



NORWEGIAN
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Impact Of Football In Nation-Building.

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"Some people believe football is a matter of life and death, I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that"

Bill Shankly, legendary Scottish manager of Liverpool FC 1959 – 1974

(Bar-On, 2014 p. xiii)

Abstract:

Football has consolidated its place as the world's most popular sports, but its development potential has been overlooked. "football has been recognized as an important factor in shaping individual and collective senses of self-meaning and belonging" community and identity have become a common theme in histories that chart the rise of the game through industrializing regions (Hughson, 2016 p. 7). FIFA, United Nations, and other world organizations have finetuned their programs to include the field of sports and development. This study examines how these innovations have and continue to happen in the context of nation-building in Argentina, Brazil, Cameroon, South Africa, and Cote d'Ivoire. Using a qualitative review of literature nation-building in this thesis is to analyzes the level of societal scrutiny, behavior, and effects of society on the character of a nation. Sources for this thesis include but not limited to academic articles, books on sports and football, web links, and news media. The theories of participant development and postmodernism are used to establish an understanding of how nation building, and football happen. The findings from the thesis present how football affect nation-building from different societal levels. Football participation can lead to better

societal inclusiveness within a nation by emphasizing the shared interests that make us all alike and change the way people view the nation and its people.

Key words: football or (soccer), Nation-building, postmodernism, participant development, Cote d'Ivoire or (Ivory Coast)

Abbreviation:

UN – United Nations

BBC - British Broadcasting Company

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

UNDP – UNDP - United Nations Development Program

HDI – Human Development Index

FIFA- Federation Internationale de Football Association

ISA – International Sports Alliance

AAFL - Argentine Association Football League

AFA - Asociacion del Futbol Argentina

UEFA - Union of European Football Associations...

FifPro - World Players Union

SAFA - Football Association of South Africa

SAIFA - South African Indian Football Association

SACFA - South African Coloured Football Association

SAFA - South African Football Association

Football is "like the secular religion of this era with all its myths, rules and revered heroes "

Ricardo dos Santos and Francisco Teixeira (Brazilian scholars) (Bar-On, 201 p. xiii)

Table of content

Abstract.....	2
Key words and abbreviations.....	3
1. Introduction.....	6
1.1 background of study.....	7
2. Research methodology.....	10
2.1 Aim and objectives of the research.....	10
2.2 Research questions.....	10
2.3 Problem formulation.....	10
2.4 General limitation.....	12
3. Theoretical framework.....	13
3.1 Postmodernism.....	13
3.2 Participant development.....	18
3.3 Time up please gentlemen.....	22
3.4 Geographic concept of nation building.....	25
4. Research methodology.....	26
4.1 Literature review.....	26
4.2 General induction approach.....	26
4.3 Selecting research materials.....	27
4.4 Trustworthiness and authenticity.....	27
4.5 Trustworthiness.....	28
4.6 Authenticity.....	28
5. Football history and literature review.....	29
5.1 History of the beautiful game.....	29
5.2 Bans on football games.....	30
5.3 Modern football: From Britain to the world.....	31
5.4 Argentinian football and nation building.....	33
5.5 Brazilian football and nation building.....	40
5.6 South Africa football and nation building.....	49

5.7 Cameroon football and nation building.....	52
5.8 Cote d'Ivoire football and nation building.....	56
6. Discussion.....	58
6.1 Football symbols and national impact.....	60
6.2 Social integration in football.....	64
6.3 Structure and social organization.....	67
6.4 Pele as a national symbol of Brazil.....	69
6.5 Football rebel and nation building.....	72
6.6 Nation building from football to president.....	73
6.7 Nation building (Didier Drogba 1 – 0 Cote d'Ivoire civil war)	75
6.8 Football problems affecting nation building.....	77
6.9 Suggestions.....	80
7. Conclusion.....	81
Bibliography.....	85

1. Introduction:

Former FIFA president Sepp Blatter once articulated that football (soccer) is as old as the world and people have always played football in one form or another from its very basic form of kicking the ball around to the game it is today. Football has over four billion followers, it is by far the most popular sport in the world. Often called The Beautiful Game, football has fans from the east as far as Japan to the west as far as America although it is most popular in Europe. In some European nations, football is just a game rather than a way of life but for nations in south America and Africa football is a way of life. The FIFA World Cup is the most iconic event of this sport which is not only the most watched team event but also one of the highest paying competitions in the whole sports world (Dunmore, 2011 p. 10). For its popularity this sport has the potential to play a role in the social and development of a nation. With recent innovations and the 2005 recognition by the United Nations of sports as a fundamental right for all, adding to FIFA promotion of football for all, only adds the important role football plays in social development. The solid benefit of football in development is that, even though the game is more European in its standard origin and popularity, it is enjoyed and adapted throughout the world reducing the presence of western bias in development efforts in many geographic and social situations (Bar-On, 2014 p. 29).

Indeed, there have been a rush by many developmental organizations to include sports in their development programs. The most important objective is to foster development and create fare opportunity for all. From global players like FIFA, UEFA to UNICEF, and other NGOs and individual, grassroots initiatives all using human potential and individual abilities to build bridges amongst communities, as Nelson Mandela puts it, football has the potential to unite people "In

Africa, soccer enjoys great popularity and has a particular place in the hearts of people" (In quotes: Mandela and football, 2016). This thesis is therefore on a mission to understand the impact of football in the process of nation building.

For many years academics have ignored research on the impact of football and development despite its worldwide popularity and if or when it is done the focus seems to be on the mega football clubs and limited mostly to result and success of these clubs. However, a lot of interest has been directed towards research on football and development in recent years and basically on using football as a tool for development but still not well articulated when it comes to the impact of football on society and nation building which is what this thesis seeks to understand from the perspective of nations like Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Cameroon, and Cote d'Ivoire.

Nowadays, many nations mostly from Africa are following in the footsteps of other nations in using the idea of football and development as an instrument of nation building. South Africa hosting the World Cup 2010 was on the backdrop of nation building. Little attraction has been given to Eric Hobsbawm's theory about the meaning of football in the context of nation building forming concept "The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (Hobsbawm, 1992 p.143). National identity formation can be displayed through football platforms.

1.1 Background of study:

Football like samba and carnival in Brazil has proved excellent terrain for the portrayal of a nation's identity. These iconic cultural and social practices have all reflected and contributed to the processes of many national definitions of race and is the foot prints of the famous Afro-

Brazilianess. But unlike samba and carnival in Brazil, football has pitted representation of Brazil against those of rival nations. This in fact is the main trait that makes football particularly useful in the formulation of a collective sense of what exactly it means to be a Brazilian (Kittleson, 2014).

The motivation that helps describe the closeness between football and politics in Argentina in the 1930s still remain the same today. Every passing day and game be it at club or the national football team creates moments that resonate the national sentiment. Football didn't create the Argentine identity alone but it did create most of the national image. National loyalty by enlarge was promoted through the politics, participation in clubs, especially national games like World Cup, cementing the idea of national identity mostly against rival countries (Arbena, 1988).

The emphasis should be placed on the influence of football for the further purpose of understanding it within societies. Looking at Ivory Coast football and the national team for example is considered by politicians and medias as a tool to assure the common future of the country divided by ethnic tensions. In the words of Andreas Mehler, football is the only thing that unites the citizens of Ivory Coast (Mehler, 2008).

The political stability of Cameroon beyond all odds of having arguably one of the worst forms of democracy where one person stays as president form 1982 till date, fare to say autocratic government of Paul Biya who always wins the presidential elections by landslide without provoking any strike or demonstrations from the often disappointed public is credited to the passion of football considering that Cameroon is such a heterogenous state with well over 230 ethnic groups but in Cameroon nothing else matters if the national football team is doing well and winning (Bloomfield, 2010).

From the dark days of apartheid to the freedom of Nelson Mandela and the ensuing democracy, sports and football has been the corner stone to reconciliation and nation building as South Africans of all races work towards establishing "Brand South Africa" the image of modern, technologically advanced, democratic, business-friendly, and exotic tourist's destination, who can forget the host of the first world cup finals 2010 in the African continent? (Alegi, 2010 p.129).

The concept of nation-building has many different backgrounds, i.e. ethnic, race, religion, culture, etc. and many developing nations have come a long way from colonial divisions to armed and political movement to gain independence that impact social cohesion which this study exploits (Hughson, 2010 p. 449). Political influence in Argentina, racial background in Brazil, heterogenous ethnicities in Cameroon, ethnic tensions in Cote d'Ivoire, and racial suppression in South Africa, lacking social cohesion is a prelude to weak state (Elgenius, 2011). Footballs nationalistic fever was seen during the late and post-colonial era when Kwame Nkrumah the first president of independent Ghana used football as a rallying point for nation building and pan-African unity, he encouraged the idea of rallying around the flag (Darby, 2013).

The importance of nation-building is significant, and the concept of nation-building is clear but the debate on the problems and solutions of nation-building is still raging up. Recent political events in countries like Ukraine threaten to redraw borders suggesting the importance of building a strong nation from within a cohesive society is being debated. Notwithstanding the many differences that exist between people of a nation, the social urge for togetherness is clear to keep a united country (Delanty and Kumar, 2006).

2. Research methodology

2.1 Aim and objectives of the research:

The purpose of this research study is to evaluate the impact of football in nation-building. This is intended to look at how football and social development has become an integral part in some societies and ways in which football has impacted on the social make-up of some nations and the nations people. The study in this thesis will be essentially theoretical by means of studying secondary sources relevant to the research area.

2.2 Research questions:

Unlike the normal hypothesis testing, this research will be challenged to answer through extended analysis the following set of research questions;

1. How does football impart the process of nation-building in developing nations?
2. Why is football socially and politically popular in some countries that it represents the identity of a nation?
3. Does football furnish the people with national pride that the government and other national institutions cannot?

2.3 Problem formulation:

There is no cultural practice more global than football, rites of birth, death, marriage are universal but infinite in their diversity. But football is played by the same rules the world over and no single religion can match its geographical reach (Goldblatt, 2006 p. xiv). For many years many development efforts have ignored the potential of football, yet the understanding of the value and excitement sports gives people all around the world is clear for all to see. Eduardo Galeano (1995 p. 209) sums it up in this statement:

An astonishing void: official history ignores soccer. Contemporary history texts fail to mention it, even in passing, in countries where soccer has been and continues to be a primordial symbol of collective identity. I play therefore I am: a style of play is a way of being that reveals the unique profile of each community and affirms its right to be different. Tell me how you play, and I'll tell you who you are. For many years soccer has been played in different styles, unique expressions of the personality of each people, and the preservation of that diversity seems to me more necessary today than ever before. These are days of obligatory uniformity, in soccer and everything else. Never has the world been so unequal in the opportunities it offers and so equalizing in the habits it imposes: in this end of century world, whoever does not die of hunger dies of boredom.

But recently, a lot of measures have been taken to involve sports and development in many social and education programs. The difference is in the concept as some studies see football as a vessel for development while other see it as a development tool of its own. However, this thesis is not here to decide which site to take but rather to evaluate the impact of football in nation-building.

The concept of nation-building in relation to social development is not constant because it switches on and off from time to time. Often, it can be seen through the efforts of community development, while another time it is absent from the development programs (Hylton, 2013). With the high levels of insecurity both national and international, terrorist attacks like the ones seen in Paris France, 09/11 in United States have generally trusted the discussion of nation-building back to the limelight. For many developing nations, the emphasis on nation-building can be seen through the lenses of western domination, ethnic conflicts, and the intermittence of social issues.

2.4 General limitation:

Scholarly research has invariably been framed too narrowly failing to "penetrate beyond sports history 'ghetto' is neither uncommon nor without justification" (Hughson, 2016 p. 13) the hopeful will point to the scattered popular histories and referee's textbooks but the remains a tendency for authors to limit their sphere, presenting in journals, history papers, sports history, and football studies at small sub disciplinary rather than bigger history conferences. Thus, while a larger number of scholarly articles on football history are being published every year, only a small percentage of these is often read by non-specialists with a more smaller number often subjected to the most meticulous peer review in the mostly influential history journals (Hughson, 2016 p. 14).

FIFA projects that world football population is already huge and keeps growing, so the endless size of football history limits this research. A global game with huge potential provides limitless data and cases that cannot all be covered by this study. Though there are some countries or regions of the world that football is not very common, it will be erroneous to undermine its potential work in development although this is not the focus of this research study. Therefore, the data for this research will mostly come from the places where football is very popular. Frequently, much research and data in football comes from Europe, South America, and Africa but this research will be limited specifically to countries like Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon but it will be hard to talk about football in these areas without some influence from neighboring countries. So therefore, some of the areas might be mentioned in the discussions but no detailed study in these areas except the five countries mentioned in the research. It is worth mentioning that the research takes into consideration other events happening simultaneously in these areas that might have the same effect or influence the nation

building process of the country because football might not be the only factor influencing nation building but the one that is being researched in this study.

3. Theoretical framework

The study will focus on two theories to help make sense and steer the research study, postmodernism, and participant development theories. Both theories are aimed to be used to reflect on how football can facilitate nation-building, questioning the ways through which football and nation-building happen. Understanding how it is still happening and why it happened. In combining the two theories the researcher is enabled with a broader understanding of the research from different standpoints when it comes to the concept of nation-building. Also, it will be unfair not to mention the problem of women involvement and impact in football as this will be highlighted theoretically in the thesis.

3.1 Postmodernism:

Postmodernism has the potential to include aspects or dimensions of the past previously excluded, express relationships of the past that are hard under traditional history model and share more broad understanding of the past appropriate to contemporary conditions (Philips, 2006). Modernization is a continuous process because of its transformative and systematic nature of building change in to the social fabrics of open systems (So, 1991). Fredric Jameson one of its most vociferous antagonists, calls postmodernism a periodizing concept "whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order" (Hutcheon, 1988 p.39). For the past several years, this theory has been a prominent influence in the western idea to the extent that footballs governing bodies like FIFA have embraced and made football for development a corner stone of their basic

principle. But this is not without criticism from some quarters as some people see this as just another western form of thinking, modernization they say is Europeanization or Americanization process (So, 1991). Nonetheless, Lyotard Jean-François (1984) explains that postmodernists prefers little narratives that offer limited qualified truth particular to specific situations rather than subscribing to metanarratives. The post modernization development where the modern societies are self-conscious in a way that differentiates them from traditional societies in that they use their human reasoning when faced with the problems of social and personal development, Jean Baudrillard relates the confusion between the real and the imitation as "no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, nor even parody. It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real" (Sean, 2012 p.2). Munslow contends that postmodernism does not "open the flood gates to historians who lie and cheat. Such arguments are merely the last refuge of historians who can't respond openly to epistemological scepticism" (Philips, 2006 p.7). This exposition of post modernism theory is more applicable to football than the formal exposition of modernism theory.

The problem with the formal interpretation of modernism theory has as its basic idea the significant focus on urban areas, especially infrastructure pertaining to football. Infrastructure associating with sports is commonly placed on playing grounds and stadiums, but development infrastructure are things like schools, hospitals, and parks. South Africa that hosted the 2010 FIFA world cup tournament has finally come to understood that it's not profitable to build brand new stadium in the middle of nowhere even if there has been a city in the place already. This is what journalist Eric Zambon of the Jornal de Brasília called "a huge white elephant" that will make no profit. Most of the white elephant stadiums have failed to improve the local economies

of the cities and have come short of FIFA argument that the benefit of hosting such events comes with a trickle-down effect that benefits locals. Christopher Gaffney, an academic geographer, and author of the Hunting White Elephants blog said most of the facilities were milking municipalities budgets meant for the public (Young, 2015). according to FIFA archives of 2013 Brazil spent well over fifteen billion US dollars in preparation to host the 2014 World Cup on building new stadiums and renovating the old ones, and on transport systems, airports, and road systems infrastructure all to host the approximately one-month football tournament. At that time the transport minister of Brazil suggested that the hosting of the 2014 World Cup will add about seventy billion US dollars to the economy. But one study claims that the brand Brazil was hurt by the tournament to the tune of about 75 billion dollars (Watts, 2014). the crux of the matter is hosting this huge sports events do not necessarily guarantee cash inflow to the economy especially the long run. Based on economic research, sports in general and professional sports in particular should be seen as a means of economic and social development not a channel to doing something else. When it comes to important issues of development there is often more fruitful, careful, and calculated management of infrastructure than when same is done in the interest of sports (Allison, 2005). Lyotard and Baudrillard bring out the limits between high and popular culture and fact and fiction in deviation of the key facets of modernization theory, reason for which the focus of this thesis is on postmodernism because of the applicability to football and nation building.

Former UN secretary general Kofi Annan once said; Sports has a unifying potential, we need to harness the ability of sports to be an agent of social change, to shape our societies and world for good. "Sport promotes social integration, overcoming prejudices of race, background and gender" sports if properly applied can challenge prejudices, heal divisions and champions

tolerance mindless of how backwards the society is. (Annan, 2010). However, societies have evolved through the backwardness description to a more traditional reflection when talking about the past. The unifying potential might still be a problem in some countries but there are several examples to demonstrate the power of sports in unifying not just people but nations. Who can forget the aboriginal athlete Cathy Freeman who won gold medal in Sydney Olympics and in doing so brought Australia together pushing it to face up to their past than any efforts ever made by countless government task forces or report. Then there is the film *Invictus* that portray the triumphant victory of South Africa in the 1995 Rugby Union World Cup with far reaching impact. President Nelson Mandela understood the impact of sports when he used it in the speech to unify the country, in the same vein sports boycott had been used to undermine the apartheid regime, sports can be used to heal deep scars (Annan, K. (2010). the transformative power of sports to build change was recently demonstrated at the South Korea winter games, the North and South Koreans marched together behind a unified Korean flag during the opening and closing ceremonies of the games. Using sports as a tool to unit and civilize people started a long time ago before and during the colonial days and ancient Greek culture as demonstrated through the early Olympic games.

Using football as a cultural development instrument has been going on for most of the past centuries but the challenge has been on how to use the traditional cultures in similar fashion in exporting sports without infringing with the rights of people making their own choices in the civilized matter. The old interpretation of modernism was often criticized for its western reflection (Potter, 2013) but social relationships can not only be built on traditional bonds but through more advanced compass like a nation at least from the stand point of this thesis.

Meaning that defining postmodernism this way provides the platform for folks to create relationships in the way that works for them best.

What makes the beautiful game of football is the systems, formations, and different styles of play not the inflexible nature that was the colonizers of nations. Galeano (1995 p. 29-30) expounds on how both the people of Argentina and Brazil often the poor and mostly socially excluded from elite sporting clubs took the game of football the way they saw it developed from it their own style (creole football) that suited them. This is where postmodernism theory comes to the picture when people are able to innovate or change things to fit their own situation. This gives room for people to be part of their own social development creating the things that they want and can rally behind in support of it demonstrating their cultural background and, in a way, holding to the values that allow them to identify with the nation. So, in principle they have a hand in their own social development which gives them a say in the affairs of the nation rather than a silent majority (Phillips, 2006). Well, by now it must be well documented that any nation that oppresses the majority cannot sustain the status quo for a long time (Hughson, 2016 p. 271, Goldblatt, 2014 p. 315).

The effects of the theory of modernism and postmodernism in these matter is observed through the society and the people therein echoing the past while making changes suitable for their existing plight. It has been argued that the earth belongs to the living and Thomas Jefferson the formal US president pointed to the problem of intergenerational relations.

The claim that future people have interest and rights that are to be respected is not new and does not come from modern environmentalist's discernment. It got early attention about two centuries ago from the likes of Burke, Kant, Paine, and Thomas Jefferson. In the main Thomas Jefferson claims that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living" and its intimation to protect

prosperity's interest and with ideas of intergenerational relations in Kant, Burke, and Paine. These ideas believed to have their origins from different political context likely the reactions after the French revolution does not impede them being recycled and reused in our time for different reasons (Ball, 2000). This whole discussion points to the fact that society changes, evolves, and grows therefore should be allowed to choose the way these processes affect them in their time. With current realities, reactions can be towards new research, ideas, cultural change, and technology that people continuously identify with nowadays. Rather than being pinned to an old traditional idea from generations past, society is modernizing and adapting itself to new and exciting things that unite them, and football is one of them.

3.2 participant development

In the past, modernization theories were mainly about economic wellbeing but now there are different ways of measuring human development using the capabilities approach credited to Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum which come under the postmodernism development. In short, "Protagonists contend that postmodernism is constructed in a way that represents it as popular, chic, and even heroic; whereas modernism is portrayed as outdated, contaminated, and even tyrannical" (Philips, 2006 p.6). The basic understanding here is that the people are part of their own social development rather than the formal theories that demonstrate chain of command for what people should or should not do (So, 1990).

Sen, and Nussbaum advocate the Aristotelian moral inquiry and social democracy which focused attention on what human beings can do, instead of on what they have. Moving the discussion away from utility and towards "capabilities" allowed Sen and Nussbaum to distinguish means (like money) from ends (like well-being or freedom) (Crocker 1995 p.584).

The provision of basic needs, redistribution and self-reliance form the characteristics of alternative participatory development. Considering the long-standing hegemony and top-down, Western rational of planning and development, improving the involvement of people in their own development process is highly imperative (Potter, 2013). This new phenomenon has opened the door for the creation of many sports and development programs that give equal opportunities to many people. Putting the above explanation into the perspective of football and nation-building it can be said with some level of confidence that it makes sense to have society participate in their own development which in effect develops their nation (Potter, 2013).

The natural nature of sports necessitates participation which influences development through its expansion and more global organizations are joining the race to include sports and development in their programs taking advantage of the benefits of postmodernism. But as the number of non-governmental organizations (NGO) that help in this effort of promoting these new idea of sports development increases little is being done in terms of research aimed at determining their role or impact created. Considering that human development is different from economic development which is easy to measure, measuring the impact of these kind of development is surely going to take some time to get it exactly as was seen in the criticism received by the United Nation Development program (UNDP) after the publication of the Human Development index (HDI) in 1990 with most important aspects of life being: longevity, knowledge, and the level of living (UNDP, 1998). "While the human development approach constitutes a major contribution to development thinking, the proposed measurement of success in achieving human development is still in need of improvement" (UNDP, 1998). Situating the exact measurement of sports development into the definition of academic knowledge will be quite a challenge.

The most significant issues with participant development is measuring the outcome of the approach to show that it is viable. The main methodological problem with measuring any outcome of sports programs even in convenient situations are easily evident. Calculation of economic programs of modernization is often backed by a set of economic growth variables. But measuring or creating a standard to measure sports development acceptable to most people pose a more serious problem within the ranks of research and academic studies (Levermore and Beacom, 2009). For this reason, it is hard within the academic cycles for participant development to be accepted as a very viable theory. Nonetheless, there are a lot of programs for participant development today in use as theoretical set ups to enable results in participant development. For example, Peter Devereux (2008) points to the reciprocal benefits of humanitarian motivation under local conditions by NGO volunteers in tackling causes rather than symptoms for long term development.

The International Sports Alliance (ISA) with its affiliated partners around the world are good example illustrating that participant development has a greater role to play in social development with significantly measured outcomes. With sports project in many developing countries, they are using modern tools of peace and sports to dominate the borderlands of Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan with the one purpose of improving civil society through up to date, well designed sports programs that provide access to resources, and build and develop life skills instead of the traditional religious and social organization of their daily life. To their credit, the project notwithstanding its theoretical bearing has a diverse and long-lasting approach focused on the long-term theory of change which is not often seen in other sports development programs. This gives them a bed rock under which positive results are attained thanks to the long-term development goals of making young people agents of change mindless of their marginalized

backgrounds in line with the FIFA football for development and peace, and International Day of Sports for Development and Peace launched in 2013 by the United Nation General Assembly (ISA (2018), FIFA, (2015). This kind of long term programs does demonstrate the viability and importance of participant development in football and sports in general.

It's important to note that ISA result-oriented project is achieved through local people taking part and coordinating their own development especially from developing nations through a partnership approach. ISAs income comes from direct fundraising, joint campaigns, government grant, and investments and they depend mainly on NGOs and grassroots organizations to play the crucial role in empowering people through sports because the grassroots organizations are the ones closest to the local communities and know best approaches and the connections to the people (ISA, 2018). It is therefore clear that both counts of participant development are mentioned in ISA program, to helps the people to develop themselves and their communities through sports by creating a link of communication between the locals to facilitate and determine social impact (Allison, 2004).

The impact of the long-term vision of sports development theory based on learning enables people and local communities to develop and continue developing bringing with them other people in the process who become role models within the communities feeding the people with the positive energy and encouragement that they too can become role models in whatever they invest their efforts in order to improve their lives, and their communities while edging poverty in the process(McCauley, et al., 2010).

The ISA project has shown that sports for development can produce very positive results and be successful if the people are included in their own development creating possibilities. ISA have established a defined theoretical framework on how to attain good results to this effect.

Using a well establish example with immense success like ISA gives some prospective in understanding the intricacies of what have been done before and how that can help going forward. It is very important to get the understanding of the underlying concept and its application to the basic theories being used in the thesis.

3.3 Time up please gentlemen

"The future of football is feminine"

Declared Joseph Blatter, FIFA Secretary General (FIFA.com, 2011)

Social history is the history of society requiring a commitment to understand all facets of human existence in terms of their social determination, according to Eric Hobsbawm. One of the promises of postmodernism is that it allows fuller appreciation of those historically banished to the margins, such as women (Philips, 2006). Harper's Bazaar 1869 "a group of fashionably dressed young women were shown kicking a football about with great verve and holding off their opponents in pursuit of the ball" (Ungar, 2015). Subtitled, "The Girls of the Period-playing Ball" (Hughson, 2016 p.40). Football according to some people's view is a man's world. In many parts of the world, women participation in football is not just discourage but forbidden. In South America football is what makes a man because of the over the top popularity. But masculinity from a social understanding of football in the US is more of women as they are the face of the beautiful game because football has not been popular in US until recent years thanks to the women national team excellent showing in many global football tournaments reasons for which the US women's national team have been credited by FIFA for bringing the game to an outstanding level (Hughson, 2016 p.47).

Women's participation in football-related pastime dates back to folk and courtly forms across a wide variety of cultures (Hughson, 2016 p.48). Considering that the women's football world cup was founded in 1990, the increase in women participation in the sports has seen a sharp jump from the past couple of years and this increase in participation has led to the creation of more professional football teams for women from national levels to club football. Women football has since been included in Olympic games from 1996 and FIFA has now created two youth tournaments U-20 and U-17 WWC. But it should be noted that for many women gender remains a serious problem participating in football in many parts of the world for different reasons ranging from regional, cultural, economic, racial reasons, etc. (Hughson, 2016 p. 300).

Nowadays, Women are far more visible in sports and studies show that sports can be a real catalyst to empower women and challenge social norms and long seated stereotypes contributing to universal values of equality and non-discrimination. It's been recognized in many countries that sports can be a powerful tool to amplify women's voices and break down gender barriers by having young women in places typical for men hence creating new thinking about women more than just homestay mothers but decision makers in society (Lakshmi, 2016).

Having a role model to follow in different works of life could be challenging but could always start with a single person. Growing up as a girl and not having the opportunity to see women participating in sport could make it even hard for a girl to imagine playing sport herself. Young women need role models not just to help them bring out their potential in football and life but also to guide them achieve success in what ever activity they invest themselves in. Usually, women are not exposed to different role models thereby reducing the confidence in their own potential (BBC, 2015).

"You`ve got to want to change yourself and change your lifestyle, and there are people around you that will help you"

Fara Williams England midfielder (received the FA International Player of the Year award in both 2007 and 2009 and has had over 150 caps for her country).

Fortunately, with an estimated 30 million female players globally, the age of the internet and social media is giving young girls the tools and capabilities of connecting to women footballers and other works of life as their role models (Hughson, 2016 p. 48). Because young girls see leadership, confidence, and accomplishment in other women football players, it gives them a good platform to envisage themselves with those same qualities. Steph Houghton has become one of the most recognizable faces in British women's sport following her success with the Team GB and England football teams and a good role model for many women (bbc.com, 2018). also, programs aimed at empowering girls will benefit many through giving positive and powerful role models to women like WST (Women's Sport Trust). founded in 2012, Women's Sport Trust raises the visibility and increases the impact of women's sport through the promotion of diverse athlete role models, increasing media coverage and improving the funding landscape. (WST, 2012)

Every woman should be able to participate in football in any capacity to pressure society rethink their role. On 20 June 2016, Fatma Samoura began her first day in office as the first-ever female Secretary General of world football's governing body. Looking at the current trend women are increasingly the more visible postmodern modernizers and making them a complete and active part of society will only help to create a more dynamic and unified society which is

what humanity deserves. "We must be human – full stop, diversity is the only way forward" says Fatma Samoura (Samoura, 2017).

3.4 Geographic concept of nation-building

The focus of this thesis is football and nation-building from different national geographic points of studies. Nation-building is not limited to size or form of the map of a country or the name of the nation but rather the study seeks to look at the geographic post-colonial importance of nation building especially considering how broad the term nation-building can be defined. Football is an important but underestimated global cultural phenomenon, if we examine the world through football then we encompass lessons about politics, ethics, religion, marketing and business, leadership, childhood and dreams, immortality and the meaning of life, and fine arts which make the culture of geography (Bar-On, 2014 p. 231).

The term nation-building is broad and ambiguous at best depending on the applied context from different scholars in different settings. But for the sake of this thesis nation building will be limited to the idea of an inclusive coalition that promotes collective purpose beyond one's family, village, clan, or profession thus a shared national identity (Wimmer, 2017). The colonial legacy of divide-and-rule strategy has left many developing nations of Africa and South America weak and in need of building a national identity (Wimmer, 2017), they are the focal point of this thesis. National identity according to Anderson Benedict (2006) stands for nation-state as "imagine communities" because even in small population states all members of the state can never meet, know and even hear of most fellow members of the state, his perspective is close to that of Jurgen Habermas who thinks that modern nationalism involves communities of citizens in the territorially defined nation-state who share the collective experience, not face to face contact or common subordination to a royal person, but of reading books, pamphlets,

newspapers, map, and other modern texts together (Habermas, 1989). These means national identity does not forcibly rely on people sharing the same ethnic group or common ancestry which fits exactly with the situation of most developing countries fashioned as a result of colonialism.

4. Research methodology

4.1 Literature review

This research study is based on systematic qualitative document analysis with the sole reason of analyzing previous research materials on this subject to get a clear understanding of what has been done and using an inductive reasoning to approach some of the important theories and concepts bearing in mind the fact that different research methods and strategies have been adopted in similar research in the past. Then the research will seek to outline the different points of controversies and contradictions while trying to find if there are any unanswered questions in this field of study (Bryman, 2012 p.112)

4.2 General inductive approach

To give substance and credibility to the research it is vital to explain and show how the research is being conducted. The inductive approach is for

1. Accumulating raw textual data into short summary format,
2. Establishing some clear links between research objective and evaluation and summarizing the findings from the raw textual data.
3. Creating the framework of processes and experiences as the bases of the structure evident in the raw textual data.

In general, the inductive approach can easily be used for a systematic set of analyzing procedures for qualitative data which can produce reliable and solid findings. Although this approach may not be as strong as other analytic approaches for developing theory and model, it does give a more simple, effortless approach to findings in the context of steady evaluation questions (Bryman, 2012 p.16).

4.3 Selecting research materials

Materials for this research will be selected from a wide range of resources that will aid in the understanding of this research topic in a clear and straightforward manner. Resources for the study range from educational, cultural, entertainment, and academic books including news stories, media, internet sources and academic articles that will help in both the cultural and productive understanding of the study. The variation of resources is aimed at giving a broader insight of football and provide an extensive thesis. Most of the books in this thesis especially the academic and entertainment books have been chosen because of their subject and author relevance. The educational articles are aimed to provide sound theory with limited bias on the subject. The materials from news media are here to tell the part of recent events and stories that have not yet made it into the academic records and will help give the other side of the cultural representation of the sports as a whole and football in particular especially with respect from where these are written from.

4.4 Trustworthiness and authenticity

When conducting a qualitative research, one of the many issues faced by researchers is how to address the issue of measurement and relevance. To demonstrate the trustworthiness of a study is often more complicated in qualitative research than in quantitative research. In

establishing the link of trust worthiness, Guba, and Lincoln (1994) propose ways of establishing and maintaining quality through trustworthiness and authenticity (Bryman, 2012).

4.5 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is made up of four criteria, each of which has an equivalent criterion in quantitative research:

1. credibility, which parallels internal validity;
2. transferability, which parallels external validity;
3. dependability, which parallels reliability;
4. confirmability, which parallels objectivity (Bryman, 2012 p. 390)

4.6 Authenticity

These criteria raise a wider set of issues concerning the wider political impact of research. These are the criteria:

- Fairness: Does the research fairly represent different viewpoints among members of the social setting?
- Ontological authenticity: Does the research help members to arrive at a better understanding of their social milieu?
- Educative authenticity: Does the research help members to appreciate better the perspectives of other members of their social setting?
- Catalytic authenticity: Has the research acted as an impetus to members to engage in action to change their circumstances?

- Tactical authenticity: Has the research empowered members to take the steps necessary for engaging in action? (Bryman, 2012 p. 390)

5. Football history and literature review

5.1 History of the beautiful game

The history of football dates to early civilization. David Goldblatt (2006 p.11) posits that football originated from ancient china where it was called Caju meaning kick ball to the dawn of modern football in Britain. Using a leather ball filled with feathers or fur, Caju was played by kicking the ball around a marked pitch with bamboo goals on opposite sides as early as 3rd millennium BCE (Murray, 1996). The complexity to score a goal means that the player needed to master some skills to enable the ball to pass through the small hole making it a very difficult task (Cardenas, 2015 p. 22). Kemari was the name used to describe football in Japan dating back to the twelve century with the main objective trying to keep the ball in the air as long as possible and a more stylize game than Caju and was good hobby for medieval Japanese ruling elite (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 45). The romans also played their own version of the game and introduced it to the conquered territories as they expanded the roman empire. This version was played by catching throwing and dodging the ball in the indoors it was call Sphaerista for Expulsum Ludere and the outdoor in field or Palaestras (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 13).

But England remains the birthplace of football and the football association of England (FA) the oldest football association. The early history of football is not down to the comments by William Shakespeare about the ruling class views on the ancestral game in his two plays (Comedy of Errors and King Lear) alluding of king Dromio of Ephesus

being kicked like a football by an insane master and in King Lear the King and Kent gang up on Oswald cursing him with phrases including final insult "you base foot-ball player" (Witzig, 2006) but the early history of football goes as far back as Sheffield in the 1850s to the final quarters of the nineteenth century. Thus, the early history of the beautiful game comes from the British Isles and codified in the later parts of the nineteenth centuries when most of the rules were made, competitions started, and the beautiful game was being exported from England through immigrants and scholars (Harvey, 2005).

This movement of football was making inroads in South America and Europe, and the Englishman Charles Miller brought football to Brazil in 1894 and the game of football spread like wild fire to many parts of South America ensuring the formation of the first clubs in Europe and South America in the 20th century. The influence of football was mainly, from British immigrants like Issac Newell as noticed in some club team names in Brazil (SC Corinthians) and Argentina (Newell's Old Boys). These teams were formed to bring the English together and later immigrants from other countries formed their own clubs. And the phenomenon of club football was born as increasingly people were getting involved to simply play football and get away from other societal challenges (Witzig, 2006).

5.2 Bans on football games

In the early days, despite its worldwide acceptance and practices the game of football encountered its share of opposition and resistance. Except for the great Mesoamerican cultures, the game brought with it disbelief and unrest among the ruling elites resulting in aggression and occasions of violent practices, a peculiar offense of "ungentlemanly conduct" (Murray, 1996). Because of lack of standard rules and poor

organization the game disobeyed established order and generated hatred among players, spectators and authorities which led Edward the III in 1349 to call it senseless and stupid prompting Kings Henry IV and Henry VI signing laws prohibiting the practice of the game during the first half of the 15th century (Cardenas, 2015 p. 27). According to Dunning (1994), it is believed that more than thirty orders prohibiting football were signed between 1330 and 1660 by the British authorities and the argument was that football pose a threat to public order and causes undesirable effects on military readiness, therefore a more noble and beneficial activity will be military training (Cardenas, 2015 p. 27).

Though the ban succeeded to suppress the practice of football in urban areas minority groups still played the game, but the vacuum created by the ban of football was then fill by other games like tennis and cricket by the eighteen centuries. And boxing and horse racing became the favorite sports and gambling pastime for many people making football the uncivilized game (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 22). But the passion in which the early players participated in the game brought it back from the brink of extinction. England the country that earlier rebuked the game is where the history of football really began and modern football as we have come to know it today was to be born (Cardenas, 2015 p. 28).

5.3 Modern football: From Britain to the world

From the early rough and violent form to the near homogeneous state of football now this game has seen great transformation and this global sport of our time started in England in the nineteen century at a time characterized by many political and cultural disorder in Europe and the US (Murray, 1996). With the industrial revolution in the

eighteen century, England was experiencing multiple economic and political and urban growth as never seen before, the rise of the working class, superior education of British young elite being developed and the inclusion of sports as a fundamental component of the country's educational system and it is in this educational institutions that some of footballs greatest transformation took place (Cardenas, 2015 p. 28).

On the back of this transformation, new suitable forms of the game to meet social condition were taking place in public schools, viz writing the rules of football, pitch size, participant numbers, match duration and nature of physical force in play. Through these rules, a distinct way of playing was born that did not permit handling of the ball (Dunning, 1994). Sheffield FC the first official football club was formed in 1854 but the "Cambridge Rules" provided the bases for football rules for which the Football Association (FA) later ratified (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 28).

Important Developments in football rules

1863	The Cambridge Rules are rewritten to provide the game's first uniform regulations
1866	The offside law is changed to allow players to be onside provided there are three players between the ball and the goal
1882	The associations in Great Britain unify their rules and form the International Football Association Board (IFAB) to control the laws of the game.
1891	Introduction of the penalty-kick
1913	FIFA becomes a member of the IFAB
1925	Amendments of the offside rule from three to two players

1958	Substitutes are permitted for the first time, albeit only for an injured goalkeeper and one other injured player
1970	The system of red and yellow cards is introduced for the 1970 World Cup finals
1990	The offside law is changed in favor of the attacker, who is now onside if level with the penultimate defender
1992	Goalkeepers are forbidden from handling back-passes
1994	The technical area is introduced into laws of the game, with the Fourth Official following the next year
1992	Goalkeepers are banned from handling deliberate back-passes
1998	Fierce tackle from behind became a red-card offence

(source: Cardenas, 2015 p. 32).

The popularity of football spread to every corner of British society proving to break down barriers of social and class problem along with the professionalization of the sports came an unstoppable wave of football popularity in England and abroad (Murray, 1996). The saying was that Britain had quickly and easily fallen in love with the game and this could be seen in the growing numbers and diversity of football followers, teams and players joining the FA operation. The game of football was spreading like wild fire from England south to the northern stronghold rugby territories beyond national frontiers and catapulted to the south America and the rest of the world (Cardenas, 2015 p. 33).

5.4 Argentinian football and nation building

For a country of only 25 million, Argentina is an almost incomparably rich history. They have won two world cups and lost in three finals; won fourteen Copa America (six more than Brazil). Their clubs have lifted Copa Libertadores twenty-four times (seven more than Brazil) ...But it's not just about success or passion. No country so intellectualizes its soccer, so loves its theories and its myths. Soccer in Argentina is overly cultural, overly political. Presidents know its power and seek to harness it; the unscrupulous mobilize hooligan groups, the barras bravas, in their support. The philosophers, meanwhile, dismiss titles, whole generations of success, because they were won in the "wrong way". So, while this is primarily a history of soccer, so entwined are the political and socioeconomic strands, so inextricably is soccer bound up with all public life, that this also a book about Argentina (Wilson, 2016 "Prologue").

Football in Argentina started earlier than many nations in south America especially Brazil. Writer Eduardo Galeano (1995 p. 125) described the early Argentinian football as a crazy man's game and the pure manifestation of national pride. According to Wilson (2016) given the relative interest in the sport suggest that the first recorded game involving sixteen members of the city business community from Britain except William Boschetti met to play the first organized game of football in Argentina in June 20, 1867. Laws of the game as drawn by the football association (FA) in England had arrived Buenos Aires in December 1863 and published by the standard newspaper in early 1867. By 1880 the laws served a population that had increased to forty thousand being the largest British and Irish population in the country. Not being part of the British empire, Argentina felt a significant influence from Britain that lead headlines in the Times declaring it to be in 1806. The influence of Britain was felt in the banking system, they

developed the railways exporting wool, hide and meat making it Argentina's largest trading partner at the time (Wilson, 2016).

Like in other countries, the British in Argentina had created miniature homes, hospitals, churches and setting up schools and most importantly sporting clubs. At first the clubs were mainly concentrating on sports like cricket, tennis, horse race and polo. By the early 1840 through British sailors playing football in the docks as their main past time was reported as running around after the ball (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 130). Going forward the game of football needed organization and that came from the son of the owner of Yorkshire textile factory and founder of British commercial center Thomas Hogg. After overseeing many reforms in other sporting sectors, it was his work on football that would gain the most traction. On May 6 Hogg placed a notice "Foot ball" preliminary meeting with the first game scheduled on 25 May (Wilson, 2016).

The beginning was hard due to the shortage of players but once Los Colorados won the first game 4-0, the second game was soon arranged, and Los Colorados won 3-0 from here on football had found its tentative roots in Argentina and within three years Spanish newspapers were reporting the impact of football is having because of its simplicity of requiring little but a ball. Soon the greatest evangelist of football in Argentina was discovered in the shape of Alexander Watson Hutton. After some turbulent life problems viz, the death of his two brothers he returned to Argentina with a vision of football as being more than just a game: it was something that could improve physical fitness and prolong life (Wilson, 2016). Hutton commitment to his vision saw him set up a British high school in 1884 with football central to the curriculum. The school was opened to cater for both students of expat families as well as Argentina elite

enabling the game of football to rapidly spread among the local community (Wilson, 2016). The ensuing years organized football took a huge steps forwards with Alec Lamont a Scottish teacher bringing football representatives from five teams, Old Caledonians, Buenos Aires and Rosario Railways, Buenos Aires football club form the Argentinian Association Football League (AAFL).

The league collapse one year after because it lacked the basic resources and firm leadership sending Argentinian football into decline and most of the old clubs soon disappeared, but football stayed in the school set up from where many important football teams came from (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 252). Watson Hutton stepped in as the savior and February 21, 1893 he relaunched Argentina football championship which came to be contested every year and the association in charge of running the championship became the oldest football federation in South America and the eight oldest football association in the world (Wilson, 2016). Hutton stayed on as president of the AAFL till 1896, supervising the English high school and refereeing from time to time. Five teams contested the 1893 championship won by team Lomas set up by old boys of Bedford School, and of all thirteen teams just one of them had a name that was not associated with Britain or Irish and the team was F. Nobili. Other leagues followed suit and the AAFL stayed active but was later translated to mean Asociacion del Futbol Argintina (AFA) in Spanish by 1934 (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 47, 101). The AAFL went through several changes that makes football in Argentina a little different when compared to the likes of Brazil with formation of local football clubs between 1880 and 1910 to cater for local support as demanded by the population. Just when football was taking roots in Argentina some regulations were being enact banning the use of school institution names for

advertisement. Politicians trying to seize the occasion and use football for personal ends like president Jose Figueroa, the problems with Argentinian football were not going away (Wilson, 2016).

Argentinian football experience something like a second birth after renaming the AAFL the Argentinian football Association (AFA) in 1903 and its affiliation with the Football Association in London it was decided that all official meetings be held in Spanish a real sign of creolization of the game. The name was again changed in 1912 after the AAF joined Federation International de football (FIFA). The local game grew in strength as players with British heritage began to decrease and to celebrate Argentina's first autonomous government the AFA set up four team championships. After a series of accusations for fielding ineligible players the final was reported to be the first most important association soccer match played in this country of pride watched by more than ten thousand people, Argentina won 4-1 with Watson Hutton on the score sheet (Wilson, 201 p. 13). Hutton retired and died in Buenos Aires in 1936 but his role is remembered till date because he was the undoubted founding father of Argentinian football (Wilson, 2016).

The Argentinian league soon became a victim of its own success with tours and foreign clubs visiting in what proved to be lucrative business to a few. Money became an increasing motivation creating a disadvantage to the clubs that could not develop their grounds, hence pull less crowds and less revenues. The financial grievance led to widespread disgruntlement and in 1912 Richard Aldao of International Olympic Committee and president of Gimnasia y Esgrima form a rival football governing body the Federacion Argentina de Football (FAF). The whole thing was a mess, AAF

championship was hit with withdrawals and eight teams were left among them Independiente that won 5-0 against a weakened Argentino (Wilson, 2016).

In the middle of the chaos, Swinton Town arrive for a tour giving the locals some football to cheer for while AAF and FAF squabbled. Swinton Town manager Sam Allen was taken aback by the enthusiasm of football everywhere, he said "one sees the hold it has taken on the people. Boys in the streets, on the seashore, down alleys, soldiers on the barracks ground – all have the fever" (Wilson, 2016 "the second birth"). This was just adding fuel to the already burning flames, disputes about money, player anger, and the sense of disguised professionalism was sweeping in to the game. Anxious for any game of football the final match between Uruguay and Argentina with Uruguay needing just a draw pushed tickets to be over sold, the stands were overwhelmed and crushes developing causing the game to be abandoned prompting angry reaction from the crowd, stands were set alight and the fire lasting for about four hours. The match was rescheduled for the following day in Avellaneda and ended in a draw much to the delight of glorious Uruguay (Wilson, 2016).

At the time Argentinian football was going through another rupture stemming from dissatisfaction on the governance, regulation, and implementation of the game. The question of player eligibility was at the forefront, decisions on fielding ineligible players, playing suspended players, deducting, and restoring points, were causing a lot of commotion leading the AAF to call a special assembly which was undermined by many clubs to portray the AAF as a failing association. The next year proved to be more chaotic with six of nineteen sides suspended and the league abandoned in July. Some teams break away to join Velez forming the Association Amateurs de Football (AAmF).

The two associations AAmF and AAF open championship the following year, River Plate won the AAmF and Boca retained the AAF championship. Boca, San Lorenzo, Independiente and Racing began to assert themselves as Argentina's great teams.

The Geographic location of Argentina's main clubs around Buenos Aires befitted the further development of Argentinian football because it allowed for local city leagues. And Buenos Aires being so close to Montevideo the capital of Uruguay enabled timely international games to be organized and played. By early 1990s there were over three hundred clubs in Buenos Aires playing officially and unofficially in leagues out of the main league AFA (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 133). Creole football a term in used when lower classes play football was started and being played by the local residents in their own style. It soon developed into something of a mixture of Argentinian and Brazilian culture of play where the ball was strummed as if it was a guitar and a source of music. One could say Argentina had the Tango like the Brazilians had the Samba and Capoeira as demonstrated by the style of the famous Argentine idol Diego Maradona (Galeano, 1995 p. 203).

Argentina hosted the world cup in 1978 during a military dictatorship government in the backdrop of political uncertainty and shorn of the illuminating genius of the world's finest footballer in Johan Cruyff, the 11th staging of the World Cup was perhaps the most controversial of them all (Stevensen, 2010). the fairytale victory of Argentina remains contentious due to suggestions the military dictatorship aided the teams triumph. The four goals scorer Leopoldo Luque said many years later "With what I know now, I can't say I'm proud of my victory. But I didn't realize; most of us didn't. We just played football." It is perhaps the only World Cup win that causes unease among the victors.

"There is no doubt that we were used politically," added Ricky Villa (Stevensen, 2010). Argentina needed a 4-0 win over Peru to reach the final and they romped to a 6-0 victory that some still believe was fixed. In fact, that Peru goalkeeper Ramon 'El Loco' Quiroga was born in Argentina did nothing to dispel rumors of a pre-arranged match. Argentina won the World Cup, but their campaign was clouded in controversy from start to finish. In hindsight, we should never have played that World Cup," admitted Luque. "I strongly believe that" (Stevensen, 2010). Luque says it is impossible to tell what really happened. "I don't know, honestly," he said two years ago. "But Videla did many bad things, much worse than bribing, ... we did play a tremendous game against Peru." General Jorge Rafael Videla and his junta the tournament breath a wave of nationalist pride in a nation that was experiencing torments from within, as the World Cup shifted the focus away from the atrocities (Stevensen, 2010).

In time the carasucias – as the nickname was abbreviated – came to stand for the great lost past of the Argentinian game, a golden age in which skill and check and fun held sway, before the age of responsibility and negativity. The image of the past may have been romanticized, but the sense of loss when it was gone was real enough, and in that nostalgia for an illusory past when the world was still being made and idealism had not been subjugated by cynicism is written the whole psychodrama of Argentinian soccer, perhaps of Argentina itself (Wilson, 2016 "Utopias").

5.5 Brazilian football and nation building

"I represent Brazil all over the world. Wherever I go I have to do my best, to not disappoint the Brazilian people. And that I've done".

Brazil, albeit the huge size and continues surge in economic, social, and political growth as an independent nation for over two centuries has still not really got a sound impact on the global stage. But, this statement might not be true in the world of football where the Brazilian national team, Brazilian players, and Brazilian style of football has continued to dominate world football and capture the imagination of fans all over the world for decades uncouncted. Therefore, football is the narrow escape when it comes to analyzing what is means to be a Brazilian (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 361). After the death of the old republic between 1880 – 1910 and the increase in internal migration brazil was a nation trying to build its image through European theories of race and well-born desired traits viz eugenics leading to a system of exclusion and disconnect of the mostly poor and formal slave’s citizens and mostly people from the Mediterranean regions of Europe less European ancestry resulting in a very racially segmented class structure. Football at the time was not just brazils favorite sports but also spiral into a sense of national identity building with hugely federalist policy of control in a fragmented and unequal society yet with a lot of cultural resources, art, hope and violence in a simply poor and marginalized population (Kittleson, 2014).

The port of Santos in São Paulo 1894 saw the return of Charles Miller a Brazilian son of Scottish engineer father and Brazilian mother coming from England where he has been studying proficiency in Association Football with a pair of boots, a football, and a rule book (Kittleson, 2014). About one decade later football had gone crazy throughout brazil with the passion of football spreading contagiously due to the arrival of other

Brazilians from Europe after Charles Miller spreading to Rio de Janeiro and other parts of Brazil (Goldblatt, 2014 p.139 - 142). The segregation by race did not stop the lower middle classes from playing football and adapting it to their own style and way of life. They formed their own clubs and played outside cities in streets or parks, having the desire to participate means getting anything round to kick around give many of them something to shout about. By the period around 1914 the racial barriers were beginning to weaken, and the Brazilian national football team played its first match with a player in the team who was to become very famous called Arthur Friedenreich (El Tigre). The Afro-Brazilian El Tigre, a mulatto with an ambivalent attitude towards his race was son to black woman and a German immigrant. The drillings of El Tigre earned plaudits in newspapers in France after Brazil defeated France and Friedenreich always display skills that were noted during the 1938 world cup, he played football how common people played (Kittleson, 2014). El Tigre showed that the racial prejudice in Brazil are assailable demonstrating that "talent and social class could trump, on occasion, skin tone". There are always pockets of segregation in the game of football no matter how good and talented a player but no matter access to football facilities no body can ever stop people from just playing the game of football and this lies the true power of football (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 29).

Despite the continues success of Afro-Brazilians and black football players in Brazil, the broader problem that hindered the performance of the Brazilian national team during the 1920s and 1930s was the problem of racism in its most blatant form. Several incidents during the early 1920s showed that even Brazilian authorities harbored serious reservations about including Afro- Brazilians players in any team representing the nation

(Kittleson, 2014). A case in point happened when the city of Rio was preparing to welcome King Alberto of Belgium in an official visit in 1920, government officials wanted to present what they called the most modern and civilized Brazilian image possible and this meant not only clearing prostitutes and indecent poor people from areas that the king will be visiting, but also to exclude black and Afro-Brazilians from the national team that will play an exhibition of Brazilian style football for the sporting king. However, such a decision soon caught the attention of many and became a heated topic in the Carioca press (Kittleson, 2014). As if this was not enough, during a stop in Buenos Aires in 1920 from Sul Americano the Brazilian team agreed to a friendly match with the host who had just beaten them in a final in Chile. To the surprise and embarrassment of the squad and mostly seleção officials the local press and public launched a series of racist criticism of the Brazilian team and players (Kittleson, 2014).

Another political antagonism boiled over during the 1920s the Sao Paulo revolt stemming from highly charged rivalry between Rio and Sao Paulo hurting Brazil chances at the 1930 and 1934 football world cup. Arthur Friedenreich took active part as a rebel army sergeant with many sportsmen under his command in the Paulista army. Often, football players were pawns in official struggles to dominate seleção. The infighting kept a lot of Brazilian talent off the national team restricting Paulistas from football call-ups and Brazil was knocked out in the first stage and this was followed by elimination in the hands of Spain in 1934 (Kittleson, 2014).

Football did not naturally drizzle down from Brazilian elite to the common mostly poor people it should be said rather it was a way that men and women used it as a means of asserting their class and identities, race, ethnicity, and neighborhood. Mário Filho in

1940s wrote that players went "where his people were" and if his people had no clubs of their own they are going to form their own. Through this, clubs sprang up in working-class neighborhood mostly around the upper-class city centers. The dominant impression was that Brazil was continually becoming "one vast soccer field" and many of these new football teams were self-conscious in naming their teams portraying their class orientation e.g. Operarios (workers) FC of Campinas and Primeiro de Maio (May First) FC of Rio. Living and working in a certain part of the city was synonymous with football clubs for example club Corinthians Paulista started as a neighborhood team yet adopting the elegant British amateur club (Kittleston, 2014). Forming clubs became a way of demonstrating pride as several Afro-Brazilian and former slaves began to form their own teams in the fringes of down town to play football and treated football like one other area to assert their value and rights. Football became part of the alternative "black worlds" within some of the cities. The challenge was to give all full benefits and opportunities to everyone or groups with the ability deserved respectability and membership of the nation (Kittleston, 2014, Witzig, 2006).

The clearly middle-class club de Regattas Vasco da Gama of Rio de Janeiro in 1924 won the Rio de Janeiro state football league. And these feet were accomplished by having a mixture of players of different economic and social backgrounds in their team (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 47). This created some friction because the more established clubs where angered by the mixture and they argue that the act was illegal at this because Vasco da Gama played unqualified players. But because the background of the club founder and many members of the club was middle class, the community and the people found no reason not to pay for the games. Moreover, they were not the only club in Rio

willing to field in black players and pay them and they were often the one club that could make it work (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 49). The elite clubs were equally outraged by what they deemed as pay to play though this was clearly seen as a way by the elite clubs to cover for their shame of loosing a fight to the very people they consider and treat as inferior. They were to form their own new league demand that if Vasco da Gama are to join they can not field in paid players who were by the way all black. The president of Vasco da Gama responded to this desperate request by the now famous answer called Historic Answer of no, in defend of the players social and economic rights and status (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 79). One could tell in the next season that the elite clubs felt the pinch when the crowds mostly attended the league that Vasco da Gama was playing in. this boycott and the economic strain forced the elite clubs to rethink their position. The elite clubs brought in several modifications introducing the showing of cards if the players are attending school, the aim was to discourage them from playing and all the rule changes were just an attempt to restrict black and mulatto players from the game, but Vasco da Gama always had them well beaten at all the turns (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 76). Till date, the text about the historic answer still sits in the museum of Vasco da Gama and above the phrase is written "Sem o Vasco, o futebol brasileiro não teria conhecido Pelé" meaning in English "Without Vasco, Brazilian football would not have known Pele". The heavy Afro-Brazilian national style Freyre once wrote for Mário Filho "O negro no futebol brasileiro" (The Black Man in Brazilian Soccer) (Kittleston, 2014). The way the issue of race was thought of changed with talented players coming from different origins and not belonging from the so called original mold of football players (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 107). Gilberto Freyre once wrote:

With so much of what is most primitive, most youthful, most elemental sublimated in our culture, it was natural that soccer in Brazil, as it burgeoned into a national institution, would also ennoble the Black, the descendant of Blacks, the mulatto, the cafuzo [a mixed Amerindian-African identity], the mestiço [a general mixed-race identity] (Kittleston, 2014 p.47).

Through the passage of time the modernization of thoughts would prompt the nation of Brazil to become synonymous with football and establishing it as one of the main pillars of Brazilian society and way of life. The dawn of many clubs will eventuate the production of numerous world renowned and world class players like Pele, Garrincha, Marta, Ronaldo de Lima (le phénomène), Roberto Carlos, Rivelino, Ronaldinho, Rivaldo, Kaka, Neymar, Marcello, just to name a few. These phenomenal players might have not had a chance back then when the issue of discrimination was at its peak but as years go by are the inspiration of generations past and generations to come. The Brazilian national men's team has won the most number of football world cups and hold the FIFA record of five world cup wins more than any other country, thanks to football Brazil is known all over the world because when people think Brazil the first thing that comes to mind is football (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 473). "They say in Brazil, even the smallest village has a church and a football field – well, not always a church, but certainly a football field" (Kuper, 2006 "chp.1")

Brazil truly demonstrates the impact of football and national building although not conclusively researched it is easy to explain Brazilian issues of racism, classism, corruption, violence but also the nations drive, diversity and everblooming cultural production, never fading obstinacy with its own defeats all looked at through the lenses

of a national obsession which is football (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 234). The Brazilian press archives showing some of the vacillation Brazil has felt towards the sports in its early days, from the debate about uplifting the nations spirit on the one hand to the brutal endeavor on the other hand and yet some dismissing the idea of football as an out of place foreign fabrication, Brazil has stood the test of time. The media has been an essential part to the history of Brazilian football from the newspapers filled with crônicas to the radio that made listening to matches sound like a ritual to the rise of the TV, the internet and TV rights that have transformed the sports to a global phenomenon we see today in Brazil (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 133).

Brazilian football and national harmony also exemplifies the tension between the people power like politicians, club presidents, head of Brazilian confederation of football struggling to seize football from above because of their own greed while those below the pyramid like the players, fans, organizers struggle to find their passion in a very corrupt industry. These tensions can be best explained using the story of two of the best and greatest players of Brazil, Pelé and Garrincha. Goldblatt (2014 p. 74, 97, 104) describes how both Pelé and Garrincha teammates and world cup winners in 1958 and 1962 had similar backgrounds but very different fates. Garrincha was born in the state of Rio de Janeiro to a working-class family while Pelé was born in a remote and poor town of Minas Gerais. Pelé's black race was a constant focus of discrimination while Garrincha was often ostracized because of the many birth defects on his body.

Yet, Garrincha became known as the joy of the people (Alegria do Povo) a well-rounded football player, fantastic in the game, both for his club Botafogo and the Brazilian national team. He was often looked at as a regular working-class man, man of

the people who was never looking for fame or fortune but spending every little money he earns to fund his alcohol drinking habit. Pelé on the other hand was called "The King" (O Rei) a classical example of someone using the game of football to his advantage. Decades after his retirement, Pelé still takes advantage of his statute and image to create lucrative business opportunities and his is not fearful of seeking political power to the extend of being made cabinet minister under the tenure of president Fernando Cardoso (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 104). Pelé is a smart guy who knew how to use his God given talent to his advantage. David Goldblatt (2014 p. "IV") writes that

After scoring [his 1000th career goal in 1969] he ran to pick the ball out of the net and in seconds he was surrounded, then engulfed, by a horde of photographers and reporters. When he finally emerged from the scrum, it was a schmaltzfest. Pelé dedicated the goal to the children of Brazil and took an endless lap of honor in a especially prepared 1,000 shirt. A senator in Congress wrote a poem to Pelé and read it out loud on the floor of the house. Everywhere else in the world the newspapers led with the Moon-landing of the Apollo 12 space mission. In Brazil, they split the front page

Garrincha was not interested or had no clue in becoming a hero, reason for which the Brazilian media always looking to create or destroy icons quickly forgot about him until his death:

After another day of drinking cachaça Garrincha was taken to a sanatorium in Botafogo where he had already a number of episodes in rehab. This time he died in an alcoholic coma. Within hours hundreds were gathering at the hospital. The press, who had not written a word about him for a decade, began to publish a torrent of remembrance. a municipal fire engine, like the one that had carried him through the

streets of the city with the 1958 World Cup winners, took his body to the Maracanã
(Goldblatt, 2014 p. 156).

Brazilian nationalism required a cultural practice that could encompass the full spectrum of the nation's complex social and hierarchies acknowledging the nation's past while setting the future course (Goldblatt, 2014 p. xix). Other Brazilian greats who demonstrated the impact of football and national harmony were people like Sócrates who was committed to the vision of Democracia Corinthiana and ended up explaining how football moves and unites Brazil and looking through the lenses of the success of Dilma Rousseff's and Lula da Silva's party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) which can easily and partly attributed to football and the 2014 world cup and so too was the case with the protest of 2013 coinciding with and amplified by the confederation cup that were held in Brazil (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 265, 275). Goldblatt (2014 p. 160) did wonder whether the protest and movement that sparked instability in Brazil pestered by inequality, corruption, polarization can bring about positive change? But after the successful staging of the football world cup and confederation cup, and another victory by Partido dos Trabalhadores, this still remains an open-ended question.

5.6 South Africa football and nation building

"Sport can reach parts politicians can't reach. It can help in bringing divided conflicts together in a way nothing else can."

Tony Blair.

Historian Peter Alegi (2010 p. 6-8) contends that football was introduced in Africa by Europeans in the 19th century and the first football game in the continent was in 1862. He said that it "spread very quickly through the mission schools, through the

military forces and through the railways". The very first African Nations Cup (CAN) organized to mark the creation of Confederation of African Football's (CAF) launch in Khartoum in 1957, making Africa's continental prize three years older than its European equivalent (Elliot, 2013).

The end of apartheid and the advent of democracy 1994 saw South Africa infuse football with the spirit described by Archbishop Desmond Tutu as "rainbow nationalism." That is to say, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." Taken from the Freedom Charter, the model of liberation struggle adopted in 1955. This vision of an inclusive South Africa citizenship and identity was the founding principle of the national football league created in 1985 (Alegi, 2010 p. 127). The league desegregated the game during the tumultuous decade that was feared to end in blood or civil war. Then the antagonistic football associations from across color line came together in a lengthy "unity process" that climaxed to the formation of a nonracial South African Football Association (SAFA) in 1991 few days before the democratic writing of the new constitution (Alegi, 2010 p. 127). The efforts through football cannot be ignored or disregarded as irrelevant because the football unity talks of 1976/1977 represented a major turning point in South Africa regardless of the fact that these talks were primarily focused on the future of professional football. The fact that footballers and fans the most important stakeholders, collectively engage in a human initiative that defied apartheid policymakers by adopting above-ground efforts to chart a new phase of struggle for the future of professional football in South Africa presented a very important template for unity by selling the multiracial football to South Africans (Ndlovu, 2013).

The negotiated revolution effects were positive and progressed by ending sports boycott as the nation made reentry into international sports and were admitted back to the Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF) in 1992 paving the way for readmission in FIFA. As a positive sign of celebration of South Africa`s first, integrated national team they were nicknamed Bafana Bafana (the boys in Zulu) then played against Cameroon and won the game by 1-0. South Africa went on to participate in Barcelona Olympics and then voted its first black president of the (ANC) African National Congress in 1994 (Alegi, 2010 p. 127).

Mandela and his government of national unity turned to sports in an effort to build a new inclusive sense of "South African-ness" in the sports obsessed nation with 11 national languages and profound racial and economic division. Football was given symbolic importance and close attention with a significant football match between South Africa and Zambia on the day of president Mandala`s inauguration on May 10th, 1994. (Alegi, 2010 p. 128).

Bafana Bafana triumphed in 1996 African Nations Cup in front of a delirious home crowd of ninety thousand with a mixed team of black and white in the spirit of national unity and racial reconciliation. These, at the back of the 1995 rugby world cup success on home soil, "a cathartic moment that persuaded rugby-obsessed conservative white men to accept, if not embrace, democracy and a "new South Africa" beautiful scenes of positive nationalism have erupted (Alegi, 2010 p. 128).

South Africa became champions of Africa which gave them a big boost as they qualified for the world cup and proved they could compete at the top level though eliminated, their dreams were not ended yet (Bloomfield, 2010). When FIFA awarded

South Africa the right to host the 2010 World Cup Finals, the first on African soil, Nelson Mandela wept tears of joy. He said, "I feel like a boy of fifteen" (Hawkey, 2009) and people of all races erupted with joy leading Ahmed Kathrada a former political prisoner incarcerated with Mandela to write "To some extent this outburst of euphoria surpassed 1994" the first democratic election year (Alegi, 2010 p. xi). Winnie Mandela later explained that the sporting events is to be used as a political theater "The 2010 World Cup is about nation-building, putting us in a global map and making us a nation to be reckoned with" (Alegi, 2010 p. xi) such is the impact of football in nation building in South Africa.

5.7 Cameroon football and nation building

The symmetry of football gives a sense of unity and a break from real life. This minor cultural element has developed into a full-blown social institution, "We all agree to pretend football is not important" but judging by the emotions on display during matches people are not pretending (Lever, 1983). The history of Cameroon football has gone through similar patterns seen in Europe and South America. The exact dates of its introduction to Cameroon is unknown but it is believed football was practiced in Cameroon before independence in 1960. And like other nations the first clubs were formed along ethnic lines and Oryx de Douala, the first winner of African Champions League played an important role in independence fight (Ntonfo, 1994). After independence, Cameroon national team was officially recognized, and the flag and jersey were raised. Immediate success was never in site so too no national impression as post-independence struggles experience setbacks as did many other African nations. After 1972, Cameroon football transitioned from post-colonial to efficient modern style

football and the former president named the national team The Indomitable Lions (Ntonfo, 1994) with every ethnic group trying to be represented in the national team.

Cameroon football team has gone on to win one football gold medal in Olympics, five African Cup of Nations, silver medal at the confederations cup, and Cameroon football team is the first ever African team to make an impact at a World Cup tournament (Vidacs, 2010 p. 4). The Cameroon team of 1990 was similarly used and abused by its country's autocratic president, Paul Biya. At the age of thirty-eight years old Roger Milla was the star of Cameroon during the 1990 World Cup finals but the single reason he even made it to the world Cup team is because the president Biya had insisted. Milla has been Cameroons star striker throughout the 1980s playing during the World Cup qualifiers of 1982 and won Africa's premier cup, the African Cup of Nations in 1984 and 1988.

But the World Cup in 1990 looked like a step too far for him considering his age and he had earlier announced his retirement midway through the qualifying phase of the tournament which Cameroon qualified by beating Tunisia 3-0 over two legs. As the competition drew closer, "Cameroonian football was, not for the first time and certainly not for the last, in turmoil" (Bloomfield, 2010), with FIFA always banning Cameroon football federation "on account of government interference" most recently in 2013 (BBC, 2013). Different political factions fighting to control the football federation, with the government of the autocratic Biya interfering at all turns. Cameroon fans had started to worry of a World Cup embarrassment as player bonuses promised were not paid (Bloomfield, 2010).

The president Biya decided that Roger Milla should play for the national side commonly called the "Indomitable Lions" the Russian coach Valeri Nepomniachi

appointed by the government had no say in the matter than do as told. President Biya rang Milla and told him the country needs him and Milla like the coach had no choice. President Biya understood the power of football and he knew the Lions success will be his success (Kuper, 2006). Haven taken power in 1982 and not intending to hold any elections because of doubts on his popularity the super performance of the Lions helped him deflect attention away from the mediocre performance of his government (Bloomfield, 2010).

He did finally call elections in 1992 which were "far from free or fair". There were protest by the opposition and general strike called on October 11. But the Lions were to play a World cup qualifier against Zimbabwe on October 10 where victory will guarantee a place at the 1994 World Cup. The uncanny timing just worked to Biya's advantage as he announced that should the Lions win there will be a public holiday on the 11th of October, and they did, and the strike was called off (Bloomfield, 2010). Football kinds off blurs any differences within the Cameroonian society, because with a country of about 20 million people and some 230 ethnic groups, this heterogenous society is like no other but the record of peace is indicative of the impact of nation building, when the national football team wins, the country unites in ecstasy and Biya has taken advantage of this to remain in power for over 36 years and counting (Hawkey, 2009).

African football in general and Cameroon football in particular is repeatedly in conflict with politicians and football authorities. Grievances towards the government are often intensified when people feel humiliated by the football team performances, like after the 1994 World Cup when people turned against the government and challenged it in the name of the nation (Vidacs, 2010 p. 189). One of Cameroons star striker Samuel

Eto'o recently said at the Confederation of African football assembly "The only problem in Africa is our leaders, who do not respect us. Until we are respected, other (continents) will never have any consideration for us" (Antoinette, 2014). The special distinctive thing about Cameroon football is the way the country's people rally around the football team. Cameroon might not look like a united country, but Cameroonian football certainly is united something rarely seen in other nations. The enthusiasm with which Cameroonians support their team is reflected in their support for one another especially during tournament, which is why the nation remains united for many years despite an autocratic government.

Cameroonians have always articulated their profound disappointment with the Government and their very palpable yearning for a better nation (Vidacs, 2010 p. 131). The government has continued to manipulate Cameroon football claiming it's for national interest. Recently, there's been serious instability in the Southern Cameroon region of the North and South West which started as strike by teachers and lawyers but gradually turned violent for more than one year now. The government has refused dialogue despite stressing the need for such. The anglophone problem started shortly before the African Nations Cup, Cameroon won it, upon return home the players were ordered by the government to tour the southern Cameroon region in an attempt calm down tensions but that is yet to deliver any positive outcome as people are getting tired of his game, it might end up being an exemption to the unity under football rule? Remains to be seen but by enlarge football has and continues to unite Cameroon than any policy can (Rahman, 2018).

5.8 Cote d'Ivoire Football and nation building

"I knew that we could bring a lot of people together. More than politicians. The country is divided because of politicians; we are playing football, we are running behind a ball, and we managed to bring people together."

Didier Drogba (team captain)

European imperial expansion brought with it the partition of Africa as borders were drawn entirely by colonial masters of Europe, in doing so divisions were made along ethnic lines making Africa the most ethnically diverse continent on planet earth (Wesseling, 1996). As the expansion was going on in this West African nation the colonizing agents played football for their own entertainment and used sports as a tool of civilization (Alegi, 2010 p. 1). But through the efforts of the first president Houphouet Boigny the country gained independence in 1960. After his death in 1993, election contestation rocked the country preceding to military coupe, and bloody civil war which would kill an estimated 4,000 people displacing a further about 1 million (Matias, 2017).

Cote d'Ivoire was a country divided and the issues of nationality and true Ivorian-ness were being seriously fought over by different factions but the one thing that managed to unite the people was football. The incredible unifying power of football can be best demonstrated by Les éléphants of Cote D`Ivoire who helped bring the nation during civil war split between two powers, Muslim dominated rebels in the north and the government in the South between 2002 - 2007 together. In the country's darkest hours Drogba and Les Elephants had provided the sense of national unity that the politicians had so conspicuously failed (Matias, 2017).

The country was in a political stalemate with the majority of the people unsure about their future due to the volatile and unpredictable nature of everyday life during circumstances like this, non-could have thought that an intervention by the national football team could help secure a truce (Rainbow, 2013). But indeed, it was the players of the beautiful game rather than the political leaders or stakeholders who made negotiations possible under the murky clouds surrounding the country (Bloomfield, 2010).

It was in 2005, Cote d'Ivoire had just qualified for their first ever appearance at world cup tournament in Germany with victory 3-1 away over Sudan. The whole team was in the changing room in the presence of the media, Didier Drogba (striker and national icon) was handed the microphone.

Men and women of the Ivory Coast," he said down the lens, his face stern and sincere. "From the north, south, center and west, we proved today that all Ivoirians can coexist and play together with a shared objective: to qualify for the World Cup. "We promised you that the celebration would unite the people. Today, we beg you, please -- on our knees -- forgive. Forgive, forgive. "The one country in Africa with so many riches must not descend into war like this. Please, lay down all weapons. Hold elections, organize elections. All will be better

Rising to their feet, broad smiles now spread across their faces, the players started to sing. "We want to have fun, so stop firing your guns," they chorused tunefully". (Rainbow, 2013).

In March 2007 the warring leaders signed an official peace agreement, prompting then president Laurent Gbagbo to declare that the war was over. And to further sustain the truce Drogba proposed the qualifying match for African Cup of Nations be played in

Bouake, the rebel stronghold. Rebel army-controlled pitch and player security while invited government soldiers watched from the stands as 25,000 fans across the country cheered on (Rainbow, 2013). The bumpy road to peace continued with election postponement and contested 2010 leading to violence again.

Remembered fondly for his great exploits on the football pitch, Didier Drogba will never be forgotten for his efforts to help try and bring an end to the civil war. A few months after the peace agreement in 2007 he told the telegraph newspaper "Seeing both leaders side by side for the national anthems was very special, I felt then that the Ivory Coast was born again." Drogba and Les éléphants had provided the sense of national unity that the politician had so conspicuously failed (Bloomfield, 2010). Football was the catalyst in bringing about the ceasefire for the sake of peace and the people of Cote D`Ivoire without taking center stage and aiming for enduring solution. Football can be identified as the only unifying force in Cote D`Ivoire. Drogba helped transform national love into football coupe, nonetheless, football alone can not maintain peace it will take the efforts from all, public and politicians to achieve peace (Rainbow, 2013).

6. Discussions

"In Latin America the border between soccer and politics is vague. There is a long list of governments that have fallen or been overthrown after the defeat of the national team"

Luis Suarez (Uruguay football player) (Campomar, 2014 "Gozalo")

Giulianotti, (1999 p. xi) said "Any discussion of football must open with an acknowledgement of the games global appeal." Nation building is not just limited to territorial boundaries. The twentieth century brought with it the establishment of new state mostly because

of decolonialization and the mapping out of territorial boundaries. Many of these new nations were challenged with the serious problem of instituting a sense of national identity (Houlihan, 1991). For many of these new states, unity was essential since the common enemy was the colonizers and before independence these nations incorporated divisions of race, ethnic, and tribal differences. To challenge this idea without affecting the fabrics of the new and fragile stability, football was the main strategy towards stronger loyalty to the new state. football could form one of the most important theatre through which nations become real, football symbolize the nation as an important conduit that binds national identity with a collective sense of resentment and popular consciousness (Maguire, 1994). These nation states form the main objective of this thesis the impact of football in nation building and to achieve these task other studies will be taken into consideration during the analyses so as to give a comprehensive and better understanding of footballs impact in the nation building process.

The role of sports in the process of nation-building especially in developing nations Houlihan, (1991) argues is not just limited to the idea that modern states are longing for national unity and distinctiveness, but they also want to be seen on international stage whereby they portray that identity by using cultural symbols like, flags, national anthems, stamps, etc. to demonstrate their strength. Riordan (1986) exemplifies that governments in developing societies often place enormous stress on sports development not only for the effects sports can have on nation building and national integration but also for the effects it can have on hygiene and health. Riordan goes on to suggest that in Asia, Africa, and Latin America sports development is closely associated with hygiene, health, defense, integrity, patriotism, international recognition, productivity, even cultural identity, and nation building. Sport he says has a vital role of being an agent of social change with the state as the pilot (Riordan, 1986).

Football impact on society keeps widening and affects many people regardless of whether you are a player, a professional player, amateur player, follower, or fan. All the literature of these study agrees on these factors and the fact that the importance of football creates social change that influence nation building (Hughson, 2016 p. 46). Many situations in this study have not been for long enough time hence it is hard to determine whether they will yield results for this reason there could be room for disagreement of the impact of football in society to an extern nation building. It is important to strike a note of caution on the impact of football in identity construction and socialization, that it has great impact cannot be denied. And these is demonstrated through many examples both pros and cons of the argument. It is therefore important to look at how these national examples of nation building processes have influenced them. For the purpose of this thesis the examples will look at events that influence social, and political change in any way form or shape.

6.1 Football symbols and national impact

In many nations the choice of football as the main past time has only helped to garner interest at the national and international level especially during international tournaments. This often loud, and large crowds of people always gather together in unity, happiness, and pride to cheer for their superstars and national champions as they represent their nation wearing national colors no matter the level or standard of performances on display, "fans develop tight, even mystical connection with their sporting heroes" in doing so make the players or team their reference point for national identity (Dubois, 2010 "Preface xx"). Cameroon for instance was a relatively unknown country before the 1990 World Cup, but after that tournament the team spearheaded by their veteran striker Roger Milla at age 38 did not only make history as the first African football team to reach the quarter finals of FIFA World Cup but in doing so made sure that the country

Cameroon was not only known to the world but talked about globally (FIFA, 2017). Football literally put Cameroon in the map of the world thanks to the iconic display of Roger Milla. After their 1990 World Cup heroics, wherever in the world you found yourself and you are asked, where do you come from? If you say Cameroon, the response will be football, Roger Milla. This is true till date. Football provides the nation with a kind of cultural map in any setting, a metaphorical representation, that enhances the understanding of their society (Giulianotti, 1999 p. xii).

National teams are formed by selecting the country's best players to represent the country. Sometimes due to injuries, age and other personal and family situations players cannot be called up to play for their countries. Player failure to represent their country could also be as a result of fallout with the coaching team and other players. Remember the French football team revolt during the World Cup 2010, France striker Nicolas Anelka was sent home by the French Football Federation for refusing to apologize to head coach Raymond Domenech for using bad language during an argument after defeat to Mexico, reportedly saying "Go fuck yourself, you son of a whore." This sparked player strikes, rows, resignations and recrimination leaving the French football team in disarray and one of the darkest days for the nation's football history (Hytner, 2010). Although not often, but situations like this do happen emphasizing the impact of football to a nation and showing that protest can take place even in football to portray social differences and strive which is a prelude to nation building.

This simple game has become an obsession from peasants to politicians alike writes Simon Kuper (2006). The social and political passion of football is what led Anthony Lane writing for the New Yorker about the 2008 Olympics to say, "attempt to keep politics out of sports" as being "as futile as trying to keep the sweat out of sex" (Dubois, 2010 p. 8). Sports ceremonies with the

raising of flag, anthem is a condensation of politics because these international players are justifiably told to be ambassadors for their nation. In many places like France the nation exist as a united symbol thanks to international football games and football has produced the most significant moments of diverse national unity (Dubois, 2010 p. 8). Argentina is a country of "football essentialism" Eduardo Archetti claims, Argentinian victory is seen as one of politically neutral traditional style, but it is often quickly subsumed into the regimes celebratory national politics (Tomlinson & Young, 2005).

For Simon Kuper "Soccer is never just soccer: it helps make wars and revolutions, and it fascinates mafias and dictators," and Franklin Foer, meanwhile says, football literally explains the world, helping us to understand the formation of national identities and the complexities of globalization. Football helps build nations and forges unity amongst disparate groups of people which is difficult to find elsewhere (Nadel, 2014). Football has many, often contradictory and even ambiguous effects on people, just as globalization does. As some wall come down, others go up. If some people move around the world more easily than ever, others are stopped at the border or forced into increasingly deadly attempts to cross it. In todays world football crosses and even seems to erase some barriers making even small nations popular. (Dubois, 2010 p. 9)

Most footballers come from diverse working-class background unlike other sports football gives near to equal opportunities to all regardless of where one comes from. Few cases of footballers coming from elite backgrounds are common nowadays, but this is often due to the fact that a player might come from a family with a record or tradition of playing the game. For developing nations making it through to professional football is seen like winning a raffle (Galeano, 1995 p. 3) and the history of football certify to the working-class factory origins of football, reasons for which football continues to allure people around the world. Once the player

attains such high standard of achievement they become national idols of the sports in the places they come from and are loved for bringing the pride to their nation (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 687).

The importance of football in the process of nation building is also demonstrated on player jersey during games because they always wear the national colors with emblems of their nations football association, visible national symbols of coat of arms symbolizing the love for the nation. "patriotism engenders fanatic interest in international play, soccer is better able than anything else in modern life to tap our deepest sense of 'roots". When players represent the group it gives us our identity especially centered on our national origins or ethnicity and arouse the most passion (Lever, 1983). Fans on their part develop a collective identity waving the national symbols and flags from the stands in support of their heroes, they give meaning to these colors that they did not create.

Many football clubs from many regions of the world have a particular link to particular groups of fans such that they influence their identity in a way that these regions fans feel the need and see themselves as belonging to the region than the wider country (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 106). In Spain for instance, fans of FC Barcelona see themselves more as Catalonians than Spanish especially because most of the players are of Catalonian origin and the place where they could speak in Catalonia since the days of general Franco (Crolley,1997). The Barcelona Olympic games of 1992 experienced nationalist's disruptions as the Generalitat used symbols of Catalan identity in torch relay, press, and the presence of Catalan flags at Olympic venues as cultural display creating tension with the central government of Felipe Gonzalez who intended to leverage the games in the promotion of Spain as a "passionate and democratic" nation (Tomlinson & Young, 2005). The Catalonian independence sentiment was only aggravated when Spanish national team won the world cup 2010 with more than six players coming from FC

Barcelona, no wonder why the national team and identity issue always divides opinions (Ball, 2001). Nation building though is about showing the image of unity and working together for a common goal.

6.2 Social integration in football

Football's impact on social integration is extensive. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development holds that social integration is the main process by which all members participate towards achieving and maintaining peaceful social relations and this is true as laid down by this thesis theory concept. Emile Durkheim (1933) suggest that there is likeness amongst people who bear resemblance, because they think and feel like each other, but often feel kindness towards those who do not resemble them. The simplicity of football not only make it easy and accessible to many people but create the feeling of happiness and resemblance between its fans locally or internationally. Football provides the platform for social inclusion like in Brazil where it is possible to overcome the barriers of race and exclusion through the power of football (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 48). You try to create comfortable social environment with people you can trust and cooperate to meet goals "To create this, similarity is very useful, and people are attracted to it most of the time...But getting along with people who aren't like you is really useful" says Chris Crandall (Professor of Psychology at the University of Kansas). The essence of nation building is the extent to which people identify with something beyond their individual selves demonstrated with the sports boycott during the period of apartheid South Africa earlier mentioned in the thesis and the eventual unity through the template of multiracial solutions (Ndlovu, 2013).

Social integration is only possible if people participate in football one way or another "integration is the glue that bonds the entities together, thus enabling them to achieve common

goals and optimal results" (Kodner, and Spreeuwenberg, 2002). Football breeds a sense of equality because in the stadium all people are equal, race, social, and ethnic differences seems to disappear not to say that pockets of this don't happen in some places but the overwhelming sense of unity is often displayed for all to see (Lever, 1983). "Through sport, we can speak the same language. For me, sport is a powerful tool for integration and inclusion and more organizations should embrace sport as a positive platform that can benefit society" (UEFA Global Ambassador, Christian Karembeu) (ICSS, 2016). During big tournaments even the people who do not identify as fans of football follow the national team, differences turn to matter less and what matters is football as demonstrated by this study. Football is now enshrined in Brazilian society such that it is hard to believe that when first played in Brazil only small elites played it. The aristocratic social pyramid meant that exclusion and segregation was common, racial and class was sensitive (Lever, 1995). But integration of football later grew to feel like it came from the masses and today many young people in Brazil consider it a familial rite of passage and banners in games describe the team as "my best inheritance" ask a says Rogério Daflon and Teo Ballvé. In life they say "you can change your wife, but you can't change your mother or your soccer team"

Football fans always long for the best players and teams whether in club or national teams and the players usually represent the mirror of the team and the spectators see just the player in them for example, despite the many birth defects Brazilian great Garrincha became known as the joy of the people. For his regular working-class background and a man of the people who was never bothered about being famous or playing to make fortune. There was real connection between identity construction and racial diversity in Brazil (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 83). But with the likes of Pele participating in the national team setup dazzling the supporters with flare and style

the perception began to change so too the idea of national identity that always saw the black race ostracized in the community.

The change in perception comes about as a result of people being given the voice through their transformative and systematic building of change and solidarity impacting their social understanding situations. This mechanical solidarity is explained in the social integration of the people through shared values and beliefs with a collective conscience rather than the organic solidarity where integration is out of the need of others service by individuals (Durkheim, 1933). So rather than just family ties solidarity in the case of Brazil was through ethnic and national background because not a lot of people wanted to savor discrimination in society. Football in South Africa played a role in and evolved with the politics of South African liberation movement proving to be the area of contention that served as the focus for international attention. Football has been run along racial lines until the later struggles of integrating (SAFA) Football Association of South Africa for whites, South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA) for Indians, South African Bantu Football Association (SABFA) for blacks, and mixed-race people (SACFA) South African Coloured Football Association to form the nonracial South African Football Association (SAFA) (Koonyaditse, 2010).

Change is what postmodernism gives the societies going forward, and the supporters of Brazil had to rethink their role in society, look back and confront, and correct their negative attitude of picking on fellow citizens due to their race despite their role in the nation. But change never comes easily as was seen in the elite case of Vasco Da Gama (Goldblatt, 2014). With their broad supporter base they were able to muscle through and compete with elite club demands because first they were Brazilians too and second their working-class area had social inclusion and

integration between colored and class as equal members of society (Maguire, 1994). And if not for the broad participation of their supporters this will not be possible.

Football truly promotes social integration through movement of people from developing nations to developed nations and within nations from rural regions to urban areas with higher standard of living and new opportunities (Lever, 1983). The efforts of the social integration initiative are beginning to yield result because many football players are now coming from nations that have integrated football in the social fabrics of the communities. A prime example will be Zidane who left his village Algeria heading north then traveled to Paris France. Found a job in a construction site in Saint Denis after due struggles stopped at Marseille trying to return to Algeria, married Malika and had five children including Zinedine. Zinedine and Lilian Thuram born in Guadeloupe were both talented footballers who were recruited into football academies and went on to grace the national colors of France winning the world cup and Fans on their way to national idols hood (Dubois, 2010 p. 2, 134).

6.3 Structure and social organization

Structure is an important term which has been in application in human society since the 19th century and is very important component in nation building. Using the metaphor of construction Karl Max spoke about the economic structure of society upon which forms of social consciousness correspond. Social scientists after Marx and Spencer argue that the concept of social structure in general is identified by features of social units like society or groups within society that endure over time through interrelation influencing both the functioning of the unit as a whole and activities of its individual members. From its origin, Emile Durkheim (1933) holds that individual human behavior is shaped by external forces. George Murdock (1949) thinks that the notion of social structure relates first to the fact that human being forms social relation that

exhibit some regularity and continuity and second that social life is differentiated into certain groups, positions, and institutions that are interdependent or functionally interrelated, and third individual choices are shaped by situations of the social environment. The idea of social structure therefore implies that humans are not totally free and autonomous in their choices and actions because they are constrained by the social world they live in and the social relations they build with one another (Form, & Wilterdink, 2018). This fits perfectly with the theory of participant development which highlights what human beings can do rather than what they have leading to society that participate in their own development thereby developing their nation in the process. Diego Maradona was born in one of Buenos Aires's shantytowns slums he grew and survived the adverse and identity politics out of sheer will to make it and earn a living with every step. He was the image of Argentinians but for his skills that kept him apart, and unlike the military dictators his influence was on the pitch giving the people the mental, structural organization and belief during a difficult spell through success with the national team.

Sometimes, there might be disparity with the social structure of a nation. We saw that Brazil for example had the race and lower-class issue against the elites (Goldblatt, 2014 p. 40), and the marginalization of women, and disabled persons in many parts of the world, a change in the social structure helps integrate the masses in a collective sense of belonging and opens the door for more rational choices by individuals which are geared towards collaborative activities that excites hence impact their appreciation team which is the organ of national pride.

Building social structure means dealing with the force of social change that influence the social structure and organization of society. And in these process matters of integration trends of inequality have seen women participation in football evolved. The hidden history of women football prevented it from developing faster as their men's counterparts and women have long

been ostracized from the game they love. But recent records show that is changing as the increase in participation of women in football has spiked. FIFA believes that football can help fulfil the potential and empower women to be part of the nation building as (Jarvie, 2006) "it is impossible to fully understand contemporary society and culture without acknowledging the place of sport" Maguire (1994) and others have identified functionalism, postmodernism, feminism, structuralism as key traditions to social knowledge about sports, culture, and society (Jarvie, 2006).

Football culture spread from cities and ports to other parts of the globe confronting barriers of race and ethnicity, yet people were still able to form their own clubs. The social structure and organization allows people to express their free will in the game even at periods when the very structure seem to go against (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 96). People always look for the opportunity to participate in football and when they do they use what ever means they have be it style as in Brazil and systems to change societal structure and in doing so change national perception about the importance of postmodernism as the social transformative and systematic ideal of building change through open systems (So, 1991).

6.4 Pele as a national symbol of Brazil

"My name is Ronald Reagan, I'm the President of the United States of America. But you don't need to introduce yourself, because everyone knows who Pelé is."

(Formal US president Ronald Reagan, (FIFA, 2010)

Born Edson Arantes do Nascimento in the state of Minas Gerais Brazil, he started playing professional football at Santos in Sao Paulo, taking after his father who also played semiprofessionally as a youth (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 207, 375). Pele was declared a national icon

and symbol within the structure of Brazilian society still a teenager after winning Brazil's first world cup in 1958 by the ruling government of Jânio Quadros as his popularity was dwindling and his political future in danger (Galeano, 1995 p. 43). Eduardo Galeano describes that "in the global social pyramid, blacks are at the bottom and whites are at the top. In Brazil this is called 'racial democracy'. This hierarchy means that very few born in poverty could make it to the top, only the talent of sports could help cross this barrier and Pele was one of them. "With the passage of time, the old soccer mutilated by racism gave way to splendor of its diverse colors. And after so many years it is obvious that Brazil's best players...have always been blacks or mulattos. All of them came up from poverty...soccer offers a shot at social mobility for a poor child" (Galeano, 1995 p. 43).

Pele represented the source of hope to many Brazilians who now thought they too could use football to escape hardship. "He was the light at the end of the tunnel. All the poor said, 'hey, this guy made it, I can make it.' He brought the rest of Brazil with him" said Journalist Joao Luiz. And to galvanize his new-found status he married a white woman as Murray notes "Pelé's marriage to a white woman was cited as proof that the country had overcome the racism that Pelé himself had been forced to fight on his rise to stardom" (Murray, 1996).

During the period of 1950s and 1960s Brazil was in a political turmoil and the government was battling unpopularity as the economy was going down with high inflation rates, but on the football field Pele was leading Brazil to golden heights prompting significant attention at home and abroad (Murray, 1996). The government quickly seized the opportunity after spotting his role in Brazilian society, at a time when clubs in Europe were trying to buy him, his departure had the potential to end the president's tenure because Pele was more than just a footballer to the Brazilian people, so the president called an urgent meeting with his law makers and a bill was passed

naming Pele a national treasure (Heffernan, 2017). During an interview Pele claimed that Juventus chairman Giovanni Agnelli wanted to give me a share of Fiat in return for me signing for Juventus because Fiat had opened a plant in Brazil and they wanted to use me to promote it (Sleight, 2005). well we now know that the government had different plans.

President Quadros bought himself some much-needed support and for his club Santos the were sure to keep their goal machine, a player who scores goals for fun. But president Quadros tenure did not last and none of his successor dared to revise the bill after all Pele brought joy to many and was the best Public relations for a failing nation, a strange interplay of football and politics not only unit but just confined the worlds best footballer to his nation (Heffernan, 2017).

And when the time came for Pele to export his football skills and national influence to other parts of the world, the United States was his first destination. An agreement reached which stipulated that in exchange for Pele to dazzle his skills in the US, American experts in several sports will be sent to Brazil to help with sports development while Warner Communications, owner of Cosmos the club Pele was due to play in promised to set up football schools in Brazil (Murray, 1996). Pele's is credited with putting football on US map after his 1975 signing for New York Cosmos. Pele has influenced the world far beyond the beautiful game from helping children to halting at least temporarily a civil war in Nigeria writes Glenn Moore of the telegraph in Britain and this more than any politician has. Nadel writes, "Soccer...is a crucial element in the stories that Argentines and Brazilians...tell themselves about who they are, (Nadel, 2014). In Pele Brazilians had something they could part of or agree to despite their broad geography of cultures, football was useful and important create national unity. There is one famous name at the mention of Brazil in any life setting and that is Pele.

... I was nine, but will never forget the feeling; the euphoria, the pride, the idea that two of my greatest loves - soccer and Brazil - were now united in victory ... It would last for exactly 19 minutes. I, like millions of Brazilians, had yet to learn life's hard lesson: in life, as in soccer, nothing is certain until the final whistle. Pele (Nadel, 2014 p.6).

6.5 Football rebel and nation building

Brazilian international and Corinthians midfielder born Sócrates Brasileiro Sampaio de Souza Vieira de Oliveira popularly known as the "The Doctor" because he is Doctor of Philosophy and medicine (Downie, 2017). This Brazilian legend of football turned all Corinthians matches into a political meeting for democracy as he put up an anti-dictatorship resistance during the political turmoil in Brazil in 1980 (Libcom, 2007). the hugely popular Doctor and captain of both the Selecao and Corinthians, he commanded the attention of every layer of society and used football to promote democracy while scoring goals for his club team and country (Ken, 2017). He was an intelligent revolutionary, a brilliant player and hero who stood up to what was right. He transformed matches into political statement giving voices to the people under authoritarian rule (Al Jazeera, 2013).

With help from his teammates Sócrates changed the way football was run, and this percolated to national stage because he could speak in front of huge cheering crowds, because football gave him high social status which guarded him from the claws of the repressing government and the cheer number of people who often turn out because of the football platform he used (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 407). He was never the national icon like Pele, but he used his football influence to steer the people against the government. he gave the people the power and confidence to question their government, and through his participation the right to vote was given to the people through which their future development depended on (Downie, 2017). It is

fare to say he was the brain behind the modernization of the Brazilian thinking and fostering democracy at a time when no one could stand up to the authorities. Although some called him a lazy footballer and smoking addict due to his lifestyle, the modernizing work within the Brazilian nation was thanks to his love for education and passion for health which benefited Brazil. He united the country by giving the power to the people for this he was respected as a cultural icon in Brazil. This attitude of his prompted another famous footballer star to say:

"We'd all like to change the world. It's only human. And when you get millions on their feet just by scoring a goal, you suddenly think you can do it. After that, you need ideas, courage, social and political awareness ... Doctor Socrates ... rest in peace."

(Eric Cantona, former Manchester United star) (Al Jazeera, 2013)

6.6 Nation building From football to president

Born in 1966 in the poorest slums of Clara Town in Monrovia capital of Liberia, he started playing domestic football winning many awards at the age of 15 and had a spell in Cameroon with Tonnerre Yaoundé before Arsene Wenger signed him to French club Monaco in 1988. The move to Monaco proved to be the best decision of his life as he was catapulted to stardom the following years. He was crowned African player of the year in 1989. He then joined Paris Saint-Germain between 1992-1995 winning the UEFA Champions League, then moved to AC Milan where he became the first African player to win FIFA World Player of the Year and the Ballon d'Or two most prestigious awards in football. He also played for Chelsea and Manchester City, Marseille, Al Jazira and Liberian national team before his retirement. Brazilian football legend Pele listed him in his 100 greatest living footballers in 2004 (Nkosinathi, 2018).

Crowds stream in to hear new president George Weah promise to tackle corruption and help the poor. Packed football stadiums are synonymous with George Weah but perhaps the most significant of all was Liberians queuing for miles to see their formal football icon now new president inaugurated in the first ever democratic transition of power in Liberia for 47 years. Expectations are high for a man who grew up kicking a ball around the poor suburbs of Monrovia before shooting to stardom and becoming a Liberian hero. "I have spent many years of my life in stadiums but today is a feeling like no other" he tells the crowd via the (Maclean, & Nyakonah, 2018).

"I know a lot of people wonder why an ex-footballer should seek the presidency of the country, but no one asks a lawyer or a businessman why they do the same," Mr Weah told The Guardian ahead of the run-off on Dec 26. "I am called to service for the love of my country and the love of my people." George Weah (Osasu, 2017)

From a country ravaged by civil wars, George Weah became a devoted humanitarian in his country before announcing his intention to run for president in 2005 with his party Congress For Democratic Change. In his first attempt he lost to the now outgoing president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. His comeback in 2011 was short-lived as his party only nominated him for vice president but bounced back in 2014 and won a seat in the senate before running and winning the presidency in 2017 (Manneh, 2018). Liberia remains politically and socially a fractured nation and Weah will have to continue his nation building efforts which started through football especially when he singled handedly funded Liberian national football team to the African Nations Cup campaign and becoming UNICEF goodwill ambassador in the process but this time he will be doing this politically (Sengbeh, 2012).

The world of football is proud of Liberia's president George Weah because his victory speaks to the impact football can have on the people and the society at large. The story of Weah "I can easily relate is one of perseverance, fortitude and determination. These are virtues young footballers should emulate. He has shown that there is life after football and there are many career paths, one can opt for in order to continue making an impact on society" (Akufo-Addo president of Ghana, (Rahman, 2018). Weah believes that Liberians are ready to move the nation forwards, by bringing back basic necessities like light, water, and education we can achieve stability and show the world we are moving forward. He said his career makes no difference except that I am a human being that wants to contribute to my society. Through the power of football Weah is building bridges within Liberian society and uniting his opponents to build a hopeful Liberia (Rahman, 2018).

6.7 Nation building (Didier Drogba 1 - 0 Côte d'Ivoire Civil war)

Participant development presupposes that people get involved in their own development process with its basic tenet of redistribution and self-reliance when factored into the context of nation building then surely it is just reasonable that by being part of their development they develop their nation, say the domino effect. Football icon Didier Drogba through his work and with his Fondation Didier Drogba is helping vulnerable people in Côte d'Ivoire by building schools and health facilities in poor regions hence developing communities and building the nation from the base.

Thanks to my profession, I have had the chance to travel throughout Africa. What has struck me the most has been the lack of access to health and education. The foundation's objective is to empower individuals through access to health and education, which I believe are

essential elements in the developmental process of communities Drogba (Drogbafoundation, 2007).

He has also now partnered with Nestlé to help shine more light in their school work of connection sports and education and improving social conditions for children making them part of their own development (Nestlé, 2016). Drogba is also a UNDP Goodwill Ambassador expressing his support for the newly approved Sustainable Development Goals, popularly known as the Global Goals of good health and well-being and quality education for all, "Health and education are my priorities in the Global Goals" he says (UNDP, 2015).

The civil war has divided the nation along ethnic lines North and south, during a tour of the country Drogba stunned his fellow countrymen by proposing that a qualifying match between Madagascar and Côte d'Ivoire be played in the rebel strong hold capital of Bouaké. The north and south have been unable to reconcile their differences through war or peace talks set aside their guns came together for a football match, Drogba an international superstar would become in the eyes of all Ivoirians soothing of a deity (Merrill, 2007). *The fact that this game is being played in the capital of what was called the rebellion in Ivory Coast is a symbol of the unity that Ivoirians have found anew and of our national reconciliation... he is a national hero. From north to south, from east to west, all Ivoirians are proud of him. I'd even say that all of Africa is proud of him* Soro said (Merrill, 2007). football has succeeded where politicians and peace negotiators have failed. "We, the politicians, we went to the best universities; we're the intellectuals, the supposed leaders of the country... But when it came to making peace, we failed. It's a group of soccer players that brought us together. Didier Drogba came from nothing... worldwide star and a hero for us. He's done a great thing for his country". Geoffrey

Baillet, the spokesman for the Ivorian minister of sports (Merrill, 2007). Nelson Mandela once said "Peace is the greatest weapon for development that any person can have"

Football in the African continent as a whole has come a long way from the colonial days when African football was not talked about and Africa players were disrespected for not being good enough largely due to the inferior and bad perception of how Africa is viewed as a continent (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 539). But after 1990 world cup when Cameroon beat Maradona's Argentina and eventually reached the quarter final, the first by an African team, then people started to take note at the back of which saw the emergence of African footballers in European league. Then came the success of African footballers in Europe, the likes of Abedi Pele, Jay-Jay Okocha, Kanu, Weah, Eto`o, Drogba, etc. who started to echo the presence of Africa in the famous leagues and global stage. The prowess of African footballers was beginning to shine through and they started to feel less inferior against their European counterparts (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 539). This new post modernized way of how they see themselves and the image they represent of their various nations relates Fredric Jameson periodizing of correlating the emergence of new features in culture with the emergence of new ways of social life and order. The emergence and proceeding success of Drogba as an African footballer and his role in the peace process in Cote d'Ivoire is just another example of the impact of football in nation building.

6.8 Football problems affecting nation building

The very first issue of football development and nation building is the inability to determine the impact football has in nation building, and this is due to the lack of statistical numbers to measure how processes of human development have influenced football and the relating impact on nation building. Besides the numbers, the meaning of human development has everything but been stable over time with different theories emphasizing different aspect of

human development but holding to the basic foundation laid down by the UNDP since 1990. As the international community continues to find new ways to define and measure human development encompassing all its facet so too is football development trying to impose itself as the builder of nations.

Another problem relates to the negative misuse of the game of football to prop up propaganda by some unpopular or autocratic government, dictators and corrupt governments using the show piece tournament organization to legitimize their power or improve perceptions (Goldblatt, 2006 p. 823). For example, the commotion leading to Brazil hosting the 2014 world cup tournament was as a result of government trying to win popularity at the global stage while hiding corruption and economic turbulence. The problems led to anti government protest in Rio and other parts of Brazil as people vested their frustration at the lack of investment in health, education, economy, and safety with the government instead prioritizing investment in football projects (Antunes, 2014). The grand tournament only deepened Brazils problem while FIFA benefited people were left to think, "I supported Brazil's World Cup bid, but the expense is now crippling us" says Romário (2013). Deplorable school conditions, poorly paid teachers led to Pearson Education quality index ranking Brazil second last out of 40 nations and students often leave school before completing last grade according to UNDP 2012 development report (Romário, 2013), suggesting that lag in development a fundamental part of football can instead hamper unity and nation building instead of facilitating it. In the same light, Cameroon is struggling to prepare and host the African Cup of Nations at the backdrop of very bad economic development and poor governance especially at a time when there is devastating struggle for intendance in the anglophone region.

Other issues with football and nation building is that for many it is a symbol of national pride, but often ultra-nationalists, vandals and hooligans smirch the image of football and create conflict between them and the moderate nationals who want to portray a more harmonious image of their country. Euro 2016 was marred by fan hooliganism especially in Marseille where Russian and England supporters clashed in violent scenes that left many with injuries, damaged businesses and tarnished the reputation of football and both nations (De Menezes, 2018). Simon Parkin of the guardian writes "For the past two decades the Russian state has encouraged groups of violent far-right fans. As the World Cup approaches, it is struggling to tame them" (Parkin, 2018). The Russians were very organized and effective meaning they were intent in carrying out the barbaric violence. "We saw football hooliganism on a different level... The English always say they are the main football hooligans; we went to show that the English are girls." Says a Russian hooligan who took part in the fighting speaking to French news agency. "It was like nothing I've ever seen before" Ch Supt Steve Neill, of North Umbria police, one of many officers deployed from England to aid French police that day (Parkin, 2018). Football hooliganism developed since the early 19th century but got widespread public attention in the 1960s, its existence was said to be due to high unemployment and poverty of lower working class but changing occupational structure was supposed to incorporate people into formal wage workforce and this will influence national integration which will lessen problems associated with hooliganism (Dunning et al., 2014). However in this day and age authorities still have to confront the social antagonism between groups in an effort to curb the problem and with upcoming world cup in Russia any further escalation could hamper security efforts as authorities are finding it hard to stop it says Rick Noack of the Washington post. Football through this lens is not pretty

but the united power of football in nation building will be demonstrated again when the world cup starts in Russia 2018.

Campbell and Dawson (2001) stress that football cannot be disconnected from other context and forms of violence, nor from gender inequality, the problem of the masculine 'spatial and sexual domination that is routinised in popular culture (Campbell, & Dawson, 2001). Their argument is that more attention in football is focused on racism and pay less attention to the sexism which seems an integral part of football hooligan cultures. Postmodern feminist theory enables the simplistic understanding of institutional gender in sport by moving beyond focus on achieved participation to discussion of resources for women (Smith, 2010). Gender inequality is common in sports that are highly masculinized and highly prestigious, and this is the case with football, Chief sports reporter Martha Kelner "Gender inequality in football is more entrenched than in politics, business, medicine and space exploration, according to a salary survey that compared the employment status and pay of thousands of male and female footballers worldwide" (Kelner, 2017). With the women game lagging the potential of an all united front nation building becomes questionable especially considering the impact of postmodern and participant development theories on football as an inclusive social phenomenon.

6.9 Suggestions

FIFA, UNICEF, and many other organization have since launched or implemented football development programs to address issue of social inequality in the game of football but most of the efforts have been focused on women inclusiveness, integration, and participation. But real inequality still exists within the game. Grabb (2007) defines social inequality as "any of the differences among people (or the socially-defined positions they occupy) that are consequential for the lives they lead, most particularly for the rights or opportunities they

exercise and the rewards or privileges they enjoy." A particular area of concern is that of gender pay gap between men and women in football that has seen little or no changes till date.

Considering the primordial role women have in society which according to a RAND Corporation study "women's participation in post-conflict nation-building is an important ingredient in achieving an equitable, peaceful and more prosperous society" so giving women equal resources like men will help in their development potential to harness the best from society (RAND, 2008). Rather than just looking at the numbers of participating women in football urgent attention should be focused on addressing the problem of financial compensation so that women can be able to make permanent carriers out of the game without needing part-time jobs to supplement heir income. Recent research by World Players Union (FifPro) shows that 87% women will consider quitting football early because it is hard for them to make a carrier in football. "Players who devote years of their lives to get to the top of the game are surely entitled to a fairer slice of football's revenue" says FIFPro General Secretary Theo van Seggelen. "Gender equity and women's inclusion play a central role both as a litmus test and as an active variable shaping a more democratic, stabilized and developed society (FIFPro, 2017). Incorporating women in the nation-building process as early on as possible will help make these improvements happen sooner" said Cheryl Bernard, the study's lead author and a senior political scientist at RAND (RAND, 2008). So the whole energy should be around arming women with necessary compensation so that their presence in society can be openly felt and shine through nation building process.

7. Conclusion

There is no sport today more popular and powerful in its global reach, or more tightly linked to international politics than football. Football is easily the most universal language that

currently exists, its empire is more extensive than that of any political or religious ideology. "The only denominator common to all people, the only universal Esperanto," writes an enthusiast in 1954, "is football...what? A game has done what the cardinal virtues, laws, and modern science have not? Yes!" Football is a "world language, whose grammar is unchanging from the North Pole to the Equator," its global influence predicated on the very fact that it is "spoken in each corner of the globe with a particular accent." If this was already largely true in 1954, with advancement in technology it is even more than true today, as boosters of sport, notably the powerful international football organization FIFA and others have found out (Dubois, 2010).

This thesis study shows that football is a force for good and the positive social development impact of football is a force to reckon with. The thesis has demonstrated through the theories of postmodernism and participant development that football impacts the process of nation building especially in developing nations. Nation building was analyzed as a critical observation of societal behavior and effects of society on the character of a nation. And the theories of postmodernism and participant development have shown that improvement in societal stratum can provide the people of a nation with the tools to be part of their development and the development of their nation.

In many countries like Cameroon for example, everything comes to a halt when football is being played, taxi stop working, schools, businesses close, and at the national level congress, assembly, and elections are planned not to coincide with match days. Most of the country is tuned to the Television, radio, internet, or whatever platform available at least for 90 minutes. Football for the citizens is a national pride that eclipses all other structure of society. The national football team is a unified symbol for the nation and a flag bearer for the world. National football icons use their social status to lead the nation esprit de corps at home and abroad. The worldwide

perception of the nation is seen through this mega footballers because football has the potential to change, highlight and fight social issues as demonstrated by this study. National football players are easily identified with the masses not because of their cultural kindred but because they represent something bigger which is the nation.

The social and political popularity of football does not only have the potential to transform society and create great opportunities in football popular nations and indeed the world, but it also represents the proud identity of many nations and furnish these nations with something special, pride, euphoria, hope, icons and heroes, legends which no legislation or government can provide. Just look at the recent scenario during a European qualifying match in 2014 October 14th in Belgrade between Serbia and Albania which experienced crowd trouble and players squabble causing the match to be stopped after a drone carrying a pro-Albanian flag and map showing nationalist claims on neighboring state including Serbia, a demonstration of national sentiment and affinity to national pride (BBC, 2014). The impact of football on nation building can be felt through the transformation of cultural traditions into progressive postmodern thinking where increasingly society resembles each other even when the social and development structures vary.

The nations studied in this thesis have proven that football can be used as a tool to unit and also rebuild societies turn apart by social issues like civil conflict, corrupt governments, and dictators. Football playgrounds and stadiums have been used as theaters of protest and appeal for unity and rightly so given its global reach and high stage, and the hope is that this beautiful game will continue to inspire people and nations through the excitement and fun for the love of the game.

"Whoever invented football should be worshipped as a God"

Hugo Sanchez (Mexican football player and coach) (Cardenas, 2015 p. 22)

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