

FOOTBALL IN TOGO AND THE GAZE

Shuan Lin

PhD Candidate, Department of English,
National Changhua University of Education, Taiwan

ABSTRACT

Several studies have suggested that the football field in Africa is not an autonomous one; rather, it contributes to the production of nationhood and centralization of political powers. The present study is an interrogation of the gaze manifested upon the football field in Francophone West Africa, notably Togo, in the 80s. I propose that there are three distinctive modes of gaze projected onto the football field. First, the nationalistic gaze invested in the illu^sio of the field. Gaze for the local professional games is the second mode, and the last is the appreciation for the ‘art of the game’ in the French League; the pure gaze. Agents with particular dispositions pertaining a specific class fraction predispose one or more types of perceptions mentioned above for this sport. Pierre Bourdieu’s approach in analyzing the sport field is applied in the current paper in order to delve into the issue.

Keywords: African football, field, pure gaze, art of the game, Pierre Bourdieu

FOOTBALL AND THE GAZE

We all experience sport in different ways: through physical participation or from a spectators’ vantage point. It is the latter’s engagement with sport, football in particular, that this paper will mainly focus on. In Africa, football is intrinsically linked to politics. Several studies have illustrated that politics played, and is still playing, a pivotal role in the development of the football field in Africa, and its contribution to producing the idea of nationhood. In examining the football field in Africa, then, this paper intends to reverse the already-probed issue of politics and Africa, and instead, interrogate the modes of watching football manifested upon the field from the spectators’ side.

Before delving further into the issue, it would be appropriate to offer a brief account of how football came to Africa, thus familiarizing the reader with the background of this research. The history of the field is here divided into three general periods of time: the colonial period, the late

colonial era and the post-independence period. Before colonialism, Africa had their own sports such as wrestling, martial arts, competitive dancing and so on. Imperialism saw sport in general and football in particular, as a tool for civilization; it also served as a game played among the colonialists in the late nineteenth century¹. Elite schools and missionary functions connected football with civilizing missions as a way to provide civilized indigenous youth with healthy distractions². The knowledge and practice of football flourished with the establishment of Western-style schools across the continent. With time, Africans found pleasure in football and they wrested control of football from the colonizers and made it their own developing their own playing styles. Paul Darby asserts in *Africa, Football, and FIFA Politics, Colonialism, and Resistance*:

Football, initially learnt in the mission yard and later incorporated into the education curriculum, soon acquired immense popularity, particularly when it was diffused downwards during the 1920s and was appropriated by the indigenous population as a means of satisfying their own social and sporting aspirations. (12)

And as Africans wrested control of football, which had been a means to indoctrinate the values of colonial civilization and capitalism, they also transformed the football into a sport that was distinctively African. Football game may have been played according to international rules, but the blending of healers and local voodoo black magic and playing styles disclosed that football was taking on indigenous characteristics. Before independence, the emergence of African nationalist movements saw football as a forging power that unifies the players and the fans. Stadiums became sites in which the intellectuals, workers and the unemployed “challenged colonial power and expressed a shared commitment to racial equality and self-determination” (Alegi 36). Club football expanded with the independence of African nations, and by the 1960s, football was deeply rooted in urban Africa. With this sport firmly planted in the African culture, many governments built stadiums after the departure of the colonizers. In this sense, African stadiums became extremely valuable public spaces where “potentially disaggregated social actors found a common symbol, language, history and purpose” (Gaffney 26). Many stadiums were named in ways that signaled government ownership and the presence of police officers and soldiers could be detected at football grounds. Thus the stadiums often conveyed the image of

¹ “Colonial administrators, soldiers, missionaries, merchants and itinerant workers introduced the game of football in Africa in the late nineteenth and especially, the twentieth century.” (my translation) “À la fin du xixe siècle et, surtout, au xxe siècle, administrateurs coloniaux, soldats, missionnaires, commerçants et travailleurs itinérants ont introduit le football en Afrique.” (Susann Baller et Martha Saavedra 11)

² “As long as the game was viewed by educators and churchmen as possessing a civilizing and educative function, as well as acting a potential recruitment mechanism for the mission schools, then football would remain central to missionary endeavour.” (Darby 10)

government power during the postcolonial period. By the same token, football is able to retain a mobilization force manipulated by political powers to control the players, spectators and the organizations. In this sense, various forms of agency are produced by this mobilization force and are able to either engender positive or negative effects³.

Togo, situated in Francophone West Africa, will be exemplified for the case study. The following will mainly be based from my experience of the postcolonial period of the football field in Togo. It was with a subjective perception that I was being situated in Togo in the 80s, and for this analysis I objectify the subjective 'eye' of the field in that specific time in history.

Togo, a relatively new nation after independence back then, was and is still a dictator regime. The country boasts of the largest port in West Africa, thus the 80s saw Togo's economic expansion, and along with imperial developmental policies, they played a crucial factor in the expansion of football in Lome, the capital city. Football could be observed being played almost anywhere as it is a sport that was affordable and could be played in any open space: from town dwellers playing in neighborhoods to students in educational establishments. In addition, like elsewhere in Africa, Togo then, had a national league with approximately ten professional teams. Needless to say, those teams were largely sponsored by or belonged to the government. The country had only one stadium in the 80s, and like elsewhere in Africa, the presence of government authority was evident.

FOOTBALL FIELD IN TOGO IN THE 80S AND THREE MODES OF GAZE

The question, we then ask, is: what kind of football matches were offered in Togo in the 80s? And what kind of gaze would the spectators then have projected upon the field. Here, I classify football matches into three types: international games, local professional games and the French League shown on TV (TVT Télévision Togolaise).

Pierre Bourdieu's methodology of analysis of the sport's field will be applied for the research about the modes of watching football in Togo. In his article "The Historical Genesis of a Pure Aesthetic", Bourdieu notes that the western conception of aesthetic appreciation is the disinterested pensive attitude of the art lover. This pure gaze is the product of history reproduced by education. 'Pure gaze', as suggested by Pierre Bourdieu, is a particular scheme of perception, between the pure and the naïve. The notion derives from Kant's 'disinterested aesthetics', where

³ "Le football peut être une force de mobilisation pour tous ceux qui y sont impliqués – joueurs, spectateurs, supporters et organisateurs – et ceci peut aller bien au-delà d'un contrôle direct par des autorités politiques. En effet, cette énergie mobilisatrice du sport et du football produit différentes formes d'agency. Elle peut participer au développement d'une prise de responsabilité et d'une conscience politiques." (Baller 10)

the artistic beauty can only be found if one separates himself from any physical, emotional investment in an art work. Aesthetic objectivity is thus achieved through process of disinterested gaze, in which the artistic form, not its function is appreciated. (1987: 234). Bourdieu argues that to contemplate a work of art with the pure or disinterested gaze requires a break and rupture with the ordinary world, which is itself a social break, “The pure gaze implies a break with the ordinary attitude to the world, which, given the conditions in which it is performed, is also a social break.” (4) In so saying, the aesthetic gaze prioritizes style or the mode of representation. It is concerned with a self-sufficient form of play and therefore “with the way images are deployed or narratives are constructed.” (Fowler 46)

In contrast to the pure gaze, the ‘naïve gaze’ “cannot attain a specific grasp of works of art which only have meaning-or value-in relation to the specific history of an artistic tradition” (Distinction 4). It is precisely the point of not being the product of that field of history reproduced by education that produces the naïve gaze.

Aesthetic gaze has been here to the perception of art as a cultural good. It is then appropriate to utilize this scheme of perception to look at the football field as it is also a form of cultural consumption, which Bourdieu equally illustrated in his article “How can one be a sports fan”. I propose that there are three distinctive modes of gaze applied to the football field. Consider that Togo in the 80s was a fragile nation on the path to stabilization; colonialism had imposed frontiers to encompass and divide several different ethnic groups. Two main ethnic groups within Togo, Ewe in the south and Kabye in the north, were thus thrown together within the borders. The railway system built through only half way into the heart of the nation bespoke explicitly the unequal development of the country. Until the dictatorship of Gnassingbé Eyadema, the southern Ewe culture predominated in all realms of life and was second only to the influence of French. After 1967; however, the president deigned to redress the southern bias in cultural, political, and social life. This movement attempted to highlight the many and diverse cultures of Togo, but resulted in reducing them to two only: that of the north and south. The dictator in power then was from the north, this created indignation and animosity among the southern Ewes and northern Kabyes. The Ewes often looked down on the Kabyes as many of them were illiterates. Those from the north distrusted those from the south⁴. Tensions were ever present as attempts of the coup d’etat planned to overthrow the regime took place frequently. Moreover, such tensions could be detected in large unemployed figures of the Kaybes in urban areas, and they were often being denigrated as villagers. Many Ewe shop owners or household owners would not employ Kabyes. In addition to these rivalries, the president utilized the ethnic card (Toulabour 1986), which attempted to instill fear in northerners “by suggesting that if a southerner came to power,

⁴ Piot, Charles. *Nostalgia For the Future* (2010)

all northerners would be chased from the south. Southerners similarly fed anti-northern sentiment to marshal support for their own political cause.” (Piot 32)

Temporary unifying sentiment of the two ethnic groups could be perceived during international sport competition such as the Confederation Africaine de Football (CAF). On such occasions people, regardless of their ethnic diversity, class division and gender differences, bound together to support Togo, as a nation. Nationalism, depicts Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, is impressive not so much that it affords people something to live for, but as a concept for which millions are willing to die (6). Nations enrich our lives with meaning that stretches beyond individual life spans. Moreover, the concept appeals to images of themselves as reviving back to immemorial times and furthering into a timeless future while actually they are temporarily situated. Thus, football is intimately connected to nationalism that “the meaning of sport for national identity and unity, for international visibility and prestige, and for pan-African cohesion and leverage weaves in and out of the history of independent Africa.” (Baker 24)

Fixation on games such as CAF, I would argue, activates a nationalistic gaze, which is invested in the *illusio* of the field. *Illusio*, drawing from Bourdieu’s term, is the belief that the game is worth playing in a collective consent. He states that “each field produces its specific form of the *illusio*, in the sense of an investment, in the game which pulls agents out of their indifference and inclines and predisposes them to put into operation the distinctions which are pertinent from the view of the logic of the field” (227-7). It is thus the belief in the football game itself that the spectators momentarily discard their reality and invest their gaze in the field. The collective gaze embodies the notion of the nation where they revive their past: the Africanness before colonialism; and imagine the brighter future: the Africanness without colonialism. Ethnic diversity and class division is temporarily suspended for a sole cause, and this suspension creates a site for an articulation for the ‘imagined’ nation. As suggests Vidacs in “Football in Cameroon”, “the national championships allowed citizens to choose to belong to the imagined community of the nation, without neglecting individual, local, ethnic, religion and other identities” (63). For the duration of a 90-minute match, the streets were often deserted, works suspended and eyes glued on the game either in the stadium, on TV screens or ears plastered to radios.

I would argue that domestic professional games represent a second type of football game. This type differs from the international games since it is district oriented, and these games mobilize less population for a specific cause. Federation Togolaise de Football (FTF), founded in 1960, comprised of approximately ten clubs with Etoile Filante and AC Semassi⁵ as the top favorites.

⁵ For champions list of FTF <http://www.rsssf.com/tablest/togochamp.html>

During club season, competitions were held on weekends and only the top teams were broadcasted on TV. Spectators, the numbers considerably less than during international championships, displaced themselves either to the stadiums, watched on TV (if broadcasted), or more often by radio broadcasts. The mode of gaze applied to these games is the gaze for the domestic professional football.

The arrival of privately owned satellite televisions in Africa engendered an increase in the number of hours of European matches, especially the French League, were broadcasted on television. In Togo, there had only been a single TV channel in the 80s. Programs aired on weekday evenings from five to midnight and from nine in the morning to midnight on weekends. Viewers had no choice on programs; rather, the programs were already chosen by the television company and censored by the government. Local programs were considerably sparse compared to the imported ones, mainly films and entertainments from France or other parts of Europe. A typical weekend day would consist of: traditional dances (local) and cartoons (France) in the morning, news (local and rerun of French news), cooking shows (France) followed by football match of French League in the afternoon, news (same as at noon) and the day ends with a French film. As illustrated, the proportion of imported programs largely filled the time slots.

Due to large proportion of the imported programs, the French League was first introduced to the Togolese in the phase stated earlier. French League matches were also broadcasted in bars where many expatriates frequented. The presence of African players in the French League enticed local viewers to divert their gaze upon the games. This type of gaze, the third mode that I propose, is the gaze for the French League. It differs from the other two modes in terms of its detachment from that sense of belonging. In addition, the gap between performance, facilities and equipments in local football and French football gave another reason for the local viewers to abandon local games. It was not uncommon to find the stadiums virtually empty, while people were willing to pay to watch French League in venues that broadcasted foreign leagues.

Thus far I have illustrated three different types of football games in Togo, in terms of ‘spatial capacity’ and possible ‘proportion’ of the gaze invested in each of the categories. Drawing from the analysis, the assumption is that the football field is invested predominately by nationalistic gaze. The gaze for the domestic professional games follows suit; however, some of the gazers are deflected towards the French League. By applying Bourdieu’s methodology of analysis of sport based on class fraction, I intend to examine the following questions: which agents inhabit the different modes of gaze? And is mode of perception determined by class distribution?

In “How can one be a sport’s fan?”, Bourdieu develops the idea of sport as physical art-for-art’s sake in nineteenth century private schools for the purpose of instilling a disinterested relation to

one's body. He specifies the different relations to the body that emerges from different class habituses: agents in different class fractions, especially between the dominant (economic and symbolic capital rich) and the dominated (cultural capital rich) of the middle class. For instance, middle class agents engage in sports that develop the body and skills, whereas the workers gravitate towards sports that aid the development bodily strength. Moreover, agents distributed in different class fractions may determine their schemes of perception. To justify his claim, Bourdieu provides various arguments and examples, including his explanation of differences between the ways of engaging in sports between middle and upper classes on the one hand, and the working class, on the other. While workers engage in sports basically only when they are young, as a means of expending excess of physical (and sexual) energy, sports for the bourgeois are exercised for physical maintenance and social profit, even after youth. Bourdieu illuminates the fact that by engaging in sports beyond the entry of adulthood stresses that bourgeois do not engage in physically demanding jobs. Rather more prestigious, intellectual ones, which, among other benefits, allow for leisure time and physical energy which are needed for healthy recreation. To exemplify this Bourdieu contends that folk games were reorganized by the elites in the 19th century Britain according to an aristocratic philosophy of amateurism that sport is:

Disinterested practice, a finality without end, analogous to artistic practice, but even more suitable than art for affirming the manly virtues of future leaders: sport was conceived as a training in courage and manliness, "forming the character" and inculcating the "will to win", which is the mark of the true leader, but a will to win within the rules. The latter is "fair play", conceived as an aristocratic disposition utterly opposed to the plebeian pursuit of victory at all costs. (430)

Despite Bourdieu's focus on the class dimensions of sport, Togo, a dictator regime, does not present a clear class divide, thus it is vital to analyze from the perspective the dispositions the agents pertain. Large population displaced themselves to watch their country play against another country. Those who did not possess a television or radio gathered in those who had, and people who could afford the entrance fee cramped themselves in the stadium. Bars and restaurants were the other alternative to watching the game. A typical game day in the 80s would be thus: someone in the neighborhood with television would pull out the box onto the street where many of his neighbors already gathered and practically no vehicles could be heard or seen. From house servants to village chiefs, the nation mobilized for their country. Despite their class differences, and ethnic diversity, they were Togolese. Nationality can be concluded as the key disposition. Spare time does not pose a problem here as usually in cases such as this, it is taken as a national holiday. If class fraction is blurred and the gaze is collectively invested in the illusion of the field, then this mode of gaze is not class determined; rather, nationality bound.

Etoile Filante and AC Semassi were the two favorite teams back then. Etoile Filante was a team comprised mostly of players from the Ewe ethnic, and most of them were from the capital city, Lome. AS Semassi was a team based in the district of Sokode, equally in Lome. Most of the players, as Etoile Filante, were Ewe. Both teams had plenty of fans, district based rather than ethnic oriented. If the television channel was scheduled to broadcast a local professional game, then these two teams would certainly be shown. In order to support their teams, fans needed first of all, money for the entrance fee to the stadium. Alternatively, they could capture the game on television, meaning they would probably need to possess one. Thirdly, they could pay to watch the game in bars. Radios were also used to follow the games; however, it would not be constituted here as the 'gaze'. If an agent possessed a way to view the game, he then also needed leisure time. Most of these games were being played on Saturday or Sunday afternoons, and if a house servant had a day off with money to spend, then the trajectory to the game is made possible. Recap from above, the trajectory for an agent to invest his gaze upon local professional games besides being a fan of a team (district determined) would primarily, predispose economic capital and secondarily, spare time.

French League games were usually broadcasted on Saturday and Sunday afternoons as well. As stated earlier, the Togo Television Company would likely opt to show the French League instead of domestic games. To watch a French League game, let's say, Paris St.Germain, the viewers should own a television, or money to watch at a bar or in a restaurant. The agent also requires spare time that coincides with the broadcast of the game. All of these components are similar to the ones for the local professional games, except it is not district oriented. Thus the mode of gaze for the French League is constituted by the agent's disposition of economic capital and spare time. He also requires a certain scheme for perception that enables him to appreciate the game that he is not directly affected in terms of national and district identification.

To give an idea of how economic capital is determined in this case it is preferable to depict the situation in Togo of who would likely possess a television. Many of the inhabitants in Lome had come to the city to seek employment and most of them rented rooms in compounds, a cluster of houses in an enclosure. To own a television was beyond their means and besides, to pay for the electricity would have been exorbitant for them. It was not uncommon to detect that in a street in the city of approximately a hundred inhabitants, only twenty percent of those owned a television. Business owners, civil servants and the strata above were the groups of people who would likely own televisions.

THE PURE GAZE

The probability of investing a certain mode of gaze depends, to a certain degree, on national identification, economic capital; cultural capital and spare time characterize the agents' dispositions. From this account, which disposition is likely to inhabit the pure gaze drawn by Bourdieu's concept? The connoisseur has schemes of perceptions and appreciation which enable him to discern what an ordinary consumer does not detect. As he states in "Sports fan", a connoisseur can see "in the unforeseeable inevitability of a successful combinations or the near-miraculous orchestration of a team strategy, a pleasure no less intense and learned than the pleasure a music-lover derives from a particular successful rendering of a favourite work" (433). The more superficial the perception, the more the eye is drawn to seek the sensational that amplifies the suspension and anxiety that the result of a match is aimed to gratify the sentiment.

In this sense, the nationalistic gaze does not inhabit pure gaze as it embodies the ideology of politics. Success of such a gaze is precisely its declination of the pure that assures the collective belief in the game of nationhood and that a victory is of the utmost priority. By the same token, 'function' is more important than 'form'.

Agents who view local professional games can be categorized into two groups: the connoisseur and the naïve. The naïve finds pleasure in the immediate pleasure and satisfaction in victory. The connoisseur gaze is more refined in terms of perceiving of game play, performance and team strategy. From Bourdieu's concept of aesthetic gaze discussed above, pure gaze is acquired through implicit learning (education) and the history of the field which enable the agent to view and sift out things that may rouse emotions ordinary people experience in ordinary existence. This point confirms the case in Togo; the wealthy sent their children to elite schools in Togo and these children were given the opportunity to absorb the education akin to those in the western world. There were three elite schools in Togo, the British School, the American School and the French School. The American and the British schools did not offer football in their curriculums. Only the French school provided football as part of its compulsory physical education program. Children sent to the French school were most likely to grow up with the history of the field and the education that imbued in them with a 'pure' perception for football that, though acquired, seemed natural to them. Nonetheless, the proportion of this group is smaller than the naïve, as most of these spectators were likely to opt for the French League that was closer to their upbringing.

Apart from the French expatriates who were likely to watch games of their own country, those who had received elite education, or those who attended elite school abroad were the most likely to watch the French League. Football coaches, industrialists or agents with economic capital have dispositions that enable them to view the French League did not necessarily pertain aesthetic disposition. Agents who are inclined to inhabit the pure gaze are those who direct their

‘eyes’ on football for the art of the game, without emotional investment. The disinterestedness allows them to perceive the French League games with no ‘nationhood and ‘district’ identification, and the matter of victory or defeat may not affect them directly. Thus their gaze invested in the field suspends the ‘interest’ invested in the game.

In these three distinctive modes of gaze, the gaze of the French League is the most likely to inhabit the pure gaze in comparison to the gaze for the local professional games. Agents may inhabit more than one mode of gaze. For instance, a village chief may invest the nationalistic, the gaze for the local professional game, and gaze for the French League, whereas, a gardener’s dispositions do not allow him to make the trajectory to the gaze for the local and French League games.

Clustering all the assumptions together, three distinctive modes of gaze are determined by the agent’s dispositions in economic capital, cultural capital and leisure time. Social class fractions differ by the amount of economic capital and cultural capital. For the study here, economic capital is measured by the possession of television, the probability of paying for the stadium’s entrance fee or costs of frequenting a bar. Moreover, leisure time is also a valuable index. Cultural capital is acquired through education or family background, and the disposition of agent’s economic capital may precondition the chance of attaining cultural capital. Within these preconditions a connoisseur can be found, and this connoisseur’s dispositions grant him the probability of having the pure gaze.

ANOTHER READING OF THE GAZE

Following the trajectory of how football, from a tool of civilizing missions, to a sport privatized and popularized by the Africans and to the politicalized field, the modes of gaze can be distributed in three categories: nationalized, for the local games and for the French League. The question arises here is: can the gaze for the French League inhabit a colonized gaze?

The government-controlled television company dictated the choices of programs and French League was first introduced to the Togo public by the media. Local games were replaced by the French League on the only channel available in Togo in the 80s. As depicted earlier, many people opted to watch the French League because of its superior performance, facilities and equipment. They were even willing to pay to watch the games rather than paying for the local games. Alegi observes in African *Soccerscapes* that, “glamorous, revenue-generating leagues and clubs are marginalizing various forms of nonelite football around the world, but the game in Africa is so acutely affected that it is a form of electronic colonialism” (107). First of all, the government had coerced the public with French League. In this case, the gazers gave ‘consent’ (paying to watch at bar) to the ‘coercion’ of watching a ‘superior’ game that was the ‘colonizers’

which the viewers were the 'colonized'. Secondly, the viewers willingly gave 'consent' to inhabit the colonized gaze. This mode of gaze already preconditions that the French game is superior, and thus by investing in such a game the perception is 'mapped'. Thus, in this kind of reading of the gaze alludes to the postcolonial discourse in which the colonized subverts the gaze on the colonizer; however, this interpretation will not be developed in the current study. In this sense, can this mode of gaze be juxtaposed with the pure gaze? Can this mode of colonized gaze inhabit pure gaze?

I advance that this mode of gaze is similar to the nationalistic gaze. Agents consenting to view French League inhabited the belief of the *illusio* of the game. On the other hand, agents with aesthetic disposition may invest the gaze in the game; however, this aesthetic perception is already permeated with the 'belief' of the game. In this regard the question of pure gaze within this mode of gaze is thus erased.

CONCLUSION

This is a study of football, as a cultural phenomenon. The field of football can be approached in two ways, the physical engagement and the spectators' engagement. Present analysis focuses on the spectators' engagement with the field by interrogating the modes of gaze invested in the football field. The case study of the football field in the 80s in Togo is specifically put forward.

Pierre Bourdieu's methodology in analyzing the sports field is applied here. His concept on aesthetic gaze for art's works and schemes of perception for sports are developed in this paper to investigate the modes of gaze. The modes of gaze vis-à-vis class fraction determined are also probed.

Football games in Togo in the 80s are divided into three types and from these three types the modes of gaze invested in each of the game type are analyzed. Drawing from the analysis, the probability of investing in different modes of gaze depends on an agent's economic capital, cultural capital and leisure time. Economic and cultural capital differ by agent's class fraction, thus, this seems to fit in with Bourdieu's argument about class differentiations in aesthetic taste. However, the influence of local and specific structures that determine class differentiation within a country like Togo, are at some variance with the objectifying analysis of the sport field as it was put forward by Bourdieu; Togo's social structure under the dictator regime proves complex in terms of the clear (but essentially western, European and French) sociological grid that Bourdieu deploys in order to discuss class division.

This paper focuses solely in the period of the 80s. Much has changed in the football field in Africa. For instance, the digital revolution such as the internet channels has inevitably affected

how football is presented and viewed. The growing influence of business interests in the African games illustrates the widened inequalities in wealth and the corruptive component in African leagues.

What is not discussed in this paper and could engender further research is the agent's trajectory into the football field in Africa, and dispositions or class fractions that enable an agent to take that position in the field. Recent football fames like the Ivory Coast's Didier Drogba and Togo's Emmanuel Adebayor in the English League instilled a football dream for the young Africans aspiring in making the trajectory into the football field. Moreover, many of these illustrious agents established football academies in their home countries in order to provide a space for the young hopefuls to exercise and pursue their dreams. It would, thus, prove to be an interesting topic for further research.

WORKS CITED

Alegi, Peter. *African Soccerescapes. How a Continent Changed the World's Game*. London: Hurst & Co., 2010.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1991.

Baker, William J., and James A.Mangan, eds. *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History*. New York: Africana, 1987.

Baller, Susann, and Martha Saavedra. *Les Terrains Politiques du Football*. Paris: Karthala Editions, 2010.

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

Bourdieu, Pierre. "How can one be a sports fan?" *The Cultural Studies*, During, S. (ed.). 1993. 427-440.

---. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Ed. Werner

---. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Darby, Paul. *Africa, Football and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Fowler, Bridget. *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory: Critical Investigations*. London: Sage Publications, 1997.

Gaffney, Christopher T. *Temples of the Earthbound Gods: Stadiums in the Cultural Landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Piot, Charles. *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Toulabour, Comi. *Le Togo sous Eyadema*. Paris: Karthala, 1986.