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Do Africans support English football teams and neglect local African teams: an interrogation of eight black African men in Cape Town

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Do Africans support English football teams and neglect local
African teams: an interrogation of eight black African men in
Cape Town

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Abstract

This project unravels the various reasons why black African men have such a strong attachment to English football teams belonging to the English Premier League. It works to find the answer to the hypothesis, which states that black African men exhibit greater fan support for English football teams and neglect the support of the local African teams.

Eight black African men from East, West, Southern, and Central Africa, describe the manifestation of their soccer fandom for the English team they support as well as their favorite local African club team. Based on the observations gathered through participant observations and interviews, five conclusions can be deduced.

The conclusions are as follows: 1) English football fandom is attributed to electronic colonialism, 2) African football fandom is familial, 3) there is a difference between identifying with a team and having a team as part of one's identity, 4) African football is not neglected by fans, but by players and football governing bodies, and 5) Africans still care about African football through the influence of Pan-Africanism.

KEY WORDS: Ethnicity, History, Regional Studies: Africa

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this project to my parents, Dr. Mungai Mutonya and Laura Mungai. Your endless amount of support for me over the years is evident in this research paper. Thank you. I would also like to dedicate this project to my brother, who sparked my soccer interest by beating me in the FIFA 2004 video game. I thank you.

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Introduction

This project intends to analyze soccer fandom amongst black African men from varying regions of the continent that reside in Cape Town. My hypothesis prior to collecting data was that black African men tend to support English-based soccer teams from the English Premier League, such as Arsenal Football Club, Chelsea Football Club, Liverpool Football Club or Manchester United Football Club and neglect the support of local African teams, either from their country of origin or a South African club team, for instance, Kaizer Chiefs or Orlando Pirates. The objectives of this paper aim to provide insight on the power of soccer and how it can unify communities, demonstrate the contributions of Africa and its role in influencing the game of soccer, and expand upon the reasons why black Africans support the English teams they choose to support. Do they in fact neglect support for local African teams? Is European soccer more interesting? Examining such questions is central to my paper.

This independent study project consists of five sections. The first section is about the literature that I use to engage in this topic. The second section consists of my methodology and outlines what was done in order to collect my information. The third section includes the findings and analysis I extrapolated from my observations. The fourth section is my ethical reflexivity, detailing how I recognized the power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee, as well as placing myself in a cultural situation different from my own. The fifth section is comprised of the conclusion, revealing some closing thoughts from what I deduced from the research conducted. The sixth section will suggest any recommendations for further study on this particular topic. Lastly, the sources cited throughout the research will be included in the bibliography.

Several limitations surfaced during the research period. However, they were not sufficient to inhibit my overall completion of this project, nor did it deter me in any way from accomplishing the task at hand. In addition to the time constraints during the conducting of interviews and the pressure of recording the research gathered in three weeks time, there were other elements within my research that were somewhat constricting. For instance, during the research period, several black African men from varying regions of the continent were interviewed. The first question posed was to determine if they supported an

English Premier League team and, if so, the follow-up was to understand the reasons behind their said support. There is no way that the two people interviewed from South Africa, the two people interviewed from the Democratic Republic of Congo, or the one person interviewed from Rwanda represent Southern, Central and Eastern Africa respectively. In addition, the forms of compensation offered to the interviewees were not adequate enough, especially for the university students. But even considering those limitations, great conversations occurred.

Literature Review

There is great significance in trying to analyze soccer fandom amongst black African men. Football is a key sport that plays an integral part in the lives of many Africans. Not only does it bring forth a tremendous range of emotions, from sadness to sheer joy, from delirium to agony, it also provides an intriguing spectacle to spectators as one witnesses the creativity in the technical side of the game, from the beautiful passes made to the goals being scored. Despite the beauty of the game, the sport of soccer has greater implications, especially in Africa. The game of football has the ability to unify people. The sport provided newly independent African nations with a mode of expressing nationhood and identity. And African soccer stars that play in Europe have utilized their platform to aid their local communities, enhancing the lives of thousands economically and socially. Firstly, the influence of football in integrating individuals will be addressed.

Football as a unifier

Throughout the continent, soccer has been used as a method of bringing people together. In the 1996 Summer Olympics, a young Nigerian Super Eagles side conquered soccer giants Brazil and Argentina in the semifinals and finals respectively, winning gold in dramatic fashion. Sunday Oliseh, a member of that 1996 “Dream Team” spoke of the victory moments after getting gold. “I guarantee you that as I talk to you now, everyone in Africa is celebrating. There is no sleeping tonight. Everyone will be happy. This is for all the African countries” (“Atlanta, 1996”, 2016). Currently a contributor on Supersport, Oliseh

reflected on that momentous victory in 1996. As he described the incredible feat of being the first African team to lift gold for soccer in the Olympics, Oliseh remarks on the incredible teamwork:

We had problems like always when you have 22 men living under the same roof for a period more than eight weeks. It's difficult for there to be peace. But one thing that I really respected about this team was that the moment we got on the pitch to train, or the moment the team had to play a match, that unity was so violently present (Oliseh, 2012).

Football can unite a youthful group of men to achieve a task as momentous as defeating soccer's heavyweights Brazil and Argentina and win gold.

Beginning in 1967, the soccer legend Pele, the player considered to be the best player to ever play the sport at that time (and even today) landed on Nigerian soil. The then two-time Brazilian World Cup champion arrived in Lagos to participate in an exhibition match. In the midst of a civil war, Nigeria dedicated a 48-hour ceasefire just to marvel at the great Brazilian (Stormer, 2006). Pele's presence momentarily stopped a war.

In the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, the first one to be held in Africa, resulted in the majority of a continent supporting one team. The Black Stars of Ghana were the only remaining African side in the quarterfinals. Dubois (2009) in blog [The Politics of Football](#) write content that is salient to soccer and politics. Sanket Prabhu, a contributor on the blog, wrote about the phenomenon of the Black Stars garnering a continent's support in the buildup to their quarterfinal match against Uruguay, describing the aura around Ghana as "a continent filled with great hope and anticipation" (Prabhu, 2013). The World Cup brought a continent to rally behind a team.

Soccer has the ability to pause wars, as evident with Pele in his 1967 exhibition match in Nigeria, but it also has the capacity to terminate them as well. Just before Les Eléphants of the Côte d'Ivoire national football team qualified for the 2006 World Cup, the first one in their history, the country was in the midst of a five-year war from 2002 and ending in 2007. But after their 3-1 victory against Sudan, the match that punched their ticket to the 2006 World Cup, Didier Drogba, the star player for the country and prolific scorer for Chelsea Football Club, was in the locker room in front of live television, grabbed a microphone,

went down on his knees and asked for the conflict between his people to stop. And the conflict in Ivory Coast stopped after reaching a truce. (Stormer, 2006).

The case of football in South Africa, in particular, is unique. During apartheid and the atrocities linked with it, minorities (whether defined by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, gender, or age) were heavily restricted from many forms self-expression. However, prisoners detained in Robben Island urgently wanted to find a way of expressing themselves. They later resorted to soccer and used it to their advantage. Korr & Close (2008) of More Than Just a Game speak to the ingenuity of the prisoners:

Of course there was the sheer physical enjoyment of the sport, the thrill of pulling together as a team, the adrenalin of competition, and the motivation of pitting your own abilities against others', but on Robben Island there was even more to be gained. The men's fight to play league soccer was all about proving to themselves and to the prison regime that they were capable of organizing themselves, of acting with discipline, and working in harmony together. It was about self-respect and developing a sense of community, despite everything (52).

It is evident that the limitations of apartheid couldn't stop people from playing soccer, especially prisoners on Robben Island. They used the game as a stepping-stone to negotiating with prison wardens in asking for more things, such as more food:

To the men, it was obvious that their campaign to win the right to play outside matches was about much more than just the game of soccer itself. Having joined together to pursue the campaign and [win] this concession from the prison regime, they had recaptured a sense of self-determination, and they now realized that they could capitalize further on the situation, exploit their new right as a bargaining chip. Food was the first issue, and their initial debate was decided: they would take up their privilege and play, and campaign for better food later (59).

They deemed their fight for soccer as a fight for self-pride, and self-determination too. This simple, universally popular sport became an impassioned symbol of resistance against apartheid.

And that is why soccer is so important. It can serve as a vector in bringing people together that were once separated through wars. It can inspire. It erases

division. And the continent has altered football in an influential way.

Africa Changing the game of Football

When football came to Africa, it was used as a colonizing method by Europeans to make Africans more civilized. But Africans changed football and made it fit their own interests, changing the game in the process.

Alegi (2010) argues that Africa has utilized soccer as a mechanism in expressing pride in one's nation and used to combat some of the atrocities of colonialism (Alegi, 2010).

A major catalyst for Africa in achieving those goals of eradicating colonial atrocities was the formation of the Confederation Africaine de Football or CAF. Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is the overarching governing football body of the world. Within FIFA, there are other regional bodies that represent each continent, and CAF being the one representative of Africa. The main goals of this organization were to create international tournaments and to put forth the interests of Africa in world football (Alegi, 2010). And CAFs increase in power as a soccer organization in the world was palpable, as it also coincided with the growth of anticolonial protests and decolonization (Alegi, 2010). As a result, Union des Associations Européennes de football (UEFA) was formed out of reaction to CAF, to their domination in world football (Alegi, 2010).

Trying to fulfill its aim of creating a national tournament, CAF formed the African Nations Cup in 1957, which today is commonly known as the African Cup of Nations or AFCON. Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia were the only three countries that participated in the inaugural tournament, first held in Khartoum. Egypt defeated Ethiopia in the final 4-0 to claim the first African Nations Cup win. This competition was formed three years before Europe's nations cup, known today as the Euros (Alegi, 2010).

Prior to the African Nations Cup beginning, the issues of apartheid in South Africa were quite rampant. CAF informed the South African Football Association (SAFA) that they could not field an all-white team in the tournament and must include people of other ethnicities into the team. However, SAFA refused to do so. CAF didn't want to display an Africa that is riddled with prejudice and discrimination, for their formation was based on putting the best

interests of Africa forward. That explains why South Africa was consequently ousted from the inaugural African Nations Cup tournament in 1957 and why the tournament only fielded three teams. Alegi (2010) outlines the authority CAF stamped on SAFA:

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 (p.75).

In addition, football in Africa was used as a mode of expressing national identity. Ghana led the way in using football to build a nation. President Kwame Nkrumah fervently believed in the game's capacity to transcend ethnic, linguistic, regional, religious, and generational barriers (Alegi, 2010).

African Footballers using their platform

In addition to CAF being the first before the Europeans to create a continental footballing organization, and the first to create their respective international soccer tournament, African soccer players have also been trailblazers in the five major European soccer leagues (La Liga of Spain, English Premier League, Ligue 1 of France, Serie A of Italy and Bundesliga of Germany). It is well known of the phenomenon of African players making the trek abroad to play in Europe. It began as early as the colonial period, with players such as Steve Mokone, Gerry Francis and Albert Johanneson making that trip overseas to Europe (Alegi, 2010). During the end of the 20th Century and into the turn of the 21st, Jay-Jay Okocha, Nwankwo Kanu, Samuel Eto'o, Michael Essien, and Didier Drogba were names to be reckoned with. Significant feats in Europe were being

achieved. The first goal scored in the UEFA Champions League was by an African, Nigerian international Daniel Amokachi of Club Brugge in 1992 (Skelton, 2015). Samuel Eto'o of Cameroon was the first player to win the European treble (the league title, the domestic cup, and the continental cup: UEFA Champions League) in back to back years with two different clubs (FC Barcelona of Spain and Internazionale, or Inter, of Italy). He became the second player in history to score in two Champions League finals (2006 and 2009). And he became the fourth player in history to win the Champions League two years in a row with two different teams. The African Cup of Nations isn't as popular as the Euros, but its presence forced Europe's hand in making a continental competition, for their stake hold in world football felt threatened by the rise of CAF. The Champions League in Europe may have come first before the African Champions League, but African players are performing at an elite level in the competition. Africa has changed the game of soccer, especially with the help of prominent African footballers playing in Europe.

In terms of the economic impact and improvement of social life, African players have utilized their platform to assert such change, and fans see them as beacons of hope for instituting change. Ghanaian Black Star striker Asamoah Gyan, upon completing his move to Chinese football club Shanghai SIPG, the Ghanaian community present in that part of the country issued a statement regarding their excitement in Ghana's all-time leading scorer playing in China. It was believed his transfer to Shanghai SIPG will "boost the cordial relationship that exists between China and Ghana" (Ghanaian Community, China). His move had an economic implication attached to it. Yaya Toure of Côte d'Ivoire, three-time African Footballer of the Year winner, is a member of the *Do Agric, It Pays* campaign, "which urges leaders to keep their promises to invest 10% of national budgets in agriculture, and implement targeted reforms that will help especially rural farmers and women" (Ndlovu, 2014). He uses his social status as a way of making sure issues are relayed directly to the government's attention. He also wants to eradicate poverty by joining this initiative. Lomana Lua Lua of the Democratic Republic of Congo has set up foundations that try to keep children off of the streets of Kinshasa, an area involved in a five-year war from 1998 to 2003 ("Lua Lua sets up Congo foundation", 2006). Michael Essien of Ghana and former Chelsea star has created foundations that address Ebola and how to

educate others about the virus (Manyo-Plange, 2014). Siphwe Tshabalala of South Africa, legendary Kaizer Chiefs player, has created a foundation under his own name that aims to empower youth in social life skills, as well as offering educational opportunities (“Shabba proud of foundation”, 2014).

Indeed, there are a plethora of African players giving back to their home. The examples provided were just a glimpse as to what African football players do. African players do know the power of soccer and how the fame affiliated with their profession can incite great change. They have used it to better the state of their countries of origin, as well as the whole continent.

Soccer not only has the ability to pause or even stop conflicts in Africa, but the continent has changed the game from what the original purpose of what it was meant for during the time of colonialism: a tool used to combat colonialism. And African soccer players that have made it big in Europe have played a role in trying to improve the livelihood of fellow Africans in the continent by participating in initiatives that affect the economy and the social lives of their compatriots.

Methodology

Selecting interviews and participant-observation as my modes of gathering information directed me to the crux of my question of why black African men support English teams and whether they completely disregard the support for the local African teams.

Interviews were used to understand what I had observed in my participant-observation: why such strong reactions to English teams if these men, presumably, had nothing to do with England? Why such a strong attachment? It was something I was curious about within myself too, as a self-proclaimed football fanatic. Another reason I wanted to engage in interviews with the interviewees was to foster a closeness with the interviewee and, once again, to explore and understand the reasons behind supporting the English teams. Spradley (1979) in Kvale (1996) stresses the importance of learning from the interviewee:

I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them,

to explain things as you explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand (p.125)?

In addition to the quote by Spradley, interviewing is a form of interpersonal conversation, a conversation between individuals about a topic that interests both parties (Kvale, 1996). The author even goes as far as comparing the interview-interviewee relationship to one of a therapist-patient (Kvale, 1996). I wouldn't go as far as to say that, because I would say the interviewee and I both had the same "problem" of supporting an English team as black African men, and several of the interviewees wondered why that was the case for other black African men too. So we both had an honest curiosity about the research topic.

I deemed it imperative to approach the interviews in an upfront, forthright manner. I wanted to pose concrete and concise questions in the beginning rather than prolong the revelation of my purpose of the study towards the end of the interview. I understood that my interviewees had lives. Some were students, others were small business owners, and some had families to go back home to. So it was about being efficient with my time as well as theirs. Kvale (1996) details the "openness of purpose" phenomenon, where the interviewer reveals the purpose of the research to the participants in the beginning through the posing of direct questions as opposed to indirect questions. In addition to the concern of time efficiency for my interviewees and also considering that my interviewees were soccer fans, I wanted to engage in "soccer talk". The phenomenon of sports talk, or talking sports, is something that is quite interesting. I've noted in the past that speaking about one's favorite team garners a lot of emotion and evokes passion in an individual, making them heated in some moments and going on long tangents and rants in other moments. That's why I began the interviews with my hypothesis regarding black African men supporting English teams and not really supporting the African teams so that it could get them thinking about specific scenarios of how its true, or not entirely true. By the time I asked if an African team can win the World Cup, the interviewees were quite animated and very fervent in the answers they gave, consisting of verbose speech and information full of insight. I really learned and understood their soccer world from their point of view. Another element of my research practice that I had to be cognizant of was the quality of interviewees presented to me. Even though I was fortunate enough to have great interviewees (thanks to the help of my advisor, Dr.

Kolade Arogundade) some are better interviewees than others. All of my interviewees provided insightful information. They all delivered their input on my questions in an eloquent manner and in a comprehensible fashion as well. But as Kvale (1996) mentions, the compliance of the interviewee is in no way an indicator of them having the most valuable knowledge about the topic discussed.

During the interview sessions, refraining from using my notebook while the interviewees spoke and not making my questions list visible were key concerns that I had. I noticed the interviewees looking down at what I was writing and that possibly may have taken away from the conversational aspect of the interview. Even though I did record all interviews with a recorder, the recorder remained stationary on the table and was quickly forgotten about until I stopped the recording. It didn't distract nor detract the conversational environment of the interviews. As I interviewed more people, I knew the questions to ask and didn't have to resort to looking at my phone/notebook for questions.

I selected the literature that I chose because I wanted something that would challenge my thinking with regards to Africans supporting European teams. I wanted literature that treated Africa as a unique case and in a particular, to speak of Africa in a positive light and not be confined to Eurocentric views. I wanted literature to display the role of Africa in shaping global soccer. Demonstrating how famous prominent African soccer players that have made an impact with their physical abilities worldwide and utilizing their clout to contribute to their local societies in their respective countries through the creation of and partnering with organizations was quite significant literature as well.

I understand that in my literature review I utilized two instances where soccer could stop wars. I did not intend on perpetuating the common stigma associated with Africa as a war haven. I merely wanted to demonstrate how the sport of soccer has the ability to resolve conflicts and can unite peoples that were once divided. All in all, I hoped to be wrong with my hypothesis. So that is why I chose the literature I did.

I collected my data during my first week of ISP, in Observatory. I went to a pub on the weekends by the name of The Scrumpy Jacks. Dr. Kolade introduced me to some potential interviewees, and I received their contact information and scheduled to interview them at a time convenient for them. I also

collected data at the shops of the small-business owners, as well as at a restaurant in Rondebosch.

I interviewed a South African Spurs supporter, a South African Arsenal supporter, two Congolese Chelsea fans, a Nigerian Arsenal fan, a Nigerian Chelsea fan and a Nigerian Manchester United fan, and I interviewed a Rwandan Arsenal fan.

As I prepare to explain my research findings, I want to bring about the questions I that drew me into my research. What I want to understand is why: why do African fans of soccer support English teams? It seems like every black African man you walk past, they have an English Premier League team that they have a fervent support for. What are their reasons behind supporting that team even though they have nothing to do with England? If they do in fact support an African team, why do they? And if their favorite English team was playing at the same time as their favorite African team, which one would they watch and why? A deeper analysis on why black African men tend to support, I believe, more English teams than the local African teams, is something I want to understand.

Findings and Analysis

Prior to conducting my research into African football fandom, I wanted to look introspectively and understand how I began supporting an English team as a black African man born and living in America. In 2004, my older brother purchased the video game FIFA 2004 on PlayStation. Prior to that, I only engaged in racing games or games related to the NFL. In the first match my brother and I played on FIFA 2004, he used FC Barcelona. Although I do not remember the team I used, I do remember the outcome: a demoralizing loss. After that, I developed a keen interest in the game, trying to perfect my skill in order to emerge as the victor in the rematch with my brother. I eventually defeated him numerous times following our first match, but the game sparked intrigue in me. I purchased the game UEFA Euro 2004 for the PlayStation 2, after having played FIFA 2004 for over a year. In that game, thoroughly enjoyed using the France National Team. On the team, my favorite player was Patrick Vieira. I absolutely loved Vieira's celebration after scoring a goal. I got so much enjoyment from his celebration, I looked up information about him online and discovered he played for Arsenal Football Club. To this day, I continue to support

Arsenal. In the United States, as the English Premier League games are aired quite early due to time difference, I can wake up as early as 6:00 in the morning to watch Arsenal play on the weekends. My friend and I would sacrifice sleep in order to watch our favorite English teams play, as he is an ardent supporter of Chelsea Football Club.

Although such devotion to English Premier League teams is based in America, the fandom of black African men in Africa presents a more compelling case. In Africa, people tend to go to bars to watch games that involve the major English teams, such as Liverpool, Manchester United, Manchester City, Chelsea, and Arsenal. And in such environments, the passion that the fans possess can at times be quite extreme. If their team endures a defeat in a critical game (say, Arsenal defeats Chelsea for example) some Chelsea fans would resort to violence, especially the kind that is directed at other people. Domestic violence is quite common. In some cases, fans even do the extreme and inflict self-harm, such as committing suicide.

I have Kenyan family members that support specific English teams. My father is a Chelsea supporter. My brother, in the past, has supported Manchester City and Tottenham, but has recently converted to be an Arsenal fan. My uncle is an Arsenal fan. My two other uncles are Liverpool fans. And my cousin Jeff is a Manchester United fan. However, do they support the local Kenyan clubs?

My support derived from video games. What about for other people? Did it come from seeing fellow countrymen play for an English team? Did it come from their parents supporting that same team. Is financial status a contributing factor to supporting a specific team? That's what I want to discover. What are the reasons as to why Africans support English teams? Or why do they only support African teams? Which team matters more to them if they in fact support an English team and an African team? Why do Africans have such a devotion to English teams when they have nothing to do with them? And why doesn't everyone have such an ardent support for the African club teams in the respective countries? Why does everyone, supposedly, not have an "African team?"

Those are a few of my questions. That is the problem that I attempt to understand. Why do Africans have such a zealous support for the English club teams and seemingly neglect the African club teams? That is what I intend to analyze based on my findings.

I interviewed eight black African men, who will here on out be referred to as “respondents” in order to comply with their requests for privacy and anonymity. I will give a number to them so that it can differentiate from the other interviewees. I will also highlight their country of origin and will mention the English team they support. The English teams represented in the study are Arsenal Football Club, Chelsea Football Club, Tottenham Hotspurs Football Club, and Manchester United Football Club, henceforth referred to as Arsenal, Chelsea, Spurs, and Manchester United respectively:

- Respondent #1 is from South Africa is a Spurs supporter
- Respondent #2 is from Rwanda and is an Arsenal supporter
- Respondent #3 is from Nigeria and is a Chelsea supporter
- Respondent #4 is from Nigeria and is an Arsenal supporter
- Respondent #5 is from Nigeria and is a Manchester United supporter
- Respondent #6 is from the Democratic Republic of Congo and is a Chelsea supporter
- Respondent #7 is from the Democratic Republic of Congo and is a Chelsea supporter
- Respondent #8 is from South Africa and is an Arsenal supporter

Here is a chart to represent fan support (out of the eight men that I interviewed):

	Arsenal	Chelsea	Tottenham	Manchester United
Nigeria	I	I		I
Congo		II		
Rwanda	I			

South Africa	I		I	
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As the chart reveals, Arsenal and Chelsea are the two most popular teams in my sample size of eight people. Amongst the Congolese, Chelsea served to be quite a popular team. An interesting thing is that 75% of the Nigerians supported three out of the four teams interrogated. But Arsenal exemplified the most breadth in terms of fan base, for 38% of the fans were from West, South and East Africa. But Chelsea fans exhibit the most depth, where two fans are from Central Africa. So it is quite interesting.

The question that I posed prior to conducting my research was this: Why do black African men exhibit a fervent amount of support for English teams? I asked everyone whether they supported an English team and, if so, which one. Then I asked how they began to support the team. As I mentioned earlier, I engaged in participant observation and witnessed a few noteworthy events at the bar. I could see not only the merchandise they were wearing in The Scrumpy Jacks bar where they gathered, but also the reactions people had after every pass, every tackle, every shot and every goal. Several groans, a few obscenities shouted, and an inordinate amount of high-pitched screams filled the pub. Several black African men entered the bar leading the chants of their respective English team, evident prior to the Manchester United and Arsenal match. On that particular day, Arsenal and Manchester United fans occupying certain portions of the pub. I noticed firsthand the varying levels of support some people have for English Premier League teams.

Respondent #2 spoke of why he supports Arsenal, he said it is the style of football they play, which is appealing to him. He describes it as attractive. Respondent #3, a Nigerian Chelsea fan, describes his reasoning for supporting the club, stating it is due to the presence of a lot of African players, especially the

presence of compatriot John Obi Mikel. Respondents #6 and #7, both fans of Chelsea, support that team for the same reasons, in that it has a lot of African players.

Respondent #4 of Nigeria likes Arsenal because of two specific players: his “brother” Nwankwo Kanu that played for the club from the late 90’s to early 2000’s, and club legend Thierry Henry, Arsenal’s all-time leading goal-scorer. But several of the interviews have attributed the “well-packaged” format of English Premier League soccer to making them like and support and regularly watch their favorite English team. In addition, the constant presence omnipresence of the Manchester United logo inspires one to watch the team and just play football in general.

I asked the participants if they supported a local African club team. In asking the respondents about the derivation of their support for an African club team, several unique responses surfaced. Respondent #1 stated his support for Orlando Pirates stemmed from his extended family that stays in the Northern Cape. They support the rivals of Orlando Pirates, thus he feels inclined to support Orlando Pirates. Several people stated they support an African team because that is their place of birth or their hometown in which they grew up. That was the case for Respondent #3 and Respondent #4 who both said that they supported their respective teams because they are from their hometown and one is their “indigenous” team as Respondent #4 stated (Respondent #4, personal communication, November 7, 2016). Enugu Rangers and Enyimba are both supported by Respondent #4 and Respondent #3 supports Enugu Rangers. Respondent #5 supports a Nigerian team which is one he grew up listening to their commentary on the radio. Respondent #6 supports Sanga-Balende and Respondent #7 supports TP Mazembe, both teams based in the Democratic Republic of Congo. They both represent where they come from. An added incentive to their support is that they have a family affiliation to them. Respondent #6’s father used to train regularly with a player on Sanga-Balende, and watching a family friend play for a professional club influenced his liking for the team. Respondent #7 supports TP Mazembe because his uncle played on the team for three years. Prior to each home game, his uncle would pick him up and take him to the stadium. Respondent #8 is devoted to his team, AmaZulu FC, a team that plays in the second division of South African football leagues and

whenever they are in the Premier Soccer League (PSL), they struggle to stay afloat and are often demoted back to the second division. Their time span in the most competitive league in South Africa is short-lived. But he supports them because they are a Durban-based team, where he is from.

English fandom, I observed, isn't entirely based on whether someone owns merchandise representing their team. Nor is English fandom solely reliant on whether the team has fellow compatriots on the team. I was a little surprised to note that the two South Africans I interviewed did not mention the prominent South Africans that played in the English Premier League, such as Aaron Mokoena, Kagisho Dikgacoi, Quinton Fortune, South Africa's all-time leading goal scorer Benni McCarthy, or the most popular South African that has featured regularly in the Premier League for the past decade, Steven Pienaar of Sunderland Football Club.

In terms of merchandise, I asked if they purchase merchandise that is affiliated with the European team and the African team they support. Respondent #2 as well as Respondent #8 stated they purchase a new Arsenal jersey annually once a new version is released. Respondent #5 said he has an older version of the Manchester United jersey "Ronaldo" on the back. Respondent #7 has a Chelsea scarf. Respondent #6 owns a Chelsea jersey with the number 11 on the back, denoting the number of Didier Drogba. A few of the respondents mentioned they owned some type of merchandise representing their favorite local African team, but they do not purchase annually. In my participant observation during the Arsenal-Spurs game and the Manchester United-Arsenal match, I saw the same man that was quite popular at the bar on both occasions. I presumed frequented that bar often, for the owner of the pub knew him by name. He was not wearing any team apparel. But I assumed he was a supporter of Arsenal, because he cheered when they scored and sat with the Arsenal crowd. This scenario made me question whether owning merchandise of your favorite team is a strong indicator of the level of support one has for a team. By not purchasing a jersey or not wearing it in public insinuate a low level of devotion for the club you support? Respondent #7 owns a Chelsea scarf, yet doesn't have a jersey. However, he makes the time to watch Chelsea live. And if he cannot watch them live, he either waits for the replay and refrains from checking his phone for scores and watches the replay or he just watches the highlights. Respondent #4, a supporter of

Arsenal, intentionally evades from buying any Arsenal merchandise. He doesn't make time to watch matches either. Yet, he still supports the club by asking if they won their match.

Much to my surprise, as I mentioned before, the black African men that I interviewed didn't mention famous players that played in the Premier League as often as I had anticipated. They didn't really attribute their fan support to the presence of fellow compatriots on English Premier League teams. Respondent #4 did mention that he began supporting Arsenal because his Nigerian "brother" Nwankwo Kanu played for team. Yet if one looks at Arsenal today (and since the days of Kanu) there hasn't really been a prominent Nigerian player until the emergence of Alex Iwobi in 2016. However, since the 20 years Kanu joined Arsenal, other Nigerians have been playing in the Premier League, and archrivals Chelsea have had a history of successful Nigerians on the team, such as Celestine Babayaro, and currently John Obi Mikel and Victor Moses. I asked him why he doesn't support Chelsea because of the presence of his Nigerian "brothers"? I even suggested Manchester City Football Club, who has a promising Nigerian striker, Kelechi Iheanacho, whom Respondent #4 refers to as his "homeboy" earlier in the interview (Respondent #4, personal communication, November 7, 2016). But Respondent #4 said despite the arrivals of new Nigerian players playing for different English Premier League teams, it still does not change his support for Arsenal. Respondent #8 contends the same thing. South Africans in the English Premier League were present, as mentioned before. I asked why he didn't support the team that Benni McCarthy played for while he was in England. Respondent #8 said that he hopes that a player does well. One checks to see if they are playing regularly for their respective club and hope they are doing well. One just supports the player, but not necessarily supporting the entire team (Respondent #8, November 10, 2016). Benni McCarthy playing for Blackburn Rovers or West Ham didn't sway Respondent #8 away from supporting Arsenal. Respondent #5 would concur with Respondent #4 and Respondent #8. The fact that not a single Nigerian has played for Manchester United doesn't remove his love for the team.

I also observed that African football is not neglected by the fans, but by those who directly play a part in it/those who are involved in it on a daily basis (such as players and football governing bodies). The men I interviewed care

deeply about the success of African teams, whether at the club level or at the national level. After realizing all the men have a favorite African club team they support in addition to their preferred English team, I posed this question: “So let’s say your favorite African team was playing at the same time as your favorite English team. Which one would you watch and why?” The results revealed that around 63% said that they would rather watch the English team over the African team. But their reasoning was more of dismay about the development of football in Africa and supplemented with ways on fixing it to become better.

Respondent #2 was one of the people that felt that way (that he would rather watch his favorite English team, Arsenal, play over Orlando Pirates). He provided three reasons:

1. The style of football Arsenal plays is more attractive
2. The production quality is a lot better
 - a. The pictures on television seen better than African teams
3. The kind of players that play for Arsenal
 - a. They are stylish, classy players that treat the game as a lifestyle, not just a game (Respondent #2, personal communication, November 6, 2016)

Respondent #3 feels that African matches are boring, but European matches are more suspenseful. His reasoning behind his statement on African soccer being boring is because there’s a lot of politics involved in the game. As a fan, he can predict who will win the match and he is most of the time correct. Respondent #5 says that the English game over African team any day because the English game is more than football, as the statistics provided as well as the entertaining commentary are far superior than the African game. He even says that African football is disorganized, due to the heavy presence of logistics involved, which is detrimental to the game. He also says the economy plays a part too. In essence, when an African player playing on an African team is injured, they are not taken seriously. However, if an African player for an English team is injured, they are taken seriously. Medical fees are paid for, and they are taken care of immediately. All in all, there is disorganization and it stems from the football governing bodies like SAFA as well as the players (Respondent #5, personal communication, November 8, 2016).

I followed the question with the last one that I concluded with in every

interview: Do you think an African country can win the World Cup. If so, how close or how far away is that from being realized? A resounding 88% said that they believe an African team can accomplish that feat, but several things have to happen. I found it very interesting that almost every person that believed an African country can win the World Cup had concrete reasons as to what needs to improve in order that to happen.

Here is an excerpt of an interview involving Respondent #6 and Respondent #7 discussing the influence of African parents and how they have an overbearing influence on the mind of the African child, limiting them from using sport as an avenue of making a living:

Respondent #6: *I think the big part we are struggling with is also our parents and family because they never took soccer as a career, they took it as a hobby. That's also don't see ourselves making a good career. We see ambition by getting a big degree, like a doctor or engineer. So we all want to go that side. Parents in Africa don't see things in reality. You can see talented kids. You see Suarez, Messi and Pique sending their kids to soccer clubs and they're only 2 or 3 years old. And when they are five years and they are doing well, someone can sign them. But they are showing them the way.*

Respondent #7: *You play soccer very well, are talented, but they [parents] want you to do this. Because they are the one who are paying school fees for you.*

Respondent #6: *They will tell you, "Go do that, but you will pay for yourself"*
(Respondent #6 and Respondent #7, personal communication, November 8, 2016).

Like mentioned before, when the interviewees spoke of African football, they had a lot of criticism of it. Because evident in my interviews, the findings indicate that the interviewees would rather watch their favorite English team play over their favorite African team just because the style of play is better and the way how it is "well-packaged" and "well-organized" as some have described the English game. But some of the interviewees that would rather watch the English game over their favorite African team would say, "But I do care about African football". When I asked about whether an African team could win the World Cup, many would display their affection for their nation. And that affection was evident through their criticizing of the national team, saying what needs to improve in order for that goal to be achieved.

Based on the findings gathered from the research, five clear themes arose, which attempt to make sense of the quotes stated by the interviewees.

“Electronic Colonialism”

The power of technology and its influence cannot be understated when analyzing English football fandom in Africa. Upon asking the interviewees about their favorite English team, I followed up with how they started supporting them. I also asked what their reasons were for supporting that particular English team. Those two questions (*How did you start supporting the English team?* and *What are your reasons behind supporting them?*) overlapped at times. But when I posed these two questions to the gentlemen, I got an understanding that their English fandom was attributed to personal preference. And that personal preference is heavily linked with marquee things they see on the television generated image of the soccer field. For instance, when I asked Respondent #1 about how he began supporting Spurs, he said it was through the first international soccer tournament he knew of, the FA Cup, which is said to be the oldest soccer tournament in the world. In this competition, Spurs were in about four out of five finals, which they would “invariably win”, as Respondent #1 states. He remembers the likes of Glen Hoddle and Steve Archibald playing for the team during that period. In addition to exposure on the television, time zones really influenced the games people watched. Respondent #1 spoke of his desire to watch Brazilian team Fluminense on television, or several La Liga games featuring Barcelona or something, yet it is the times that don't align. South Africa and England are just one-hour apart, with England being ahead. I asked Respondent #2, an Arsenal fan, the same two questions and he stated he began to like Arsenal when he was seven years old and saw some really nice colors on television. He liked the color of the jerseys that the team was wearing and so he supported that team based on the colors. Respondent #5, an ardent Manchester United fan from Nigeria, says the publicity of the team on television and in newspapers made him notice the team, allowing him to become more interested. Respondent #8, a South African Arsenal supporter, is in accordance with Respondent #1 and Respondent #5 in that the commercialization of the game played a role in him supporting Arsenal. He claims that on every Sunday, before the presence of TV provider MultiChoice DSTV, a thing called “open time”

would air a big English match on a decoder called MNET. Respondent #8 said that English player Ian Wright was the player he admired on Arsenal at the time.

It began with the introduction of a South African based television station/corporation called MultiChoice, which provided for the television services commonly known today as Digital Satellite Television or DSTV in 1985, which Respondent #8 once alluded to earlier. This became one of the main transnational suppliers of football in Africa (ID and Nation book) in addition to French Network CanalSat and Arabic Network Al Jazeera Sport. In addition to the introduction of such media corporations, their popularity surpassed the significance of local government-controlled channels in respective countries. DSTV has grown at an exponential rate in a 10-year span from the end of the 20th Century to the beginning of the 21st Century. In 1998, there were only forty-four thousand subscribers in South Africa. In 2008 however, 1.7 million subscribers enjoyed a multitude of channels. Now it's available in nearly fifty countries (Alegi, 2010). The introduction to privately owned satellite companies like DSTV allowed for the increased programming/airing of European football games, including the English Premier League, through the English channel Supersport as satellite providers relied on soccer's popularity in Africa to sell subscriptions (Alegi). Some scholars would go as far as saying that English football, in particular, is "quickly replacing local football in the hearts and minds of millions of African fans," which is something that I disagree with and will address later in the paper. With satellite companies coming into Africa and airing European football and supposedly influencing African soccer leagues to focus so much on money (on behalf of TV rights and such), a scholar cannot help but call the impact of sport media as a form of "electronic colonialism".

African Football Fandom is Familial: Traces of Ethnicism

The fandom affiliated with local African teams is linked with the core of an individual: something that is linked to who they are. In other words, African support for a local team is a form of identity. However, it is critical to challenge the notion of a singular definition of identity; it is a malleable and flexible term and has a couple of theories that try to explain this concept. For instance, there is the theory known as the social identity theory, which describes identity as "creating in the individual a perception of belongingness in a group which he/she

describes as ‘us’ versus others, that is, groups to which he does not belong and which are the outgroups” (Tajfel, 2015). In football terms, when fans are talking about their favorite team, they often refer to them as “we”. I encountered that several times in my interviews when the interviewees would talk about African soccer and whether an African team can win the World Cup, “we” referred to the continent, not a specific country where the participants are from. But African fans utilize the “we” pronoun when talking about a European team too. However, that support is derivative of the “electronic colonialism”. It is not linked with the rich history of African soccer and how it was utilized to combat colonialism and serve as a transition into new nationhood. So fans can refer to their team as “we”.

Postcolonial theory (also with several iterations within) is a belief that identity stems from the period after colonization. Interaction between the West (also known as the Colonizer) and the East (the Colonized) foster notions where Western beliefs are deemed as superior and the benchmark for the “colonized” to reach. Those countries not ascribing to Western beliefs would eventually become “Otherized”, for they were backward, uncivilized, old-fashioned in their ways. They were “Others” (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). So in football terms, African football is often described as subordinate to European football (Alegi, 2010). It’s like saying, “Wow, us Africans should look at what Spain or Germany are doing because we suck. We aren’t as good.” One of my interviewees said that their African team was like the “Nigerian version of Chelsea”. *But I even had an interviewee say that they like Chelsea because it reminds them of an African team.* However, the beauty of African football is that it was intentionally utilized to reject the “otherization” done by the Europeans. It was football that was brought by the Europeans in Africa as a way to civilize the Africans. But Africans took the game and turned it into something meritorious for them, like a way to represent and assert their new nationhood status to the rest of the continent, and to the world. The idea of ethnicism is crucial too in African football support. One of the Nigerian interviewees I interviewed had said he supports Rangers because it was his “indigenous club”. One can infer that he identifies with that team because it is predominantly comprised of Igbo players, thus his ethnic group could potentially be Igbo. His favorite team is Arsenal and he liked it when his “brother” Kanu played for the team. He happens to be Igbo. And a player for Manchester City, Kelechi Iheanacho, whom he refers to as his

“homeboy” played for Rangers and could potentially be Igbo. Thus, is he supporting those players because of their ethnic group? It’s possible. Igbo identity is often based off of the oppression felt by the Nigerian state during the Biafra War in 1966. The Enugu Rangers club speaks to elements of modern Igbo mythology, for it reinforces the belief in a great Igbo nation and fortifies a “sense of themselves, characterized by hard work and intelligence” (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). Respondent #8 is a fan of Durban-based club AmaZulu. He is from Durban and one can infer he is Zulu.

Even in Kenya, ethnic pride takes center stage in the clubs that they support. For instance, in Kenya, there is a rivalry between Gor Mahia and AFC Leopards, two of the most popular club teams in the nation. One has a fan base that is predominantly from the Luo ethnic group and the other has a fan base predominantly made up of the Luhya ethnic group. During the Gor Mahia games, the fans would express their support and identity with the team by wearing the team’s jersey. But not only that, songs were chanted throughout the match in Kiluo, the language spoken by the Luo ethnic group. Here’s what some of the chants were:

Soloist: *K’Ogalo* (Soloist: Son of Ogalo)

Response: *Gor, Gor Mahia!* (Response: Gor, Gor Mahia!)

Soloist: *K’Ogalo ee!* (Soloist: Son of Ogalo ee! Response: *Gor Timbe duto yuagi* (Response: Gor all teams cry because of you)

Soloist: *Gor Biro!* (Soloist: Here comes Gor!)

Response: *Yawne Yo!* (Response: Clear the way!)

(Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014)

The song references the club’s namesake, Gor Mahia, a legendary Luo medicine man. Singing in Luo culture has greater implications than just at games. It is a way for the ethnic group to perform their identity. After a win, singing is customary. After a loss, singing is also very normal. The unique activity Gor Mahia fans engage in after a huge win against rivals AFC Leopards is that they gather around a statue of a legendary leader during Kenya’s fight for independence, Thomas Joseph Mboya. Fans lay on the ground facing downwards as a way of giving thanks (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). Mboya was a man that was viewed as a hero to the Luo community and was assassinated, so it is understood as to why he is so revered. Both Nigeria and Kenyan local teams base

their support on critical moments in their nations history, allowing the ethnic groups to express their sentiments of historical moments through the clubs that represent an essential part of their identity. When it comes to the local teams, African fans occasionally support the local teams that are from the town they are from/have a familial connection with.

That's why soccer is so important in African—it is a form of identity, tied with something deep in the core and it is meaningful. Coupling the history of fighting for independence and fostering national pride with ethnicism and family, African football really forms an integral part of one's identity.

Identifying with a team vs. A team that is part of one's identity

English fan support on behalf of African football fans is not heavily contingent on the compatriots that play for a team in the English Premier League. Like I mentioned before, I had posed the question to Respondent #8, Respondent #4 and Respondent #5 when interviewing, asking them why they didn't support the teams that their fellow compatriots played for. All three essentially stated that that doesn't deter them from watching/supporting their team of choice, even if a compatriot is absent from their team/isn't represented. What could possibly explain this strong allegiance to a team?

One reason is the fact that fans like to identify with a team. Knowing another fan of a club you support generates some type of inclusion and group dynamic/belonging to a group. But it's merely association, not so much to say that their identification with a team means it is deep in their core/heartfelt. One way people like to identify with a club (or associate) is to purchase merchandise. Whether it is buying a replica of your favorite team's jersey, a scarf, or even a mug, fans enjoy doing that. But why would fans exercise such measures in supporting these English teams? Scholars could attribute it to brand loyalty. In a study analyzing the influence of brand loyalty on consumer sportswear in Malaysia, brands such as Nike, Reebok, Adidas and Puma were among some of the sportswear scrutinized. The study wanted to see the most influential factors contributing in a person buying a product repeatedly (brand loyalty in a nutshell). Brand name, product quality, price, style, store environment and service quality were all the factors looked at. The results revealed that brand name and product quality displays a positive correlation to brand loyalty. The sight of the brand

name and the quality of the product increases the likelihood of an individual purchasing the same product again (Wong Foong Yee and Yahyahsidek). So this could be used for soccer too and could potentially explain why fans like their English team. Fans like to show their affiliation with the team by representing the name. And product quality is pivotal. The aesthetic aspect plays a tremendous role in the affiliation/association. Someone sees the scarf, knows the jersey, in addition to the logo/badge, hey that's good news. A friendship is struck. But people who purchase such merchandise that is representative of their favorite English team, are they considered "better" fans or more enthusiastic than the others that don't have such merchandise? No, not entirely. It is not a strong indicator of the level of support one garners for their English team. In a study done in a Turkey soccer club store (Fenerium Stores is the name, store for Fenerbahçe Football Club), the researcher looks at buying behavior of Turkish fans for licensed teams. The researcher looked at these factors closely to see if there was any influence of them on buying behavior: identification, store atmosphere, friends, devotion and shopping. The researcher concluded that identification with a team has the greatest influence on a fan buying merchandise from their favorite team. Identification with a team does in fact increase social interaction, stirring up an urge in people to communicate with one another, if they are at a game (stadium watching live) (Özer, 2015). And identification with a team, if it is high, then there is a greater likelihood that the fan will exude brand loyalty behavior (Trail et al pg. 120). However, devotion to a team (devotion as in how closely tied an individual is to a team support-wise, always with the team during the good and the bad and you speak highly of the team) is not linked with purchasing merchandise. It is, apparently, a weak indicator of one's level of support for a team. As a matter of fact, based on the Özer study, creating a good store atmosphere can create an increase purchase rate of team merchandise. An increase in team devotion is done through what the team does, if they are successful (winning games and trophies) or creating/transferring for star players. Purchasing merchandise, however, is not directly linked to an increase in overall devotion to a team (Özer, 2015). The results of this study of Turkish fan support can be applicable to African fan support of English teams. Respondent #4 stated that he supports Arsenal, yet he consciously makes an effort to not buy a jersey because he doesn't want to support white capital. His reasoning is that the "white

man” does nothing for him. They say if one purchases a jersey of a European club, a certain percent of the money goes to Africa. He claims he has never seen anything like that (Respondent #4, personal communication, November 7, 2016). But at the same time, he enquires about Arsenal, asking if they won their game. He doesn’t watch, all he does is ask. And I spoke with someone who has an outdated Manchester United jersey (when Cristiano Ronaldo played for them) but he watches the team every time he can. In all, identifying with a team is different than having a team as a part of your identify. Identifying with a team was brought about through “electronic colonialism” or just an influx of privately owned television stations and satellite television. But African football fandom is an identity. As mentioned before, it reversed the initial introduction of soccer by the Europeans and used the sport to decolonize and gain independence. The continent utilized the sport in trying to advance Africa, put their best foot forward and have their interests met. In terms of fan support, many support their local teams because they are from the town that they grew up in, or they represent the ethnic group they are a part of or a family member played for that team, in addition to the team being from their place of birth. Merchandise doesn’t say much. But what explains the compatriot thing and not supporting that team? Well, several interviewees said it is the players they support. They hope their compatriots perform well. They monitor their success. But they just identify with the team they support. It’s their devotion to it. But it also could be that the football their team play is far superior to the other team their compatriot plays for. And possibly the team they play for is not as successful.

African Football is not neglected by fans, but by players and football governing bodies

African football, even with all the chaos it goes through with drama of players’ wages not being paid or light flights to major tournaments, is not neglected by the fans. However, it is neglected by football associations and the players themselves. When speaking about national teams, within the continent, teams like The Black Stars of Ghana, The Indomitable Lions of Nigeria, and the Elephants of Côte d’Ivoire do quite well in the African competitions such as the African Cup of Nations. But they tend to have their issues off of the pitch. In the 2014 FIFA World Cup, Ghana didn’t receive their wages and the team was upset.

The Nigerian Football Team was suspended one year (for what? And how long was the suspension for?). The Nigerian Football Team in the 2016 Olympics arrived late to Rio because their plane ticket wasn't paid for. That can be attributed to football governing bodies' lack of expertise and care. But these nations, these West African nations, consistently qualify for the African Cup of Nations tournaments and make deep runs as well. They are always heavy favorites to win. These West African teams consistently qualify for the World Cup as well. There are times they make the top two in the group and advance to the knockout stage. There are times where, on the rare occasion, a West African team advances to the quarterfinals of the World Cup. But what about East African teams? Very rarely do teams like Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, or Kenya qualify for the African Cup of Nations. East African teams have only participated in 11 African Cup of Nations tournaments, missing out on 18. Tanzania last qualified for the tournament in 1980, Uganda in 1978, and Kenya in 2004 (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). And neither one of them has been to the World Cup. The string of poor performances by east African teams is attributed to the poor structure of East African football associations (administrations). The idea of external factors and internal factors play a part in the problem of African football, particularly in the case of East African teams. Internal factors are what happens on the field, whether it may be the players and their team chemistry or the coach. External factors are out of the control of the players but have to deal with the behind the scenes. That mostly concerns the football governing bodies in each country.

The poor performance of East African football teams has become central to the identity of East African football. Versi (1986: 132) characterized the state of administration of football in East Africa thus: 'There are still too many structural weaknesses in the system and the organization.' Whenever a team loses, the focus of attention tends to be directed to the coach, players, and the quality of training. Yet the training process is geared towards developing only the internal factors, while external factors, which affect all the internal ones and are organizational in nature, are downplayed. For high-level football performance, it is vital that external factors are tackled in such a way as to facilitate an appropriate and effective training process (pg.75).

And it just seems like a continuous cycle with East African countries. The Tanzanian, Kenyan, and Ugandan football associations perpetually fail to pay players, clubs, and referees the required fees and they include top officials to serve as agents to professional players, selling them abroad to benefit themselves monetarily and there is constant, incessant fighting (Onwumechili, 2014; Hoy, 2006; Munro, 2005; Otiso, 2013). Money is crucial for such African football associations. Unfortunately, it is what is lacking. Funding is essential for the development of football in Africa, for it can provide players with first-class services like improved organizational capacity, increased number of player-support personnel and the enhancement of the physical capacity for football development (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). Sir Bobby Charlton agrees with that statement; funding is a crucial element in African football. The former England international, and a man that is well-versed in football development initiatives in Africa, speaks about the issue of funding in the continent:

Funding is a critical factor in the development of football. According to Bobby Charlton, the former England international, who has been involved in football development initiatives in Africa: The only problem with African football is money. Just that one word. It is their downfall because they just don't have enough of it. And because of that, their best players leave home to play in Europe. On top of that, the national sides do not have the money to afford to travel and play the games that they would like (pg.76).

According to Respondent #6 and Respondent #7, the wages were not paid in time for the Mali National Team to participate in their next match of the African Cup of Nations in 2013. The team decided to strike before the match was played. Seydou Keita, team captain and midfielder for FC Barcelona at the time, wanted the match to proceed so he decided to pay the wages of all 22 teammates, since he was playing for Barcelona and could afford to pay the entire team's wages.

Sir Bobby Charlton did mention the trek of African players moving to Europe and playing there. His comment "leave home" could be interpreted as leaving the country to pursue a career in football with a European club team and play for the national team. Or it could be interpreted as an African player moving to Europe to play for a club team, renounce their African citizenship and obtain

citizenship to a European national team and play for them in international competitions. That is what some interviewees have described, both scenarios. There's no money to be paid for big stars that are African. They change nationality to play for a European team because the football governing body of the African nation cannot afford to pay the astronomical wages demanded by the players. It's treated as a business. They play for a European national team that can pay their wages. That could potentially explain why English Premier League star players Romelu Lukaku and Christian Benteke, both Congolese, play for Belgium. Lukaku, born to Congolese parents (his father, Roger Lukaku, played for the Zaire national team in the 90's) was born in Antwerp, Belgium and plays for the Belgium national team. Christian Benteke, born in Kinshasa, Zaire, changed his nationality to play for the Belgian national team. Part of the blame is on the government. If you have players of such caliber taking their talents to Europe, that's exactly where their talent is going: to Europe. Money is the primary motivator, according to Respondent #7. However, the case of Yannick Bolasie, says Respondent #7 and Respondent #6, provides a different outlook on the potential African nations have in attracting foreign born players of African descent. Born in France to Congolese parents, Bolasie decided to play for the Democratic Republic of Congo national team. Playing for Everton Football Club in the English Premier League, he pledged his allegiance to Congo. Bolasie's decision to play for Congo is admired by the two Congolese respondents. However, they see it is not benefitting the player financially, because as a English-based club player, he is bound to not get paid as much as he desires.

Bolasie is merely a unique case of a French born African playing for an African nation. Respondent #3 mentions the France National team and how it is comprised of African-descent players, either born to African immigrant parents or born in Africa and changed their nationality to French, making *Les Bleus* one of the most formidable teams in the world. In order to get the highly sought African players to play for their country of origin, the restructuring of the football associations is imperative. Part of the restructuring requires more money.

But the players are also to blame for the failure of African football when performing in international tournaments. Respondent #1 agrees, and says that it is the players that are the problem. They don't aspire to be better footballers and would rather stay in South Africa to get rich.

A South African fan I interviewed spoke of his opinion on local South African football and the fan support:

Respondent #1: *“So I was talking to Cape Town goalkeeper and asked ‘So why is it that South African players don’t have an interest playing overseas?’ And he said, ‘TV rights.’ You make so much money. Since I’m a millionaire in property, he’s got property. So he doesn’t ever really have to work anymore in his life. He’s got money off his wages and television rights. So I said, ‘Ah so that’s not a footballer. You don’t want to become a better footballer you’re just there for the money.”*

That is the unique case about South Africa. But Respondent #1 doesn’t solely blame the players and footballing organizations for their lack of care to the development of African football. He also blames the fans. Fans are responsible for the popularity of African football, especially in South Africa. This is what he says too about the fans:

Interviewer: *So lets say if Orlando Pirates was playing at the same time as Spurs, which game would you—?*

Respondent #1: *I would watch the English game. If Pirates was playing the same time as Spurs tomorrow I would watch the Spurs game. Because I know the quality of football is going to be inferior. It’s really about that you know what I mean? And unfortunately I don’t make time to watch Pirates. I don’t like, ‘Aw, they’re playing tonight at 7’ and I make a point of watching them. I don’t really support South African football part of it is because I know the politics of it.*

Interviewer: *So if I’m hearing you correctly, so you’re saying you would rather watch the English game over Orlando Pirates because of, one, the quality of football being played and the fact that the English game is more commercialized and the brand is just so appealing.*

Respondent #1: *Yeah, and remember, there isn’t a genuine rivalry in South African football in the context that if [Kaizer] Chiefs and Pirates come and play in Cape Town, you still think the environment is a home game. There’s only two places in South Africa where Pirates and Chiefs truly realize ‘ok, we are not at home’ and that’s in Durban and when they go to Bloemfontein. The support for those teams is growing in Durban and in Bloemfontein. We’re Cape Town man. Next time Chiefs comes here, go to a game and then look at the stadium. Where are we? People here are supporting Chiefs. So somewhere, the game has to still*

develop for us to take a genuine interest in it. What's the point of going to a Chiefs game in Cape Town Stadium playing against Ajax [Cape Town-based team]? There's like just orange jerseys all over the place. We have a long way to go. It's ridiculous. And that's partly the politics of it. The money goes to Johannesburg, all the big players go to Johannesburg. And Cape Town teams can't compete (Respondent #1, personal communication, November 5, 2016).

He even says the thing he really likes about the English game is the fan support that they have. Fans are very loyal to the city in which they are from, even if it is a small club in the English Premier League. If Burnley Football Club is playing a home game, the fans will always attend that match. And if there are people that are from London, they will support a London-based team. If someone is from Manchester, they will support a Manchester-based team. That is the key difference between native English supporters and South African supporters, according to Respondent #1 (Respondent #1, personal communication, November 5, 2016).

Respondent #1 does say the fans have a role in the state of South African football today. Fans should actually make a concerted effort to support the teams from their cities. People who are from Cape Town should support Cape Town. But in the end, he does concede that the governing bodies just put the money in the wrong places, resulting in the continuous fandom of just two teams, Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates of Johannesburg.

Africans care about African football

In the end, Africans still care about African football. The current state of it brings a lot of discussion amongst black African men that are supporters of African teams. During the interviews, I would always conclude by asking, "Do you think an African team can win the World Cup, and if so when"? Many would say that yes, indeed it is possible but certain things must change. And some would refer to the 2010 FIFA World Cup as the best opportunity to win it. Respondent #4, a Nigerian and Chelsea supporter, said that he thought an African team would win it because it was hosted in South Africa, the first World Cup to be hosted in the continent. Respondent #1, a South African and Spurs supporter, spoke about the Ghana National Team and how he touted them to be the first team to win the trophy:

Respondent #1: *To answer your question, there was a time when I thought Ghana will be the first African nation to win the World Cup simply on the basis of the numbers of players they had playing outside of Africa—for being exposed to the same coaching of the top players in the world that they are being exposed to.*

The Black Stars of Ghana almost fulfilled that feat in the 2010 FIFA World Cup, as they were narrowly defeated by Uruguay in the quarterfinals in dramatic fashion. As I mentioned before in the literature review, Ghana had the support of numerous Africans, (especially South African fans, as they coined this Black Stars, *BaGhana BaGhana*, a play on words as the South African team is known as *Bafana Bafana*) as they hoped to see an African team set a precedent and advance to the semifinals of the tournament. An account from an individual who was actually at that game, provides some interesting background information to the game, relaying the historical significance leading up to the match:

The symbolism was of course great. Half a century earlier, Ghana's independence signaled a wave of decolonization on the continent. In 1966, Ghana's president, Kwame Nkrumah, led a boycott of the World Cup by African nations unhappy with the fact that African, Asian, North and Central American, and Caribbean teams had no guaranteed berths in the sixteen-team competition. The boycott was successful, setting in motion a long process during which African countries have gained more power within FIFA. The South African World Cup was in some sense the culmination of that long process. For Ghana to become the first African team to advance to the semifinals would have been a fitting and inspiring confirmation that things have changed and that they can change even further in the football world (Alegi & Bolsmann, 2013).

Alegi & Bolsmann (2013) address the boycott instigated by Kwame Nkrumah, a leader and fervent believer in Pan-Africanism, an ideology that encouraged a “United States of Africa”. This quote exhibits how Nkrumah set the interests of not just his country, but other African countries (as well as other regions) first, showing the sense of togetherness and a belief that they are all in the struggle together. And that is what Africans still believe today, when they speak of the state of African football. It can be better and we can win the World Cup.

Respondent #1 and Respondent #8 both believe that an African team can win the World Cup. It's just that confidence is imperative to winning.

Respondent 8: *When it comes to the World Cup, I'm for African teams. Just to prove that we are actually capable and are good enough to be at that platform and we have the patience, the confidence (mainly the confidence) in that we are actually able to go against these big names and do something special against them, you know. It's just a ball* (Respondent #8, personal communication, November 10, 2016).

Respondent #8 believes that something significant can be achieved; a tournament can be won. His positivity about African teams and their abilities speaks volumes to how he views African football. He cares. And he wants African teams to do well in order to put their best interests forward. It's that Pan-Africanist ideal.

And care is also exhibited through tough love. All the respondents had something constructive to say about African football and how a team can actually win the World Cup. Respondent #2, a Rwandan and Arsenal supporter, had an astute, two-step process as to how an African team can realize their dream of lifting a World Cup trophy. He stated that African teams lack efficiency in both boxes (in essence, he means African teams aren't very efficient offensively and defensively). The first thing that must improve is the finishing, or the converting of chances created. African teams tend to create a lot of chances, but their efficiency in front of goal isn't always the best. The second thing that needs to improve is the tactical side, so defense. African teams, when ahead by one goal, tend to continue to attack, yet often times they face the consequences when they attack, for they open themselves defensively and concede goals. Defending the lead, or "parking the bus" as some would say, would most likely be the better option. Respondent #4 says, with regards to African football, that there is "no love." And that is part of the reason why you have the youth going from Africa to play in Europe. You go to Europe and the white man can use what you have and make himself rich. And that the white man will accommodate you just for what you are doing. Respondent #7 from the Democratic Republic of Congo says that an African team can win the World Cup. It's just that the support needs to be there. Kids growing up in Africa are not brought up by their parents to aim to be a professional soccer player. They are brought up to actually be doctors or

engineers (essentially to be something in life). Sport is not deemed as an avenue to being successful. But the difference with successful teams that have actually won the World Cup is that kids join clubs at a very young age. Lionel Messi, as Respondent #7 describes, left Argentina for Barcelona, Spain to join La Masia, or FC Barcelona's youth academy. He also went there to get a growth hormone supplement to improve his stature because he was really small for his age. But now he got it fixed and the corps group from that academy, Cesc Fabregas and Gerard Pique went on to win the 2008 Euros, the 2010 World Cup, and the 2012 Euros for Spain. And Messi has done a lot of things at club level too. So it's about introducing the game early to youths and letting them know it's not bad to pursue soccer as a career. Respondent #7 said he would even do that with his own children:

***Respondent #6:** We can also do better, but if we try to organize, I think that's where we fail, because we don't organize.*

***Respondent #7:** Yeah that's true, the organization is still bad in Africa. If you look at European football and African [football], as Africa, we are still far. We can't even compare with them because, first of all, when they look at children when they are still at young age, they see them playing soccer, they guide them; they show them the way on how to succeed in soccer, which in Africa we don't do that we just pick up player from Dubai, player from another club they used to play in order to get the money they want. Let me give a good example of [Lionel] Messi. Messi started playing at Barcelona at a young age. They guide him. They showed him how the way it should be, how he should play. That's why today we are talking about Messi. These are the same things that African football should look at. They need to guide young people; there are young people that are talented. Even if I have a son who is playing soccer very well in Africa, I can maybe let him taste that small money [in Africa]. But if I were to educate my child to play soccer, I will never allow him to play soccer in Africa. I have to show him the way out there, where he can also go and get experience and use his gift in a good way so that he can make a good living (Respondent #6 and Respondent #7, personal communication, November 8, 2016).*

But when it comes to the problems of African football and why teams don't succeed in the World Cup, Respondent #1 and Respondent #8, both from South Africa, had a lot to say about what the problem is:

***Respondent #8:** In terms of African teams, when we go there [the World Cup], we start from being disorganized when we get there. From the start, there's always some drama with African teams, there's financial issues, like why didn't you [sort] out these things before the tournament? I think some of the problems are from the unions, the main unions like the SAFAs (South African Football Association). Maybe those are the people that kill African football. You don't see European players debating things like this, they just want to go play for their national team. I've never actually heard of European teams trying to come up with a strike right before a major tournament, saying, "No, we actually don't want to play, just because our wages haven't been paid." We must go there and we must be focused on one thing. And that one thing is actually going and dominating and going as far as possible in this tournament. But when you've got other agendas before you get to the main agenda, how well are you going to execute the main agenda? (Respondent #8, personal communication, November 10, 2016)*

One can deduce from Respondent #8's comments that African teams have several distractions that they have to resolve, more than the teams that consistently perform well in international tournaments. These distractions are unnecessary and should be dealt with accordingly. Respondent #8 feels that what is restricting African teams from performing at the level they are destined to play. These other agendas, such as paying the players their wages in a timely manner, are problems that are possibly accredited to the football associations belonging to the African countries participating in the World Cup. In order to be on par with consistently successful European countries, these little distractions must be taken care of because such teams don't experience the failure of wages being paid. All they want to do is play for their national team and to progress far into the tournament, in the process achieving their main agenda. He continues to stress that African teams are just as good as European teams and that with the right mindset and environment surrounding the team, "something special can happen against the big names".

When Respondent #1 thinks about the South African team and whether or not *Bafana Bafana* can win the competition, he says that the current issue with the stock of players they have is that they are star struck and show too much respect for elite players they encounter on the global stage:

***Respondent #1:** One of the reasons why South African players will never go to that next step [winning the World Cup] is because if you keep watching the 20 nominees for the best player in the world, the players are always on TV. And when you come on the field, you're almost going to worship them. But if you [a South African player] go and play in wherever and bump into Messi in a Champions League game, you lose 5-0, but you've played against Messi. So now you play for your country and there's Messi again. But sitting here in South Africa watching Champions League, and these amazing players, and then when you have to go out there and tackle them, you were first worshipping them. It's problematic. I really think psychologically it's problematic (Respondent #1, personal communication, November 5, 2016).*

Respondent #1 believes that by South African players staying the country they are not benefitting. They are not learning the skills that can be learned in Europe when playing at the club level over there in comparison to just staying in South Africa and playing for the clubs in the PSL. They are at a disadvantage because all the skills are being learned in Europe, taught by state-of-the-art managers. But players would rather stay in South Africa due to the wealth accumulated from TV rights, as Respondent #1 adamantly stated in the interview and how South African players aren't concerned about being footballers. Respondent #4 from Nigeria says that South Africans think they have everything here (Respondent #4, personal communication, November 7, 2010). That partly explains why South Africans are often times reluctant on playing in Europe. By playing in Europe (for a European club team) one has the increased likelihood of facing quality players, like five-time Ballon d'Or (Player of the Year) winner Lionel Messi of FC Barcelona. Even though the match may result in a loss for the team of the South African playing abroad for the European team unluckily facing Barcelona, it will serve as a learning experience and significant exposure to an individual. Once that player goes to play matches with their national team in a marquee tournament like the World Cup, the experience of playing highly competitive football and encountering stars on the pitch will do great good to a team trying to equip themselves to play them in a grand stage and also will allow the team to not be so scared in playing them because they've already been exposed to them at the club level in Europe. (That's why he based his decision on Ghana being the first African nation to win it, because the team they had was

comprised of a lot of Africans playing in Europe. That's why they are a tough team to face for European opposition if they can draw Germany 2-2 in 2014 or defeat Serbia in 2010 or even defeat the second ranked team in the world Czech Republic 2-0 in 2006, their first World Cup appearance).

But if football government associations within CAF do get their act together in terms of paying the appropriate wages to players and overall organization, shouldn't the overarching football body of all football-governing bodies have their act sorted out as well? FIFA should definitely get their act right. This is what he says about South Africa in particular, and the role FIFA, and its loss in credibility as an organization, has played in making Africans have second doubts about actually achieving the feat of winning the World Cup:

Respondent #1: *This is my concern for South African football especially. If an African nation is going to win it, and we do have the potential, but there's obviously the politics of FIFA, does it help if an African nation wins the World Cup? What is their agenda?*

African teams are still going to be distracted from their "main agenda" as Respondent #8 said due to FIFA's inability to fix their main agenda of being a credible organization again, claims Respondent #1. In May 2015, the US Department of Justice exposed FIFA of corruption and accepting bribes under then long-serving FIFA president Sepp Blatter and former UEFA president Michel Platini. So one can understand the sentiments of Respondent #1. FIFA, at this point, cannot be trusted, because they might have their own agenda. According to Respondent #1, FIFA has utilized their power to influence results of a few games:

Respondent #1: *Because I mean I've watched some World Cup games where you could see the ref was paid there [bribed]. Clearly. Italy versus South Korea comes to mind. I even think us against France, 2010.*

The South Korea game against Italy was played in the 2002 FIFA World Cup, which was joint hosted by South Korea and Japan. As the host nation, South Korea won the match 2-1 to advance to the quarterfinals. They finished the tournament in fourth place. It was a match that resulted in a lot of controversy, for there were a lot of fouls that didn't go the way of the Italians. The game with France and South Africa was in the 2010 World Cup, where the host nation was victorious over the European giants 2-1. Host nations, it seems, had the upper

hand and favoritism according to Respondent #1. Even though supposed favoritism was shown to South Africa in 2010, that isn't the way football should be played. It could backfire on an African team when they play hosts, like Russia in 2018.

But there is hope. After the eight-year ban placed on Sepp Blatter and former UEFA President Michel Platini was instilled, a new president has been elected for FIFA. Gianni Infantino, elected in February of 2016, already has plans of increasing the number of teams participating in the World Cup from 40 to 48 (“FIFA corruption crisis: Key questions answered”, 2015). This will take into effect in the 2026 World Cup. This could open up an opportunity for African teams to make an appearance in the tournament. Infantino did mention in the eight-team expansion that he would like at least two African teams to be involved (Gleeson, 2016).

Football in Africa has the potential to blossom. The players have an abundance amount of potential, and the fans do have the desire for teams to be successful. If the changes to soccer governing bodies within the continent are fixed (including FIFA), African football can be a haven for a quality football to be played.

Ethical Reflexivity

I wanted to make sure that I portrayed Africans in a positive light. Prior to interviewing, I felt a little unrest within, because I thought by formulating a hypothesis geared towards testing a neglect in African football, it almost resembled an “innately inferior” discourse, especially when paired with the glamour of English football. I didn't want my hypothesis to reflect African football as something needing fixing by an imperialistic power. As one who is born and raised in America, I feared that my study would come across in that manner. After the interviews and hearing the reasoning of the interviewees behind finding greater joy in watching the English match over their favorite African team still revealed to me the love the fans have for their local African team. There is an overwhelming amount of belief and support for their club and for an African nation in winning the World Cup. Thanks to the interviewees and the literature I read, I was prompted to believe and hope that my hypothesis would be challenged quite critically.

I was aware of my positionality in that I am a middle class Kenyan-American male that resides in the United States, and I have the privilege of supporting an English team because I have the ability to watch them play on television every weekend. I was aware that I mustn't begin my inquiries on which English team the respondents supported, for I would be making an assumption. I may strike up camaraderie with the interviewees given that I am part of the demographic that I am focusing on (black African males) and I am engaging in "soccer talk" with individuals that like soccer. I was fully aware that I supported an English team and didn't reveal that aspect of me until I was asked or when I deemed appropriate. I was cognizant of the fact that upon revealing my English team support to my participants that may make them open up more to me.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study set out to analyze the football fan support of eight black African men from sub-Saharan Africa. The hypothesis tested was that African men do support an English team, and that support is more enthusiastic than their neglected support of a local African team based in their country of origin. The results of the study did reveal that the eight Africans I interviewed do have a favorite English club team they do support. What surprised me was that all had a favorite local African team. Even though about 63% stated they would watch their favorite English team over their favorite African team if they played at the same time, the adoration for their African club hasn't vanquished; it is still present, albeit the frustration directed at various facets of African football that ensues. The interviewees expressed the issues of African football, such as the lack of financial prowess exhibited by the football governing bodies in African countries, the disorganization of such football associations (which subsequently leads to the failure of paid wages for African players, especially with their national team), the politics involved in African football, and even the style of football played, because some players don't play for the enjoyment of the game anymore. They deem it as a get-rich-quick scheme, thanks to television rights present in some African leagues, most notably the PSL of South Africa.

Many of the interviewees compared their African teams and the leagues in their respective countries to that of English teams and the English Premier League. The iteration of the postcolonial identity theory presented in this paper,

which states the domineering relationship of the colonizer (the West) enforcing beliefs and practices on the colonized (the East) or the “other” being “otherized”, comes to mind. Is European football viewed as the standard? To some people, yes certainly. However, although European football is viewed as the standard to some, it is not seen as an ideal that should become realized on the football field. In other words, what Africans aspire, based on the responses gathered from the interviews, is the structural element of the game European football does so well; creating a foundation of success and achievement.

One element that the European game has excelled in is the broadcasting of matches. Respondent #5 described the English Premier League as “well-packaged”: the commentary is enticing and the statistical information keeps him intrigued.

The development of the youth is also quite critical to the structure of African football. The European game excels in creating youth academies for young children to enroll in at a tender age, nurturing their talents early on until they can graduate to a professional team. Respondent #7 spoke of how, in Africa, there are talented young kids playing soccer on the streets. The problem is that they do not have the guidance. Respondent #4 mentioned there is no love for the youths that play soccer in Africa, resulting in their departure from home and migrating to Europe, where they receive exceptional training.

The mindset of the players is another element, and that is affected by the footballing organizations. The lack of financial support and a failure to pay wages serve as distractions to African teams, particularly when participating in an international tournament like the FIFA World Cup. Players disgruntled with their football association’s ineptitude demonstrate their frustration on the football field, playing without purpose in a nonchalant manner. But the players’ relationship with the football association can be mended prior to a ball being kicked. In leagues plastered with the luxury of television rights, players become too comfortable and focus on acquiring money, instead of actually playing football to the best of their ability.

The African men I interviewed don’t see European football as the standard so that African countries can mimic the league, receiving the fame and attention and notoriety as being one of the best leagues in the world. The men I interviewed see European football as a measuring stick: judging the proximity

African football is to the level of European football in order to defeat them. Many believe that an African nation can win the World Cup. They want to show the world that it is not only Europe that can secure that trophy. The interviewees know that African teams have the potential and the skill to attain such an incredible feat. The events behind the scenes, which European football has perfected, needs to be fixed in Africa.

African football is not dead, African football is not neglected, nor is it subpar. It has the potential to thrive at the same level of European football, with the possibility of usurping it.

Recommendations for further study

The research I conducted can certainly be expanded upon. This particular project could focus purely on African national teams and see if the head coaches believe support for African clubs teams is dwindling due to the level of support shown by Africans for European teams. If this study was conducted in the United States, I would like to analyze the growth of Major League Soccer and the influence European players have had on the level of fan support in the league. Is the infiltration of Didier Drogba, David Beckham, Thierry Henry, or Steven Gerrard correlated in any way to the increased fan support of Major League Soccer?

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Appendix A (Interview Questions)

Questionnaire for Interviews

- Are you a soccer fan? For how long? (maybe ask how old they are or where they are from, what country)
- Do you support an English team?
 - *Which one?
 - *How long have you supported that team?
 - *Who is your favorite footballer in the English league?
- How often do you watch your favorite English team play?
- How did you begin to support them?
- What are your reasons behind supporting that English team?

*Is it because there's an African playing on that team?

*Is it because a family member supports it too?

- Do you own merchandise of the English team?
 - *Why did you buy merchandise of that English team?

- Do you support an African team?
 - *Which one?
 - *For how long?
 - * *Why do you support them?
- Do you own merchandise of the African team?
 - *Why did you buy merchandise of that African team?
- What are your reasons behind supporting an African team?
- If an English team and an African team were playing at the same time, which one would you rather watch?
- Can an African Nation win the world cup? How soon? (I like this question a lot)



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Student Signature

Date

Academic Director has reviewed student reason(s) for withdrawing permission to use and agrees it does not violate the SIT Study Abroad Policy on Ethics.

Academic Director Signature

Date

Note: This form is to be included with the electronic version of the paper and in the file of any World Learning/SIT Study Abroad archive.

