

INTRODUCTION

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Many claims have been made that footballer Didier Drogba stopped the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire.¹ Ivorians had been at war with each other for over five years. On October 8, 2005, Drogba, the star player on Les Éléphants, the national team, helped Côte d'Ivoire qualify for the upcoming FIFA World Cup, to be held in Germany in 2006, by defeating Sudan 3–1. It was the country's first ever qualification for the World Cup. After the victory, on national TV, Drogba, in the middle of celebrating, took the microphone in the locker room and gave an impassioned speech surrounded by his teammates, one that many say changed the face of the fighting:

Men and women of Ivory Coast, from the north, south, center, and west. We proved today that all Ivorians can coexist and play together with a shared aim, to qualify for the World Cup. We promised you that the celebration would unite the people. Today, we beg you, on our knees ... Forgive. Forgive... Lay down your weapons.²

Within a week, the warring sides were at the table with one another, and credit was given to the national football team and Drogba for enabling them to communicate and sign a temporary truce.

We do not take a stance on whether Drogba can be credited with ending the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and uniting his people, this is not the issue at hand. Rather, our concern is the centrality of sport to Africans, its nation-building and unifying prospects, the intense role sport plays in the lives of those on the continent, and the ability of sport to intersect various aspects of life—from politics, to leisure, to economics. Drogba's example highlights how sport can be a catalyst for change and a symbol for a nation, even if only as a myth. But it can also show how sport becomes at its very core a microcosm for social processes, and a site where

civil discourse is played out. Sport plays an incredibly important role in the lives of Africans, and the need for a deeper understanding of its significance, past and present, is the focus of this volume.

This is one of the first books in over thirty years to tackle the subject of sport in African history, since William Baker and J.A. Mangan's groundbreaking *Sport in African History* in 1987.³ Sport, historically and presently, holds significant value and has an intricate relationship with many components of African societies. For many Africans, sports are a way of life, a source of cultural heroes, a way out of poverty and means of social mobility, and a site for leisurely play. Moreover, the social, political, and economic effects of sport are felt from the smallest village in south-western Nigeria to the international competitions of the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. This volume seeks to explore how sports can open a window to viewing the complex social, political, economic, and gendered relations across Africa and the African diaspora. It will examine the many ways in which sports uniquely reflect changing cultural trends at diverse levels of African societies.

One of the agendas of this book is not only to further help solidify the burgeoning scholarship on African sports in South Africa, but also to encourage scholars of all parts of Africa to consider African sports studies as a viable subfield of African studies. This volume's focus on both historical and contemporary trends in African sports is aimed at engaging how the past shapes the present and the future. We are convinced that African sports can best be appreciated by placing the past and the present in a single analytical and theoretical dialogue. The thematic section of the book that details the international dimension of African sports is important for coming to terms with how global developments influence the identity of Africans both within and outside the continent. The stories of African athletes who moved to other parts of the world to ply their trade is intricately connected with the long history of African physical and cultural presence outside the continent, as well as the historical resource extraction flowing from the continent. Our primary agenda in this section of the book is not only to connect African sports with the wider practice of leisure, but also to call for a sustained scholarly attention on African diaspora sports as a viable field of African sports history.

The strength of this book is obvious—existing works focus primarily on only one genre of sports or one country. From the story of the integration of physical education into the mainstream colonial discourse of wellness, to those of rugby, cricket, and table tennis, the present volume seeks to expand the scholarship by bringing the discourse of African sports into a single analytical framework, while also emphasizing the peculiar nature of each sport and the impacts they create across time and location. What is more, existing scholarship on African sports tends to focus on the postcolonial period, with a heavy emphasis on postapartheid South Africa.⁴ The chapters in this book span the colonial period to the postcolonial era across the entire continent of Africa. They tackle how different types of sports intersect with popular notions of leisure, race, nationalism, gender and masculinity, self-representation and identity construction, and the significant presence of Africans around the world.

Sport as a mode of inquiry: Why sports?

Sport is universal. As John Nauright argues, the appropriation of sport is also universal, but differs in scope from place to place.⁵ Sport therefore is a multifaceted window through which to view the changes experienced in colonial and postcolonial Africa. As Olusegun Obasa notes, “the emergence of [European] sports in Africa provides insights into the evolving construction of ethnicity, class, and gender, while simultaneously speaking to local ideas about identity and modernity.”⁶ Modern sports can be found across the continent, making them an ideal object for cross-cultural comparisons. In every African city, one cannot escape the sites and symbols of sport, from large stadiums, to kids playing football in the streets, to bars showing international competitions, to men and women wearing team paraphernalia, to name a few obvious examples. As the chapters in this collection will make clear, sport has the ability to impact multiple facets of everyday life on the continent, while highlighting far-reaching connections locally and abroad. As Susan Brady notes, “rather than viewing sport simply as a *reflection* or *mirror* of society and a *product* of social processes,” scholars have come to recognize and appreciate “that sport has a powerful *effect* upon culture.”⁷ To put it another way, Susann Baller and Scarlett Cornelissen describe the scholarship on sport being framed by one of three lenses, and often a combination of two or of all three: sport as “social control,” sport as “contested terrain,” and sport as “social experience.”⁸ Using sport as an analytical tool, this volume will shed light on these aspects by breaking them down into topics including leisure, nationalism, colonial legacies and postcolonial situations, masculinities, labor, clubs and organizations, apartheid and racism, and the effects of globalization. These are by no means the only categories for analysis; nor are these categories mutually exclusive. As you will see, many of these topics bleed into one another, just as sports cannot be untangled so easily from other aspects of the societies that house them.

Leisure and sport

Sport lends itself as an avenue to look at “everyday” life on the continent by using familiar leisurely activities to open up contested ideas and ideals in a given society. As Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler note, “beyond the simple importance of describing quotidian lives, the study of leisure [and sport] illuminates social practice and the process of its formation—and puts critical political and cultural issues into relief.”⁹ By using sports as an analytical tool, scholars can not only study political processes and social mores, but also get into the oft-disregarded nitty-gritty of Africans’ experience. Since modern sports, like football, boxing, and rugby, were brought to the continent just over a century ago, their histories and the lives that these sports touch reveal much, including “the nature of local societies, the lines of division within societies, and many of the critical transformations associated with colonialism, postcolonialism and the development of capitalism.”¹⁰ By studying the leisure pursuits of Africans outside of their work, we are able to see what really matters to those in a given society.

Leisure time and place, as Phyllis Martin has shown in her brilliant study of colonial Brazzaville, “were arenas of contest and mediation within European and African sub-communities as well as between them.”¹¹ When and what constituted leisure time engendered fierce debates between groups, as urban Africans were all too aware of factors constraining their time, space, and desire for fun. As colonial officials and, in Martin’s case, the church tried to use football as a means of social control, Martin noticed how Africans could play one side against another to protect their leisure, but also how Africans defined and made leisure their own.

It is important to note, however, that the transplanting of leisure and sports activities is never assured, as many sports failed to take hold in Africa, and with variations of popularity and place. How and why they take hold and become popular is another important aspect of such studies, since sport shapes societies and creates sporting cultures.¹² This aspect of study shifts our focus off the field of play and onto society at large, where the effects of leisure are felt the most. Sport then resonates and represents shared cultural mores, ideals, and values. Michael Gennaro’s chapter on ping-pong in Nigeria (chapter 1 in this volume), a transplant in the 1940s, highlights this dynamic as the sport became a popular youth endeavor despite objections from older, elite Nigerians. More than anything else, leisure allows us to see how Africans had fun, defined fun, and shaped fun to their demands.

Labor and sports—Clubs, associations, companies, and the military

As Ambler notes of leisure in Africa, in one sense it was a tool for social control.¹³ Sports in Africa were used as such by colonial states, corporate interests, and religious groups for various purposes: to discipline labor, to craft a physically healthy military, and to create model citizens.¹⁴ As Anthony Clayton noted over thirty years ago, sport has played, and continues to play, an intricate part in military service on the continent.¹⁵ Soldiers in Britain were, since the early twentieth century, trained in physical combat and bayonet technique through boxing.¹⁶ The monotony of drill was broken by sporting competitions, and for many Africans who served and fought in two world wars, exposure to sport happened primarily through armed service.¹⁷ Many Africans first played certain sports in the armed forces, or distinguished themselves athletically from their peers through military-sponsored sport. For example, the Ghanaian boxer known as “The Black Flash,” Roy Ankrah, distinguished himself as a “world beater” through his successes in the ring while serving during the Burma campaign of World War II.¹⁸ Ankrah would later become Ghana’s, and West Africa’s, first Empire Boxing Champion in 1951.¹⁹ Athletes played various sports in the armed or police forces, and these teams, after wartime, were active in local leagues across Africa. It was not uncommon to see teams composed around working associations, and the armed forces made up teams known as Army XI or Police XI or Firefighters XI across the continent when sporting leagues grew after World War II. Sports and teams, then, became important social and leisure sites for African men and women, in response to, and at times in opposition to, colonial and postcolonial attempts at social control.

Building on leisure and labor, sport was an integral part of the working experience for many Africans. As they joined the labor force in civil service positions, especially after World War II, many Africans actively chose to participate in work-based teams. This was a perquisite of working for such an organization or in a civil service position. In fact, competition between companies, the government, and military teams in football became so intense that examples of token jobs were created for exceptional athletes, like Teslim “Thunder” Balogun in Nigeria, who played for such teams as the Railways, Marine, Société Commerciale de l’Ouest Africain (SCOA), and Pan Bank.²⁰ Lisa Lindsay found that in Nigeria, men joined an average of four urban associations and clubs during the colonial era and three in the postcolonial era, with sports associations, clubs, and teams making up a part of this male gendering of the public sphere.²¹ As Humphrey Asamoah Agyekum’s chapter on the military in Ghana shows (chapter 5 in this volume), these sporting associations were increasingly important for camaraderie and socialization and, above all, for the government, which saw football as a tool for nationalism and nation building. But these clubs were also the site of racial or ethnic segregation, as in Cody Perkins’s look at South African segregated sport (chapter 6), or as in Christopher Ferraro’s look at Egyptian clubs and their politicization (chapter 12), which continues to this day. These clubs, like sports themselves, are never apolitical. Moreover, the politicization of such sporting clubs in many cases led to an increase in nationalism, as found in Perkins’s chapter on Egypt and Tamirat Gebremariam and Benoit Gaudin’s chapter on Ethiopia (chapter 13).

Colonial legacies, postcolonial situations, and the effects of globalization

Although modern sport²² and its associated games came to Africa as leisurely transplants, their legacy is felt beyond the sporting arenas, fields, and rings. Sport was part of a larger package brought by colonizers to the continent, and it was wrapped into the British education system, more so than other aspects of colonialism. The British were strong believers that “sport can discipline people’s mind and bodies” and supported being “deeply rooted in sport discourse and politics.”²³ As colonial governments were concerned with Africans’ morality, the main role of education, besides to create an educated workforce, was to instill European morals, and what better way to do that than through sports.²⁴ As such, sport was central to the colonial schooling agenda. For example, in the case of the British, colonial schools were deeply invested in a “games ethic”—with schools divided into houses for intramural sport and activities.²⁵ In this way, young Africans would learn proper traits, discipline, respect, and deference.

As Anthony Kirk-Greene and others have shown, the British believed so heartily in the role of sports as social disciplinarian that they chose their colonial administrators (what Kirk-Greene called the “colonial athletocracy”) based in part on their sporting exploits while at school.²⁶ Sport was believed (as many still believe) to instill desirable community-held skills, traits, and ideals into its participants and spectators—traits the

British sought when creating their "colonial athletocracy."²⁷ These administrators helped lay the foundation for sport in many areas in Africa, since they wanted to play their sports, or at the very least watch Africans participate in them, for both social and health benefits to society.

Colonizers from Europe, in striving to mold Africans into a viable workforce, increasingly used sport as a means of inculcating desirable traits in their workers.²⁸ Controlling Africans' leisure time was a massive preoccupation for colonizers and companies, who argued with workers about appropriate forms of leisure in the urban post-World War II environment.²⁹ Martin's study of Brazzaville shows how colonial strategies for controlling African leisure would "regulate and reproduce an orderly urban society of productive workers and subject populations."³⁰ This did not stop with the end of colonialism. As Kwame Adum-Kyeremeh's and Agyekum's chapters on postindependence Ghana show (chapters 4 and 5), governments after the fall of empires continued to use sport as a vehicle for crafting proper citizens, and continue to do so to this day.

Scholars who have looked increasingly into the "brain drain" of talented intellectuals and technicians from the developing world to more industrialized nations³¹ often overlook and undervalue the movement of specialized labor through sport, what John Bale calls "the brawn drain." This movement has taken on more importance as talented football players, for instance, with alarming regularity leave their teams in Africa for competition, coaching, training, and opportunities in European, North American, and South American leagues.³² This phenomenon is not something recent, as Manase Chiweshe's chapter on the failure of football leagues on the continent describes (chapter 14), but is also a continuation of the colonial relationship, as in the case of Portugal. Clearly, this "brawn drain" has adversely affected the ability of African sporting leagues to keep their players and grow their product.³³

Nationalism and segregation

Sport has the power to create bonds of solidarity, be they at the local, provincial, or national level, in ways that politics cannot, as illustrated by the Drogba example above. For women and especially men, sports provide a social opportunity, through both participation and spectatorship, for bonding over sport, team, and locale. In many African communities, both during and after the colonial era, sport was a highly sociable activity, and many people held sporting activities to be the determinant of their social experiences. As Obasa saw with Nigerian sports, "sporting events connected personal identity to collective identity, larger groups which enjoyed a shared passion and sense of loyalty to a team or club, a city, or even to a larger ethnic group."³⁴ Several contributions to this volume highlight how leisure illuminates larger social processes, such as Gennaro (chapter 1) on ping-pong, and Joanne Clarke (chapter 3) on cricket, and how a sport itself cuts across class, gender, racial, ethnic, or age variables.

As Anene Ejikeme has shown, the victory of Nigerian boxer Hogan Bassey as world champion in 1957 united Nigerians in a way that politicians of that era could not, making him the only true “national” icon in Nigerian history at a time of intense ethnic conflict.³⁵ Moreover, as colonialism was fading, or in many cases after independence, it was through sporting successes on the international level, such as when the nation was competing at the Olympics or in a FIFA World Cup, that rallying around the idea of the nation happened in ways not seen in other social arenas. The ability of sport to command such attention, as well as to draw disparate peoples together, as shown by Zachary R. Bigalke (chapter 10) on South African whites and rugby, highlights how sport can become a catalyst and a national symbol in times of need. Perhaps the most famous African example was Nelson Mandela and the South African Springboks’ victory at the 1995 Rugby World Cup, on South African soil. As celebrated in books and the movie *Invictus*, among others, at a time of racial and ethnic anxiety in the early postapartheid era, the victory of the Springboks was heralded as proof that South Africans, no matter their color or race, could coexist and be successful.³⁶ Mandela himself once said:

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, the power to unite people that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they can understand. Sport can create hope where there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination.³⁷

Mandela was one among many African leaders to see the potential of sport, and utilize it for the purposes of nation building, as shown in Adum-Kyeremeh’s and Agyekum’s contributions on Ghana and Nkrumah and the Stars ’74 team (chapters 4 and 5). In that sense, Mandela and Drogba may not be so different after all.

As Ambler notes, Africans resisted “the persistent efforts of the colonial states and corporate interests to reorder space in conformity with principles of race and class domination.”³⁸ As several chapters in this volume show, sport has just as much power to bring people together as it does to segregate them. The chapters focusing on southern Africa highlight this the most, as sport has been a highly visible and important point of contention in South Africa, from the late nineteenth century through the apartheid era to today. Sport was simultaneously used both to separate white and black competitors, as described by Zachary R. Bigalke and Tarminder Kaur (chapters 10 and 11), and to break down racial stereotypes and apartheid, as in Gustav Venter’s chapter 7. Sport touched all aspects of South African society, extending even into its prisons, as shown by Hendrik Snyders (chapter 9). Although not touched on in this volume, much work has been done on the international aspects of South Africa’s sporting presence during the twentieth century, as well as the role of Nelson Mandela in using sport as a tool of reconciliation in postapartheid South Africa.³⁹

Masculinity and race

Sport provides an interesting lens through which to view gender, especially masculinity. Masculinity, as defined by Lisa Lindsay and Stephan Miescher, refers to “a cluster of norms, values, and behavioral patterns expressing explicit and implicit expectations of how men should act and represent themselves to others.”⁴⁰ Although the present work does not deal specifically with women and women’s sport—a gap for future scholars to fill—there is some scholarship wherein this is discussed.⁴¹ Nevertheless, as masculinity is a constantly shifting and contested ideal, sporting contests literally and physically pit man against man, boy against boy, in contests that mean so much more than winning and losing games. Displaying strength, courage, speed, finesse, tricks, talented moves, and agility are just some of the ways that men perform masculinity through sport. Men’s bodies, through performance and visibility, through success and failure, through physicality and strength, through speed and agility, continually shift the acceptable displays of manhood, while displaying social values through sport. In his recent article on Empire Day, Saheed Aderinto notes that the sporting event during this commemoration that placed children at the center of imperialist celebration “was another site through which salient notion of normative boyhood and girlhood was manifested.” He notes further that “it overtly extolled the male-centeredness of the colonial state.” Colonial practices, which viewed girls as weaker than boys, were reflected in the rigor of the sports in which each gender was allowed to participate at the Empire Day festivities.⁴²

Sport was also a convenient tool for colonizers to claim, with some success, transference of desirable traits to African youth and young men, but it was the men themselves who shaped how, when, and by what means such traits, if any, were transferred. As Gennaro shows in chapter 1, one of the most important and visible ways that men performed their masculine traits was through participation in sports. Once again, European sporting ideals influence this discussion, but only to a limited extent. Africans themselves chose, negotiated, and contested prevailing European ideals, and crafted their own, as Gennaro demonstrates in his study of boxing in Nigeria, and Fair and Lindsay show with regard to football in Zanzibar and Nigeria, respectively.⁴³ As Luise White notes, “the space where masculinity was supposed to be solidly established—in the household, in the kraal, in the palace—[were places] that masculinity was the most contested and the most actively constructed and reconstructed.”⁴⁴ We would add sporting arenas, fields, stadiums, parks, anywhere that sports are played, to this list of hotly contested spaces for the contestation of masculinity. Masculinity was not, and is not, limited to married men or adults—youths also participate in, embody, and imitate masculinities in any given society. Sport cannot illuminate or describe all masculinities in any society, but it can shed light on the varied and sundry ways that ideals of being and acting like “men” are shaped. If men construct and reconstruct themselves where they live and work, as White argues, then the sporting field, especially after World War II, was a major lived space where men fashioned ideals of manhood.⁴⁵

Chapter overview

The chapters in this volume are intended to help facilitate or jumpstart a further discussion of the impact of sport on the African continent, both past and present. Although much work needs to be done in this area, and no single edited volume can encompass the experiences of the continent, the works presented here provide engaging inputs and much needed insights—social, economic, and political—on how sport is not far from the hearts and minds of local, provincial, national, and international debates. Sport as a lens provides us with an opportunity to see changing social values, contestations over gender, political imbalances and challenges to authority, creation of national identities, and links to diasporic communities.

This volume is divided into two parts: Part I is divided regionally, into West/Central, Southern, and North/East Africa, while Part II consists of thematic essays on the African diaspora and the international dimensions of sport. Chapters 1–5 focus on West and Central Africa by using football, cricket, dance and gymnastics, and table tennis to illuminate the politicization of sports and the effects of colonialism in terms of discourse and masculinity. In chapter 1, Michael Gennaro focuses on the intersection of ping-pong and urban youth identities in Lagos, Nigeria. The chapter fills a gap in historical knowledge by focusing not on popular colonial-era international sports like football or boxing, but on table tennis. The sport became the site of confrontation between elders and youth in the growing urban landscape of Lagos, as elders believed ping-pong was not a useful sport for crafting men, citizens, or a strong nation. Youths found the game not only fun, but an alternative way to develop qualities like discipline and courage without the muscular development or aggression involved in major sports. Chapter 2 by Danielle Porter Sanchez tackles the ways that colonialism operated through the physical activities of gymnastics and dancing in Brazzaville.

Chapter 3 by Joanne Clarke shows how the sport of cricket serves as a lens to view the interesting dynamic whereby Africans experienced, negotiated, and worked through the complicated legacies of imported European sporting traditions and their manifestations in the colonies. This chapter, drawing on anthropological understandings of indigenous knowledge formation, looks at postcolonial Cameroon, and how indigenous discourses of cricket during the colonial era continue to effect Cameroon today. The social and cultural complexities of Cameroon, with its history of German, French, and British colonialism, is a perfect example of how sport mirrors political and social problems; it provides a unique exploration of how the “quintessential English game” influenced a French-dominated African nation.⁴⁶

Chapters 4 and 5 on postcolonial Ghana focus on how sport functioned and served political objectives for Kwame Nkrumah’s government, as well as the Supreme Military Council after Nkrumah was deposed in 1966. In chapter 4, Kwame Adum-Kyeremeh argues that sport played a central role in Nkrumah’s National Liberation Council, and that the creation of the Central Organization of Sports (COS) not only centralized sport in the new country, but also prepared Ghana for international competitions by streamlining sport from the grassroots to

national teams. Unfortunately, the mismanagement of the COS mirrored the mismanagement of the country as a whole. Chapter 5 by Humphrey Agyekum looks at Ghana's military junta period, arguing that the Supreme Military Council created the military sports club Super Stars '74 not only to improve the image of the Ghanaian military, but also to legitimize the regime. Taken together, these two chapters on Ghana showcase and illuminate the various ways that sport was used as a tool for legitimization, internationally and nationally, as well as a political strategy for national unity.

Chapters 6 through 11 focus on Southern Africa. In chapter 6, Cody Perkins discusses the topic of masculinity, with a focus on how racial challenges to white sporting segregation and to claims of black physical degeneration were made by appealing to the international sporting success of African American athletes like boxer Joe Louis and track star Jesse Owens. This battle was most pronounced in the South African press, where challenges to white masculine identity (via cricket and rugby) were akin to challenges to white supremacy in society. Chapter 7 by Gustav Venter looks into this segregation of sport along racial lines by focusing on the National Professional Football League (NPFL) in South Africa. Due to international pressures, the NPFL, originally a blacks-only league, integrated more than a decade before the formal ending of apartheid, in one of the first attempts to work through racial mixing on the sports field. The effects were uneven, and teams still were drawn along racial lines, but the example points to the importance of sport within political and economic apartheid. Chapter 8 by Francois Cleophas highlights a very important fact: that the separation of black and white in South Africa was more nuanced, with sectarian divisions within these groups that were reflected in the sporting world as well. The chapter traces the development in Cape Town in the late nineteenth century of sporting clubs, which also acted as social clubs, often segregated based on ethnicity, religion, and class. Chapter 9 by Hendrik Snyders looks at rugby in the 1970s and its place within the political and social lives of the prisoners on Robben Island, the jail for black political prisoners off the coast of Cape Town. The chapter traces the creation of the Island Rugby Board that helped organize the sport for inmates. Rugby on the island thus became a site and source of political agitation that gave important momentum, especially after the release of Nelson Mandela, to the negotiations that delivered the death knell to apartheid. In chapter 10, Zachary Bigalke, almost in dialogue with Cleophas's chapter, looks at the formation of white national and cultural identity through the creation of the national Springboks rugby team in the early twentieth century. The chapter analyzes the important role the team played in creating a unifying bond between white British and Dutch South Africans just a few years removed from the Anglo-Boer War. The team's success while on tour in England meant that rugby became entrenched as a pillar of white South African identity, and a symbol of national unity in the years prior to official union in 1910. How the spaces where sporting events took place shaped social and racial identities is the main focus of chapter 11 by Tarminder Kaur.

Moving to North and East Africa, chapters 12 and 13 look at the colonial period under British and Italian occupations. Chapter 12 by Christopher Ferraro details the

relationships between British sporting traditions, their transfer to Egypt, and the creation of football as Egypt's national sport. The chapter outlines how the sport became infused with nationalistic ideals, which later fueled Egyptian international success as the first African nation to qualify for a FIFA World Cup. In chapter 13, Tamirat Gebremariam and Benoit Gaudin open up a critical discussion of the era of Italian occupation of Ethiopia and the social dynamics of the period. Through the lens of the St. George Sport Club, the chapter argues that despite policies of racial segregation enacted during the occupation, the infrastructure of sport created had a lasting impact, and helped bring nationalism to the surface as a bulwark against fascism.

Part II moves the discussion toward aspects of Africa's participation in globalized sports, starting with Manase Chiweshe's analysis, in chapter 14, of the failure of football's commercialization on the African continent despite its success as a billion-dollar industry in Europe. The chapter details the historical factors that have contributed to the current predicament, and makes policy recommendations for the future to reverse this troubling situation. Chapter 15 by Munene Mwaniki also looks at the internationalizing of sport and the African experience, but does so through the example of Nigerian Hakeem Olajuwon, a National Basketball Association (NBA) legend and well-known Muslim, whose career became the site for multiple identities. Olajuwon's identity as both Muslim and African has not been fully reconciled within US/Western media. Chapter 16 by Shepherd Mpofo sheds light on media coverage by the BBC of the FIFA World Cup in South Africa in 2010, highlighting salient notions of racial stereotypes in the reporting of events in Africa from a Western perspective.

This volume raises many significant questions about the role and place of sport on the African continent. A deeper investigation by future scholars is necessary to strengthen our understanding of the various ways that sport intersects and has intersected the myriad of African experiences. Although this volume traces a variety of topics, from race and apartheid, gender and masculinity, colonialism and its legacy, to the formation of nationalism through sport, much work remains for a fuller understanding of the place of sport in Africa.

Notes

- 1 See the Al Jazeera documentary *Didier Drogba and the Ivorian Civil War: How the Former Chelsea Star and Ivory Coast Forward Used the Power of Football to End His Country's Civil War*, March 13, 2014; Alex Hayes, "Didier Drogba Brings Peace to the Ivory Coast," *The Telegraph* (August 8, 2007).
- 2 A video of Drogba's speech is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KAW7DF1Ufek>.
- 3 Notable exceptions include Jimoh Shehu, ed., *Gender, Sport and Development in Africa: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Patterns of Representations and Marginalization* (Dakar: Codesria, 2010); John Bale and Michelle Sikes, eds., *Women's Sport in Africa* (London: Routledge, 2015); and Chuka Onwumehili and Gerard Akindes, eds., *Identity and Nation in African Football: Fans, Community and Clubs* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- 4 Ashwin Desai, ed., *The Race to Transform: Sport in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010); Scarlett Cornelissen and A.M. Grundlingh, eds., *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans)forming the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Marion Keim, *Nation Building at Play: Sport as a Tool for Social Integration in Post-Apartheid*

- South Africa* (Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport, 2003). Notable exceptions include John Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998); and Bruce K. Murray and Christopher Edmond Merrett, *Caught Behind: Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2004).
- 5 John Nauright, "Global Games: Culture, Political Economy and Sport in the Globalized World of the 21st Century," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 7 (2004): 1325–36.
 - 6 Olusegun Obasa, "Sports and the Modernity of Leisure in Nigeria: Stadium Space and the Symbolism of Expressions, 1930–1980" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2015), 4.
 - 7 Susan Brady, "The Intersections of Sport History and Sport Literature: Toward a Transdisciplinary Perspective," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 33, no. 14 (2016): 1581.
 - 8 Susann Baller and Scarlett Cornelissen, "Introduction: Sport, Leisure and Consumption in Africa," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 16 (2013): 1870.
 - 9 Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler, "Leisure in African History: An Introduction," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, no. 1 (2002): 1.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, 1–2.
 - 11 Phyllis Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 96.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 1–3. See, for example, Michael Gennaro, "'The Whole Place Is in Pandemonium': Dick Tiger versus Gene Fullmer in 1963 and the Consumption of Boxing and Sport in Nigeria," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 16 (2013): 1903–14; and Tyler Fleming, "'Now the African Reigns Supreme': The Rise of African Boxing on The Witwatersrand, 1924–1959," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 1 (2011): 47–62.
 - 13 Charles Ambler, "Writing African Leisure History," in *Leisure in Urban Africa*, ed. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Cassandra Rachel Veney (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 12–18.
 - 14 Baller and Cornelissen, "Sport, Leisure and Consumption," 1868. For citizenship see Michael Gennaro, "Nigeria in the Ring: Boxing, Masculinity, and Empire in Nigeria, 1930–1957" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2016). For work discipline see Martin, *Leisure and Society*; and Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890–1945* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001).
 - 15 Anthony Clayton, "Sport and African Soldiers: The Military Diffusion of Western Sport throughout Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, ed. William Baker and J.A. Mangan (New York: Africana Publishing, 1987).
 - 16 H.F.S. Huntington, "The Physical and Ethical Value of Boxing," *Royal United Services Institution Journal* 65, no. 459 (1920): 493–501.
 - 17 Clayton, "Sport and African Soldiers."
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