#### Introduction

More Than Just Games

TODD CLEVELAND, TARMINDER KAUR, AND GERARD AKINDES

In February 2004, Ohio University hosted the first Sport in Africa Conference. The event quickly gained both traction and momentum, and in the spring of 2019 the thirteenth conference was hosted by the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, Senegal, marking the third time the gathering was held on the African continent.¹ In the years since the inaugural conference, a sizable—and ever-expanding—group of scholars, including myriad conference participants, has continued to legitimize the study of sports in the academy. Correspondingly, both academic and commercial presses have been increasingly receptive to publishing the diverse range of high-quality research that this collection of scholars, housed in an array of disciplines, has generated. Although the pioneers of sports studies focused their research and teaching efforts on subjects and topics related to the Global North, more recently the study of sports-related processes and developments elsewhere in the world, including Africa, has been gaining momentum, tangibly evinced by the enthusiastic and expanding participation in this series of conferences.<sup>2</sup> This volume, which grew out of these gatherings, aims to contribute to this steady procession toward mainstream academic recognition of

Ι

African sports studies by generating an instructive text that engages with the core themes that have emerged from these conferences since the initial gathering in 2004.

With papers from these conferences constituting both the impetus and, ultimately, the core content of this volume, we initially reached out to the hundreds of participants who had presented at one (or more) of these events to invite them to submit a chapter for this book. The result of an enthusiastic response from scholars based in Africa, Europe, and North America, the chapters in this volume examine an array of sports across multiple eras and revolve around themes that transcend individual sports: athletic migration, crossing racial boundaries, sports pedagogy, the sporting periphery, sports as resistance, sports and identity, sports heritage, the impact of political legacies on sports, and sporting biography.

Collectively, through the prism of sports this scholarship offers significant insight into the varying and shifting experiences of African athletes, fans, communities, and states. At the most basic level, the chapters explore Africans' reception and subsequent appropriation of an assortment of "modern sports" that European colonizers introduced, including but not limited to soccer, cricket, and rugby; the roles that these sports played both during and after the process of decolonization in shaping local and national identities in the newly independent African states; and the diverse ways that African individuals, communities, and governments utilize sports and sporting activities in contemporary Africa for varying social and political ends.

Since their introduction, modern sports in Africa have reflected cultural, social, political, economic, generational, and gendered relations on the continent but have also precipitated significant change in this array of interconnected facets of everyday life. The chapters in this volume examine these processes and consider the ways that broader historiographical and political developments and emphases have shaped the production of African sports knowledge. In particular, in the first chapter, Albert Grundlingh and Sebastian Potgieter trace this process as it has unfolded across South Africa in different periods. The subsequent section on pedagogy explicitly engages with the ways that sports

material can be effectively delivered in the classroom to enhance various learning processes and is intended to assist the growing number of instructors who are interested in incorporating various African sports topics into their curriculum.

In 1987, William Baker and J. A. Mangan, in their pioneering volume *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, presciently proclaimed, "The future of African sport history is rich in promise." In continuing to mine these bountiful sporting veins, this volume strives to provide for scholars, instructors, and students alike an array of "sporting windows" through which to view and comprehend key developments in Africans' engagements and experiences with leisure and professional sporting activities since their inception on the continent.

## The History of Sports in Africa

As John Bale has argued, the development of the "modern sports movement" during the early nineteenth century "paralleled (and was often part of) the colonial policies of the great powers of the Western world."4 Thus, the European introduction of so-called modern sports the sports that we reflexively identify, such as soccer, basketball, and rugby—into Africa in the nineteenth century constitutes but one dimension of a series of increasingly violent intrusions on the continent. Following the Berlin Conference in 1884-85, during which European imperial nations carved up Africa into colonial territories, missionaries, administrators, merchants, corporate officials, soldiers, and settlers the standard agents of colonialism—began to introduce various sports to indigenous residents. These athletic endeavors spread from port cities to the hinterlands, often along roads and railway lines but also through rural missionary schools. In explaining Africans' initial receptiveness toward these sports, scholars have emphasized the strong relationships and linkages between these new activities and precolonial martial and athletic traditions.<sup>5</sup> John Bale and Joe Sang have even argued that local customs and notions of masculinity provided the "soil into which the seeds of European sport would be later planted."6 Even in these arguably unlikely sporting incubators, these games steadily took hold.

Although Africans throughout the continent generally embraced these sports, their introduction was anything but innocent. Colonial regimes intended these sports to "civilize" indigenous populations as part of a broader program of "muscular Christianity," intertwined with physical education, that aimed to improve the bodies of the colonized masses. These sports were also intended, in turns, to subdue, discipline, inculcate, and even demean local populations.7 Indeed, these sports were introduced into a series of oppressive, exploitative environments that characterized African imperial space. The constituent colonial settings featured institutionalized racism, segregation, and pervasive inequity. As such, sports constituted more than just games; Europeans used them to establish and deepen both physical and psychological control of their colonized subjects. Sports served as key components in the colonial powers' campaigns of cultural imperialism, important pillars in the broader processes of empire. As Nuno Domingos has argued in relation to the Lusophone African colonial context, the games themselves were "instruments of socialization, infusing discipline ... [and] respect for hierarches and rituals."8 If Europeans colonized Africa, as the maxim goes, with a gun in one hand and the Bible in the other, they were also equipped with soccer, rugby, and cricket balls, a third hegemonic tool.

Notwithstanding the intentions of the colonial powers, scholars of the history of sports in Africa have cogently established that although Europeans introduced these games, indigenous practitioners were hardly passive consumers; they contested various aspects and fashioned new meanings of these sports. For Africans, sporting endeavors were "more than just games." For example, pioneering work by Phyllis M. Martin and Laura Fair, among others, has astutely identified the nationalist and protonationalist dimensions of soccer in British and French colonial Africa, insightfully reconstructed the contention over leisure time and the limits of European control, and rightfully analyzed football (soccer) as a "terrain of struggle." Elsewhere, scholars have examined the ways that indigenous practitioners essentially appropriated these games, attributing meanings to them unintended by those who had originally introduced the sports. As part of this process, Africans produced unique, often "creolized," styles that reflected local aesthetic values. In the process of the process of the colonial aesthetic values.

Because they were typically banned from White settlers' sports clubs and associations, African players and coordinators often responded by forming teams and leagues of their own that helped foster the development of distinct identities and, concomitantly, political consciousness. <sup>12</sup> The chapters in this volume by Trishula Patel and Mark Fredericks adroitly illuminate these processes in Zimbabwe and South Africa, respectively. In certain cases, these autonomous endeavors of sporting organizations even simulated the process of institution building in an imagined post-colonial state.

Following the gusting of the "winds of change" that marked the independence of African nations, beginning with Ghana in 1957, sports continued to play an important role on the continent. Inheriting populations that had been artificially bound by the arbitrary borders the European imperial powers had established at Berlin decades earlier, the first generation of African leaders eyed sports as a means to forge unity among the disparate subpopulations that resided within their states. National stadiums were constructed (often with Chinese money), national teams were formed, and these fledging nations entered both continental and international sporting competitions. Michelle Sikes's chapter on long-distance running takes the reader through this process in Kenya.

In the decades following independence, many African nations experienced devastating violence. Although these civil conflicts were almost always fueled by competing Cold War interests, the divisions ran along local fault lines. These domestic clashes suggest that the prospective unifying capacity of sports was either overestimated or simply overwhelmed by deeper social, often ethnic, divisions that had been suppressed by the respective colonial regimes.

Following this period of seemingly endless coups d'état, rebellions, and other forms of conflict, which uncoincidentally subsided after the conclusion of the Cold War in the 1990s, African leaders and civil society members once again began eyeing sports as a unifying force. Perhaps most famously, the efficacious exhortation in 2005 by Ivorian soccer star Didier Drogba and his teammates to end the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire is exemplary of the coalescent power that sports may, indeed, possess, even if only temporarily. A more cynical observer might remind us, however,

of the periodic meddling of national governments in national soccer federations, often along ethnic lines, or of the contentious, racially based quota system in effect in South African sports, to demonstrate that sporting environments not only reflect social divisions but may even exacerbate them. It is our hope that sports in Africa can continue to help precipitate positive change on the continent while enabling practitioners, supporters, and observers to better understand the lifeworlds in which these sports are played and take on meaning.

# Why Study Sports in Africa?

If you've read this far, you can most likely already provide a number of cogent answers to this question.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, there are currently fewer individuals posing this question, at least with any tinge of skepticism or hostility. But it is worth addressing for readers who may not have considered this query or who remain dubious. There are, of course, countless possible answers to this question, but perhaps the most obvious is that sports and athletic endeavors feature in the daily lives and attention, in some form or another, of millions of Africans throughout the continent. As among supporters and practitioners worldwide, sporting activity generates excitement, pleasure, and despair and can also forge community. Chapters in this volume by Tarminder Kaur, Solomon Waliaula, Todd Leedy, and Marizanne Grundlingh consider the roles that various sports play in the formation of communities of different types and sizes. Moreover, as John Nauright and Mahfoud Amara have contended, sports are woven into the "social, political, cultural, and economic dynamics and fabrics of African nations."14 And perhaps most important, as anthropologist Bea Vidics has argued, studying sports activity can provide "insights into social, cultural, political, and historical processes that transcend the sporting arena."15 In this volume, for example, Christian Ungruhe and Sine Agergaard follow former soccer players from West Africa in northern Europe into their postsporting lives and thus beyond the formal "sporting arena," though their plights and decisions are, as the authors demonstrate, deeply informed by their athletic experiences.

We wholeheartedly concur with Nauright, Amara, and Vidics, and we add that sports activity on the continent at both local and national levels highlights a range of enduring and novel power dynamics between various actors and entities. Often these constitutive interactions and relations reflect broader social imbalances that generally run along gender, generational, ethnic, racial, and religious lines, but explorations of these sites of engagement also reveal the ways that marginalized groups utilize sports to contest these inequities and struggle to narrow various gaps. For example, Chuka Onwumechili and Jasmin M. Goodman's chapter in this volume showcases efforts by women footballers in Nigeria to challenge the sports patriarchy in the country. Studies such as this one also serve to highlight the continuities—in this case, male dominance in the sports realm—that persist across the colonial-independence divide, a conventional periodization narrowly characterized through a primarily political prism. Derek Catsam's chapter addresses how the legacy of apartheid-era policies and concomitant perceptions continue to limit opportunities in rugby for Black South Africans.

Finally, we propose that Baker and Mangan's prescient statement regarding the promise of African sports studies remains as relevant now as it was when they first penned the passage more than four decades ago. With sports studies now legitimized in the academy, generations of younger scholars from across Africa and beyond its borders are examining the histories of sports on the continent. But much work remains to be done. Studies of African sports need to further diversify beyond soccer, for some time and to a great extent the scholarly favorite; indeed, even long-distance running, one of the continent's highestprofile sports, remains puzzlingly understudied.<sup>16</sup> Matt Carotenuto's pedagogical chapter outlines the innovative ways he works around the predominance of soccer in African sports studies while in the classroom. Moreover, scholars continue to neglect women's sports and the ways that children engage with sports in Africa, both informally and, increasingly, formally.<sup>17</sup> Indicative of this inattention is that only rarely do these demographic groups feature in this volume. In addition, although scholars have focused on African athletes who have migrated to Europe to ply their skills, significantly less research has followed these athletes to other

world regions.<sup>18</sup> Again, this volume reflects this topical emphasis. We would also welcome more transnational and continent-wide research, as much African sports scholarship continues to be bound by national borders artificially established over a century ago, even if they retain analytical utility for certain areas of inquiry. In the diaspora, research on the countless numbers of Africans who play on National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and American professional basketball and football teams awaits its scholar. Of course this litany of prospective topics is hardly exhaustive, but significant progress has undoubtedly been made; the epistemological foundation is now laid. Indeed, the diversification and overall expansion of research on sports in Africa are extremely encouraging. Baker and Mangan would surely be satisfied.

# A Note Regarding the Predominance of South African Sports Scholarship

Even before we began to gather chapters for this volume, we anticipated that scholarship related to South Africa would be well represented. Indeed, South Africa holds an unrivaled place in the scholarship on sports in Africa, for a number of reasons. Even as far back as 1987, in the infancy of African sports studies, Baker and Mangan alerted readers in the introduction to Sport in Africa that they had "decided not to include an essay on South Africa and apartheid per se because that issue is already well covered in the literature; it is, in fact, the only topic sufficiently documented in the history of African sport."19 Even before African sports studies was a viable and cohesive, if still fluid, scholarly area of inquiry, research related to South African sports dominated.<sup>20</sup> This scenario is partially attributable to the intense global focus on the country's racist apartheid system, which stretched from 1949 until the early 1990s and naturally led scholars to examine various aspects of South African society under this durable regime. As part of this investigative process, researchers, journalists, and other observers quickly identified the centrality of sports in the struggle for the nation and the important political and social roles that sports played across the spectrum of racial communities in the country. Moreover, as a long-standing dominion

of the British Empire, South Africa already featured in the history of sports as a founding member of the international governing bodies of cricket and rugby.<sup>21</sup>

In many respects this focus simply reflects broader trends related to scholarship pertaining to the continent, in which South Africa continues to play an outsized role. In addition to attracting innumerable international researchers to the country to investigate an interminable number of topics, unlike most other African nations, South Africa features a series of established institutions that house faculty actively generating knowledge about their homeland. Although long-standing inequities among these institutions of higher learning have persisted since the dismantlement of apartheid in the early 1990s, the partial democratization of funding and support has opened up opportunities for increasing numbers of South African—based scholars to contribute to this corpus.

Also contributing to the discrepancy in scholarly output between South Africa and other settings on the continent is that the country admittedly does possess a remarkable sports history, with which even casual observers may have some familiarity. Perhaps the most prominent way that a portion of this history was mainstreamed was via Clint Eastwood's 2009 film Invictus, starring Hollywood heavyweights Morgan Freeman and Matt Damon, which re-created the postapartheid ascendance and transcendence of the South African national rugby team, the Springboks. In his pedagogical piece in this volume, Peter Alegi explains how he incorporates and discusses this well-known film in his "Sports, Race, and Power in South African History" seminar. Well before the Springboks' improbable capture of the 1995 Rugby World Cup on home soil, the global sports boycotts of South Africa's various national teams, prompted by the country's racist apartheid system, had made international headlines. Scholars have examined at length these sensational sporting proscriptions, as well as non-Whites' courageous efforts to pursue nonracialized sports in the country and, more broadly, to use sports as a weapon to topple the apartheid regime. Scholarship on these two topics alone constitutes a substantial body of work, perhaps rivaling the entirety of publications related to sports studies of all topics for the rest of the continent.<sup>22</sup>

Of the seventeen chapters in this volume, South Africa is the setting for almost half. This preponderance may well exemplify accusations of South African exceptionalism, which scholars have long warned against on both epistemological and experiential grounds.<sup>23</sup> Yet Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon remind us that sports were (and continue to be) an important component of both Black and White identity in South Africa, thereby differentiating the country from other settings that lack such sizable White populations or such deep socioracial divisions.<sup>24</sup> Although we acknowledge the predominance of South African sports scholarship in this volume, we have placed some of these chapters in different thematic sections, deliberately grouping them with work that focuses on settings elsewhere on the continent. And where the thematic links were too logical to separate them, they have been mixed with chapters that consider different sports. It is our intention that the synergies generated by these thematic clusters and the epistemological contributions that these chapters are collectively poised to make will transcend South Africa's borders, while still deepening and expanding knowledge of sports in that country.

### Organization and Composition

After the chapter on historiography, the book is organized into thematic sections, each featuring at least two chapters, that examine an assortment of sports and sports-related themes across a range of settings. The chapters consider how these sports have profoundly shaped Africans' lives, but also how the continent's residents have utilized sports to various ends to improve their own plights. Each section illuminates a variety of social, cultural, political, and economic processes in ways that more traditional analyses of the continent often neglect. Collectively, the chapters familiarize readers with the history of the introduction and reception of so-called modern sports on the continent, tracing these initial sporting encounters during the colonial period, through the end of the imperial era, and on into contemporary Africa, including in the diaspora.

Part I features Albert Grundlingh and Sebastian Potgieter's meditations on South African sports historiography and the close relationship

between social history and sports history, while also featuring a critical examination of the much-utilized phrase "sports and society." The chapter highlights the inextricability of sports and politics, while also considering political and social influences on the production of (sports) knowledge. Although the authors examine the particular case of South Africa, the chapter's lessons apply to scholarly trends that transcend the country's borders, while its conclusions, in conjunction with the introduction, effectively frame this volume.

Part 2 considers what may be considered the "final frontier" of African sports: the classroom. Indeed, even as research on sports in Africa has gained considerable traction, the introduction of this topic into the classroom lags behind. The well-attended workshop on African sports pedagogy, held at the 2017 Sport in Africa Conference in Bloemfontein, South Africa, suggests that there are, however, many scholars throughout the world interested in introducing this topic into their courses and classrooms. To this end, three scholars have contributed pedagogical chapters to this book. Todd Cleveland draws upon his experiences teaching his History of Sports in Africa course to offer both lessons and insights. Matt Carotenuto's chapter brings the reader into the environment of a liberal arts institution and offers pedagogical advice based on his experiences teaching African Athletes and Global Sport in a sophomores-only classroom. Peter Alegi's chapter examines his experiences teaching an upperlevel undergraduate seminar that examines the intertwined relationships between sports, race, and power in South Africa. All three chapters address course design, approaches, and learning outcomes, while also considering how African sports content can hone students' critical analysis capabilities, digital research methods, and intercultural learning skills.

Part 3 features chapters that consider the ways communities of different types and sizes have utilized sports to forge and deepen particular identities and counter various forms of discrimination. Trishula Patel's chapter on cricket in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) examines the ways the game helped reinforce various identities of the resident Indian community as members struggled to negotiate racial discrimination experienced at the hands of the White settler regime. Similarly, Chuka Onwumechili and Jasmin M. Goodman examine the ways that the Nigerian women's

national soccer team has both faced gender discrimination in a deeply patriarchal society and employed a series of sports-related strategies to push back against a range of sexist structures and entities, including the Nigerian Football Federation.

Part 4 features two chapters that consider sports history in South Africa, though the sporting activities—surfing and bicycle racing—are far removed from the sporting mainstream. Both David Drengk's chapter on surfing along the Transkei's Wild Coast and Todd Leedy's chapter on the history of bicycle racing throughout the country complicate reductive analyses of interracial interactions during the apartheid era. Both authors acknowledge the proscribed nature of this type of contact during this period but also describe the ways and contexts in which meaningful interactions could and did occur, which were often marked by amity or at least basic tolerance and respect.

Part 5 brings us to the very edges of the sports periphery, but in both of its chapters the margins are often, in practice, more properly understood as the core for those individuals who are examined in these studies. Solomon Waliaula's chapter offers significant insight into the pay-to-watch football kiosks that are ubiquitous throughout the continent, though his particular focus is on Kenya. He refutes the notion that because participants pay to watch European soccer, Western cultural hegemony dictates the dynamics in these settings, instead arguing that these spaces function based on local realities, cultural norms, and social relations. Similarly, Tarminder Kaur's chapter is set far from the manicured European soccer pitches, instead considering the unofficial "gambling games" that comprise the world of semiformal soccerdom in the farmlands of the Western Cape. Exploring working-class leisure pursuits at the intersection of soccer and gambling, Kaur demonstrates how they take on much larger and more impactful meanings, propelled by the aspirations of these practitioners, thereby inadvertently sustaining the official structures of the sport.

Part 6 expands the focus of the volume to include the African sporting diaspora, exploring examples of migrant athletes' experiences and broader impacts. Ernest Acheampong, Michel Raspaud, and Malek Bouhaouala consider the ways that African soccer players' labor

migration strategies have shifted due to changing perceptions of the European soccer market over the course of a distinct series of periods following political independence. In their chapter, Christian Ungruhe and Sine Agergaard retain the focus on West African football migrants but consider the acute challenges that players based in northern Europe face upon retirement, highlighting the "precarity" that these athletes experience following their careers, devoid of social networks and lacking sufficient nonsoccer occupational training.

Part 7 features chapters that use personal biographies to illustrate broader social and political trends in twentieth-century Africa. The chapter by Francois Cleophas reconstructs the experiences of Milo Pillay, a South African—born, ethnic Indian physical culturalist, to illustrate the racial challenges that athletes faced, and at times surmounted, during the apartheid era, even in "fringe" sports such as weightlifting. Michelle Sikes turns our attention to East Africa, using the example of elite sprinter Seraphino Antao to highlight both the challenges and opportunities that sports generated in the concluding years of the British colonial project in Kenya and on into the dawn of the independent nation. In an attempt to cultivate a common identity and purpose for the country's residents, the initial leaders of the fledging nation opportunistically trumpeted Antao's successes; in practice, politicians throughout the continent similarly used sports as a means to build national unity in the aftermath of imperial overrule.

Part 8 considers how sporting and political legacies continue to shape the ways and conditions in which contemporary Africans engage with sports, while also examining how sporting exploits and accomplishments are remembered going forward. All three of the constituent chapters are set in South Africa, with chapters by Derek Catsam and Mark Fredericks both exploring the postapartheid rugby landscape in the country. In both cases, the authors lament a series of developments in the new era of South African rugby following the dismantlement of apartheid. Catsam dissects and condemns the litany of "alibis," or excuses, that rugby officials continue to offer when pressed about the persistent lack of racial diversity on the national rugby team, the roots of which can be identified much earlier on in the development, or lack thereof, of a rugby player.

Fredericks demonstrates how the end of apartheid and the attendant unification of rugby (and other sports) leagues, which were previously fractured along racial lines, ironically signaled the death knell for community sports and, in practice, any mass-based sports within Black communities. With the formal racial barriers between rugby leagues and associations dissolved (though we need to be mindful of Catsam's arguments here), "Black rugby" endeavors were obviated, leaving a conspicuous absence of sports in many communities. Finally, Marizanne Grundlingh examines the museum associated with the Comrades Marathon, the world's oldest and largest ultramarathon event. In particular, she considers the ways that the race is remembered through gift-giving, a practice in which former participants donate various items for display, thereby adding to the emerging subfield of sports as heritage.

#### Notes

- 1. The 2017 conference, held in Bloemfontein, South Africa, was the first to be convened on the continent, and the subsequent year's gathering was in Lusaka, Zambia.
- 2. The initial collection of African sports research articles appeared in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*, edited by William A. Baker and J. A. Mangan, in 1987 (London: Africana Publishing Company).
  - 3. Baker and Mangan, Sport in Africa, ix.
- 4. John Bale, Imagined Olympians: Body Culture and Colonial Representation in Rwanda (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xvii–xxx.
- 5. See, for example, Sigrid Paul, "The Wrestling Tradition and Its Social Functions," in Baker and Mangan, Sport in Africa, 23–46; and Peter Alegi, African Soccerscapes: How the Continent Changed the World's Game (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 15.
- 6. John Bale and Joe Sang, Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 49–50.
- 7. Todd Cleveland, "Following the Ball: African Soccer Players, Labor Strategies and Emigration across the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1945–75," Cadernos de estudos africanos 26 (July–December 2013): 19.
- 8. Nuno Domingos, "Football and Colonialism, Domination and Appropriation: The Mozambican Case," Soccer and Society 8, no. 4 (October 2007): 480.
- 9. Phyllis M. Martin, "Colonialism, Youth and Football in French Equatorial Africa," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 1 (1991): 56–71;

and Laura Fair, "Kickin' It: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s–1950s," *Africa* 67, no. 2 (1997): 224–51. The terms *football* and *soccer* are used interchangeably throughout this volume.

- 10. See, for example, Terence Ranger, "Pugilism and Pathology: African Boxing and the Black Urban Experience in Southern Rhodesia," in Baker and Mangan, *Sport in Africa*, 196–213. Ranger reconstructs the African appropriation of the sport, as well as the ways that colonial authorities reasserted control, essentially by reappropriating it.
- II. See, for example, Fair, "Kickin' It"; Domingos, "Football and Colonialism," 478–82; and Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*.
- 12. Fair, "Kickin' It," 244; Marissa J. Moorman, Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008); Peter Alegi, Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society (Durban, South Africa: University of Natal Press, 2004); and Alegi, African Soccerscapes.
- 13. Bea Vidics posed a similar question in the title of his 2006 article, "Through the Prism of Sports: Why Should Africanists Study Sports?," *Afrika Spectrum* 41, no. 3 (2006): 331–49.
- 14. John Nauright and Mahfoud Amara, eds., Sport in the African World (New York: Routledge, 2018), 4.
  - 15. Vidics, "Through the Prism of Sports," 331.
- 16. Exceptions include Aswin Desai and Ahmed Veriava, "Creepy Crawlies, Portapools and the Dam(n)s of Swimming Transformation," in *The Race to Transform: Sport in Post-apartheid South Africa*, ed. Aswin Desai (Cape Town: HSRC, 2010), 14–55; and Marizanne Grundlingh, "South Africa: The Battle for Baseball," in *Baseball beyond Our Borders: An International Pastime*, ed. George Gmelch and Daniel A. Nathan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 337–48. Note that both essays consider South Africa.
- 17. Exceptions to this durable pattern include Martha Saavedra, "Football Feminine—Development of the African Game: Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa," Soccer and Society 4, nos. 2–3 (2003): 225–53; and Sasha Sutherland and John Nauright, "Women and Race in African and African Diaspora Sport," in Nauright and Amara, Sport in the African World, 205–22.
- 18. Paul Darby has been particularly active in this research area. For more recent work, see Paul Darby and Nienke Van Der Meij, "Africa, Migration and Football," in Nauright and Amara, Sport in the African World, 94–109. See also, for example, John Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality," in Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 229–46.

- 19. Baker and Mangan, *Sport in Africa*, ix. Remarkably, they also declared that they "regrettably, were unable to provide essays on . . . the universally popular modern game of soccer." It's unfathomable that a volume on sports, irrespective of geographic focus, wouldn't include at least one piece on the world's most popular game.
- 20. For example, even a quick glance at the scholarship that focuses exclusively on South Africa reveals a literature that spans almost four decades and includes the following: Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism* (London: Zed, 1982); Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Cass, 1998); John Nauright, *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998); André Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2003); Desai, *The Race to Transform*; Scarlett Cornelissen and Albert Grundlingh, eds., *Sport Past and Present in South Africa: (Trans) forming the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2013); and Tarminder Kaur and Gerard Akindes, "Sports Africa: Sporting Subalternities and Social Justice: Rethinking South African Sports Studies," *ACTA Academica* 50, no. 2 (2018): 51–75.
- 21. See, for example, Roger Hutchinson, Empire Games: The British Invention of Twentieth-Century Sport (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1996).
- 22. See, for example, Douglas Booth, "Hitting Apartheid for Six? The Politics of the South African Sports Boycott," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 3 (July 2003): 477–93; and Alegi, *Laduma!*
- 23. Mahmood Mamdani's cautions as they appeared in his 1996 book, Citizen and Subject, are arguably among the most compelling and prescient. Mahmood Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- 24. Archer and Bouillon, South African Game. See also, for example, Albert Grundlingh, "Playing for Power? Rugby, Afrikaner Nationalism and Masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900–1970," International Journal of the History of Sport II, no. 3 (1994): 408–30; Nauright, Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa; John Nauright, Long Run to Freedom: Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa (Morgantown: Fitness Information Technology, West Virginia University, 2010); and Albert Grundlingh, Potent Pastimes: Sport and Leisure Practices in Modern Afrikaner History (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2014).