European professional game."[77] Today, Nigeria, the colossus of West Africa, is the leading feeder nation to the European market. It specializes in exporting under-twenty players to peripheral nations. Cameroon is a major exporter as well. Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Ghana are influential suppliers at the intermediate level. Morocco, the main North African provider, sends a disproportionate number of older and slightly more expensive players to upper-tier clubs.[78] The commercial revolution and the Bosman ruling of the mid-1990s resulted, among other things, in a massive influx of African players into Eastern and Central Europe and parts of the Mediterranean. Small clubs in these regions acquire Africans to improve their competitiveness, lower operational costs, and generate profits. Consequently, the internal circulation of Africans in Europe has increased dramatically.

Migration brought about a partial Africanization of the European game that blurred the boundaries of race, citizenship, and national identity. It is no longer extraordinary for players of African origin to represent a European nation in the World Cup or European championship. Unlike earlier migrants, many Afro-European footballers, like the recently retired Zinedine Zidane, were born and raised in Europe. Some Africans have been fast-tracked to citizenship and have represented Poland, Germany, and Russia—teams without any prior association with African football.

Migration has also transformed the composition of Africa's national teams.[79] While no foreign-based players were included in the squads of the first four African teams at the World Cup—Egypt (1934), Morocco (1970), Zaire (1974), and Tunisia (1978)—today the vast majority of national team members are based in Europe. Changes in the makeup of Cameroon's World Cup squads clarify this point: the number of Europe-based players increased from four in 1982 to nine in 1990 to sixteen (out of twenty-two) in 1998.[80] In the 2006 World Cup finals, only about one in five African players came from African clubs.[81]

The departure of legions of young prospects, as much as established names, has been a major factor in the deterioration of domestic football in Africa. The best players now spend their entire careers in European clubs, thus deskilling African leagues. "Ghana league football is getting weaker and weaker because the best players are leaving," said Ghanaian legend Charles Kumi Gyamfi.[82] "There's not much entertainment left for the public." Issa Hayatou, president of CAF, concurred: "After the flight of brains Africa is confronted with the muscle exodus. The rich countries

import the raw material—talent—and they often send to the continent their less valuable technicians. The inequality of the exchange terms is indisputable. It creates a situation of dependence and . . . the pauperization of some clubs . . . and national championships."[83] As the stories of Essien and Youmba mentioned at the beginning of this chapter suggest, African migration overseas, like the privatization of the game examined in the next chapter, reveals how "specific forms of 'global' integration on the continent coexist with specific—and equally 'global'—forms of exclusion, marginalization, and disconnection."[84]

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53. FIFA, "Report of the Visit of Sir Stanley Rous and Mr. J. Maguire to South Africa," (1963), 4; Rous Papers, University of Brighton. My thanks to Alan Tomlinson for access to this document.

54. Barry Hazan, "Sport as an Instrument of Political Expansion: The Soviet Union in Africa," in Baker and Mangan, *Sport in Africa*, 265.

55. Darby, "Stanley Rous's Own Goal," 268. For an overview of the 1968 South African games, see Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 59–63.

56. J. Kaunda, "The Fight for Recognition," *African Soccer*, no. 38 (June 1999): 54.

57. Darby, *African Football*, and FIFA, 58.

58. For details, see Andrew Jennings, *Foul! The Secret World of FIFA: Bribes, Vote Rigging and Ticket Scandals* (London: HarperCollins, 2006); and Barbara Smit, *Pitch Invasion: Adidas, Puma and the Making of Modern Sport* (London: Penguin, 2007).

59. Germany scored early and won a famously uneventful match 1–0, thus ensuring that both teams advanced to the second round. In response to widespread allegations of "cheating," FIFA decided to kick off the last round of World Cup matches in each group simultaneously.

chapter five Football Migration to Europe since the 1930s

1. Evariste Tshimanga Bakadiababu, *Le commerce et la traite des footballeurs africains et sud-américains en Europe* (Paris: Harmattan, 2001), 114–15.

2. Raffaele Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographical and Cultural Aspects," *Afrika Spectrum* 41, no. 3 (2006): 411.

3. Tshimanga Bakadiababu, *Le commerce et la traite;* and Joseph Arbena, "Dimensions of International Talent Migration in Latin American Sports," in *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World*, ed. John Bale and Joseph Maguire (London: Frank Cass, 1994), 99–111.

4. T.J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 264. These recent numbers are far larger than those of the colonial era, as discussed in Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa," *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 198,200.

5. For data on remittances, see United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), "Remittances Forum: Africa," http://www.ifad.org/events/remittances/maps/africa.htm (accessed June 1, 2008); and Cerstin Sander and Samuel Munzele Maimbo, "Migrant Labor Remittances in Africa: Reducing Obstacles to Developmental Contributions," Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 64, World Bank, November 2003, http://www.worldbank.org/afr/wps/wp64.pdf (accessed June 1, 2008). Countries like Ghana are estimated to have 12 percent of their population living abroad; cited in Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora."

6. Joseph Maguire and John Bale, "Introduction: Sports Labour Migration in the Global Arena," in Maguire and Bale, *Global Sports Arena*, 2; Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (Routledge, 2005); Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora."

Quote is from Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 4.

7. Philip Curtin, *Why People Move: Migration in African History* (Waco, TX: Markham Press Fund, 1995). I am unaware of any academic study on the history of African women's football migration. There is no serious discussion of Africans in Jean Williams, *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

8. Paul Darby, "Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe," *Working USA* 10 (2007): 445–46. On African players in Asia, see Projit Bihari Mukharji, "'Feeble Bengalis' and 'Big Africans': African Players in Bengali Club Football," *Soccer and Society* 9, no. 2 (2008): 275–85.

9. Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora," 199.

10. Darby, "Out of Africa," 445.

11. Castles and Miller, *Age of Migration*, 5.

12. David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008), 489.

13. The number of registered players is cited in Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 172. See also Youssef Fates, "Football in Algeria: Between Violence and Politics," in *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community*, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 41–58; and Barry G. Baker, *A Journal of African Football History, 1883–2000* (Rijmenam: Heart Books, 2001), 16–23.

14. William James Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

15. Biographical information on Raoul Diagne comes from Bocar Ly, *Foot-ball, histoire de la Coupe d'A.O.F.* (Dakar: Nouvelles Editions Africaines du Sénégal, 1990), 14–16; Mauro Valeri, *La razza in campo: Per una storia della Rivoluzione Nera nel calcio* (Rome: Edizioni Psicoanalisi Contro, 2005), 92–94; and Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 172.

16. Diagne died in November 2002 in France.

17. "Death of a Star: Larbi Ben Barek," *African Soccer* (December/February 1992/93): 22; Faouzi Mahjoub, *Le football africain* (Paris: ABC, 1977); and Valeri, *La razza in campo*, 94–96, 262–63.

18. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 173.

19. "Death of a Star: Larbi Ben Barek."

20. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, forthcoming 2010), 59 (manuscript). My thanks to Laurent Dubois for sharing portions of his book manuscript in process.

21. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 174.

22. Marc Barreaud, *Dictionnaire des footballeurs étrangers du championnat professionnel français, 1932–1997* (Paris: Harmattan, 1998); and Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 173.

23. This is a phrase used by Dubois in *Soccer Empire*, chap. 2.

24. Bernadette Deville-Danthu, *Le sport en noir et blanc: Du sport colonial au sport africain dans les anciens territoires français d'Afrique occidentale, 1920–1965* (Paris: Harmattan, 1997), 292; and Barreaud, *Dictionnaire des footballeurs étrangers*.

25. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 177.

26. Ibid., 175; Barreaud, *Dictionnaire des footballeurs étrangers*, 125. As a citizen of newly independent Cameroon, and therefore a foreigner in France, N'jo Lea could not join the union. In his final season in 1961–62, N'jo Lea played only one match for Lyon and two for Racing Club de Paris.

27. Among many recent incidents in Europe, see "[Barcelona Striker] Eto'o Makes Anti-racism Protest," BBC Sport, February 26, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/europe/4751876.stm (accessed May 23, 2008); and "[Messina's Ivoirian Defender] Zoro Suffers More racist Abuse," BBC Sport, http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/africa/4476412.stm (accessed May 23, 2008).

28. For analysis of racism in European football, see Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski, eds., *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Aachen: Meyer and Meyer Verlag, 1996); and Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, "Factsheet 6: Racism and Football," http://www.le.ac.uk/footballresearch/resources/factsheets/fs6.html (accessed May 10, 2008).

29. There is a rich interdisciplinary literature on "stacking" in the United States. For a pioneering study, see J. W. Loy and J. F. McElvogue, "Racial Discrimination in American Sport," *International Review of Sport Sociology* 5 (1970): 5–24. For a historical perspective, see David Kenneth Wiggins, "'Great Speed but Little Stamina': The Historical Debate over Black Athletic Superiority," in *Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 177–99. On stacking in British football, see Joseph Maguire, "Race and Position Assignment in English Soccer: A Preliminary Analysis of Ethnicity and Sport in Britain," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5 (1988): 257–69; and "Sport, Racism, and British Society: A Sociological Study of England's Elite Male Afro-Caribbean Soccer and Rugby Union Players," in *Sport, Racism, and Ethnicity*, ed. Grant Jarvie (London: Falmer, 1991), 94–123.

30. According to data reported in *Dictionnaire des footballeurs étrangers*, the numbers were as follows: Cameroon (twenty-four players): fifteen strikers, seven midfielders, and two defenders. Ivory Coast (fifteen): eleven strikers, two midfielders, two defenders. Senegal (ten): five strikers, four midfielders, one defender. Togo (eight): four strikers, two midfielders, two defenders. Republic of Congo (seven): six strikers, one midfielder. Mali (four): four strikers. Guinea (three): two strikers, one defender; Gabon (two): one striker; one midfielder. Benin (one): midfielder. Chad (one): striker. This evidence also suggests that the careers of African midfielders tended to be shorter and less successful than those of strikers and defenders.

31. Phil Vasili, *Colouring over the White Line* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 116.

32. Maguire, "Race and Position Assignment in English soccer," 264.

33. Kick It Out, "Telegraph Report on Black Managers in England," http://www.kickitout.org/513.php (accessed June 30, 2009).

34. Nuño Domingos, "Football and Colonialism, Domination and Appropriation: The Mozambican Case," *Soccer and Society* 8, no. 4 (2007): 478–94; and Paul Darby, "African Football Migration to Portugal: Colonial and Neo-colonial Resource," *Soccer and Society* 8, no. 4 (2007): 495–509. See also Valeri, *La razza in campo*, 240–61.

35. Some of the earliest African-born players who arrived in Portugal in the 1920s were white: defender José Bastos (Benfica) and midfielder Martinho de Oliveira (Sporting). The latter was the first "African" to be capped (1928), but Guilherme Espírito Santo was probably the first black African player to play for Portugal (1937). See João Coelho and Francisco Pinheiro, *A Paixão do Povo: História do futebol em Portugal* (Porto: Ed. A Frontamento, 2002).

36. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 179.

37. Angelo Oliveira, *Isto de futebóis* (Maputo: Njira, 1998), 8; Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 179.

38. Matateu scored 218 goals in 289 first-division matches. He moved to Canada in the early 1970s, where he died in November 2000.

39. Valeri, *La razza in campo*, 249–57. As Portugal captain, Coluña was granted a special exemption from the racist law that prevented blacks from serving in the armed forces.

40. Goldblatt, *Ball Is Round*, 425.

41. Gary Armstrong, "The Migration of the Black Panther: An Interview with Eusebio of Mozambique and Portugal," in Armstrong and Giulianotti, *Football in Africa*, 252.

42. Biographical information on Carlos Alhinho is from Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 181.

43. Ibid., 182.

44. Vasili, *Colouring over the White Line;* and Valeri, *La razza in campo*, 277–86.

45. Phil Vasili, *The First Black Footballer: Arthur Wharton, 1865–1930* (London: Frank Cass, 1998). Wharton's career continued with Rotherham Town, Sheffield United, and other clubs until 1902. He was a fiercely tenacious and talented multisport athlete. In addition to being an elite footballer, he also held the first world record in the hundred-yard dash and played professional cricket.

46. Vasili, *Colouring over the White Line*, 111–17.

47. Ibid., 115; Wiebe Boer, "Nation-Building Exercise: Sporting Culture and the Rise of Football in Colonial Nigeria" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2003), 392–95.

48. Stephen Mokone and J. W. Ryan, *Kalamazoo! The Life and Times of a Soccer Player* (Pretoria: De Jager-Haum, 1980), 34.

49. No record exists of Mokone playing in Serie A. Mokone did make several appearances with Torino's reserves in the De Martino (Reserves) League. After his football career ended, Mokone moved to the United States, where he became an academic. He served nine years in prison for assaulting his American wife. Mokone is the founder and director of the Kalamazoo South African Foundation for Education through Sport.

50. Vasili, *Colouring over the White Line*, 107–11.

51. Peter Raath, *Soccer through the Years 1862–2002: The First Official History of South African Soccer* (Cape Town: Peter Raath, 2002), 13–22.

52. Vasilli, *Colouring over the White Line*, 106, 100.

53. Germany witnessed African migration in the 1960s as well. Fortuna Düsseldorf 's Ghanaian forward Charles Kumi Gyamfi was probably the first African to play in the Bundesliga (1959–61). Gyamfi's compatriot Ibrahim Sunday later played for Werder Bremen.

54. As Belgium became a launch pad for secondary (or internal) migration within Europe in the 1980s, many Moroccans and Senegalese hoped to earn a move to France, while Nigerians (e.g., Daniel Amokachi, Celestine Babayaro), Ghanaians, Sierra Leoneans, Zambians, and others aimed for England.

55. Marc Broere and Roy van der Drift, *Football Africa!* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 99.

56. Paul Darby, "The New Scramble for Africa: African Football Labour Migration to Europe," in *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies*, ed. James A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 217–44.

57. Pierre Lanfranchi, Christiane Eisenberg, Tony Mason, and Alfred Wahl, *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004), 158.

58. Keita, quoted in J. Copnall, BBC Sport, October 27, 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/sport2/hi/football/africa/3218333.stm (accessed May 14, 2008).

59. The French magazine *France Football* awarded the African Footballer of the Year from 1970 to 1994. CAF has given the award since 1992.

60. Arguably the greatest Algerian player of all time, Madjer subsequently coached the national team and currently works as a football analyst for Al Jazeera satellite television network.

61. For details on Berlusconi, AC Milan, and soccer politics, see Nicola Porro and Pippo Russo, "Berlusconi and Other Matters: The Era of 'Football-Politics,'" *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 348–70.

62. The information in this paragraph draws heavily from Gary Armstrong, "The Global Footballer and the Local War-Zone: George Weah and Transna- tional Networks in Liberia, West Africa," in *Globalization and Sport*, ed. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 122–39.

63. Stefan Szymanski and Andrew S. Zimbalist, *National Pastime: How Americans Play Baseball and the Rest of the World Plays Soccer* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 161.

64. Cf. Tshimanga Bakadiababu, *Le commerce et la traite.*

65. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 187–88.

66. Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players." These numbers are even more remarkable if we consider the implications of the European Commission's 1995 Bosman ruling. By eliminating any barrier to player movement within the European Union, the Bosman case made it more difficult for non-EU players, especially Africans and Latin Americans, to find employment in many EU leagues.