

Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930-1969)

A Historical Perspective



Hikabwa Decius Chipande



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AWS	African Welfare Society
BHAFA	Broken Hill Amateur Football Association
BSAC	British South African Company
FA	Football Association
SAFA	South African Football Association
FASA	Football Association of South Africa
FAZ	Football Association of Zambia
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
KK 11	Kenneth Kaunda Eleven
NSCZ	National Sports Council of Zambia
NFL	National Football League
NRFA	Northern Rhodesia Football Association
SRFA	Southern Rhodesia Football Association
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZFA	Zambia Football Association
ZSSFA	Zambia Secondary Schools Football Association

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

What diffusion is more universal than football's, whose grounds can be seen in every latitude in the centre of huge industrial cities and in the most isolated villages of Third World Countries? This was a question a French geographer asked (Guttman, 1994 p.41).

As in many countries across the world, football is the most popular sport in Zambia. It is played predominantly by males of all different ages in the urban and rural areas. This confirms the observation of the French geographer because; football is played all over Zambia, even in the remotest villages of the country.

This thesis will attempt to explore and analyse the diffusion and development of football in Zambia. It will look at how football, a game which was played by the colonialists was introduced and became a popular sport among the local people. The main focus in this study is on the important directions of football development in Zambia from 1930 to the late 1960's. There are periods in this study that will be covered less thoroughly, due to the scarcity of sources, however, I believe that the study still has enough information to cover all the periods.

Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country in South Central Africa (see map number 1 on page 3). The name of the country is derived from the Zambezi River, which begins in the North-Western part of the country in an area, called Kalene hills. The Zambezi River meanders its way from the North-Western province south-wards forming a boundary with Zambia's southern neighbours: Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe. Zambia shares borders with other countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola bringing the number of her neighbours to nine.

According to the last census held in 2002, Zambia's population was at 10.3 million. The population composition is 98.7 percent African, 1.1 percent people whose ancestors came

from Europe and 0.2 percent others. Zambia has about 73 indigenous languages and English is the country's official language (Musambachime, 2003).

Zambia's contact with the Western world began with the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola early in the 17th Century. At the end of the 19th Century, Zambia came under British rule. During the 'Scramble for Africa'¹, Cecil John Rhodes² ensured that so much land north as well as south of the Zambezi River came within the British sphere of influence. He managed to convince the British government in 1889 to grant his British South Africa Company (BSAC) powers to administer and to take claims to African territory at the expense of other European powers. He took over the territory called Zambia today after his agent Frank Lochner signed the Lochner Treaty on behalf of Rhodes with Lewanika who was the king of the Lozi people of western Zambia. The territory got to be called Northern Rhodesia, after Cecil John Rhodes, while Zimbabwe was called Southern Rhodesia (Musambachime, 2003; Dasgupta, 1990; Haantobolo, 2000).

The British colonial rule of Zambia began in 1890 under the administration of the British South African Company (BSAC), which was a chartered Company founded by Cecil John Rhodes. The colonial office took over the rule of the territory from the BSAC in 1924. Under British rule, it was headed by a governor with a small executive of appointed Europeans who were implementing an indirect rule system where local appointed chiefs ruled on behalf of the British. Towards the end of the 1920's, copper ore was discovered in the territory in an area today called Copperbelt Province (see Copperbelt Province on map number 2 page 71). This brought industrialisation in the territory and an influx of investors from different parts of the world that came to establish copper mines in the area (Dasgupta, 1990; Musambachime, 2003).

The territory came under a federation in 1953 known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The federation involved Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). The Federation was formed under the pressure of the European minority rulers in the three territories who wanted to strengthen their political and

¹ The scramble for Africa which is also known as the race for Africa was an explosion of conflicting European claims of African territory between the 1880's and 1914.

² Cecil John Rhodes was a British businessman who made a lot of money in the diamond and gold mines in South Africa. He dreamed of making a rail line from Cape to Cairo, and bringing the whole area in between under British rule.

economic positions. This was greatly resisted by the Africans (explanation of the expressions Europeans and Africans see page 20).

Map Number 1

Zambia's Location in Africa, Neighbours and major Towns



With a lot of pressure from people like Kenneth Kaunda, Hastings Kamuzu Banda and many others, the federation came to an end in 1963. Both Nyasaland and Zambia got their independence in 1964. Nyasaland became Malawi with Hastings Kamuzu Banda as president. Zambia got her independence on 24th October 1964 with Kenneth Kaunda as president, while Zimbabwe remained under colonial rule. Ian Smith in 1965 stated his Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Zimbabwe. The struggle for independence in Zimbabwe continued until 1980 when they got independence with Robert Mugabe as prime minister (Dasgupta, 1990; Haantobolo, 2000; Musambachime, 2003).

Research questions and themes of the thesis

When preparing a research question in a history study, one should have in mind the basic philosophy and practice of the academic field. One should, therefore, be familiar with the way historians ask questions, the approaches and the techniques they apply (Booth, 2005). Struna (2005) mentions two models in sports history namely: descriptive and analytical. She argues that historians choose one of the two approaches, depending on the type of questions they ask, and the literature available to them. Descriptive history locates persons, trends, events, focussing on the actors and social factors. While analytical history sets out to make sense of the detail. The job of an analytical historian is to investigate how situations, events and phenomena came to being. Examining changes across time, analytical historians ask questions such as ‘why’ and ‘how’(Struna, 2005). This study will attempt to take the analytical approach and the research questions in the study will be as follows:

a. How was competitive football introduced in Zambia?

b. How did the game of football, which was played by colonialists, develop between 1930 and 1969 in Zambia?

c. How was it integrated into the local culture to become the most popular sport in the country?

A good history thesis acquires ‘cumulative plausibility’ and it is not about being right or wrong (Holt, 2000). When looking at accounts as to whether they are convincing or not, the most convincing accounts tend to be those which are not only most firmly based in the historical sources but which draw together as many aspects of the period as possible (Holt, 2000). This study will therefore seek to explore and analyse the following sub-questions between 1930 and 1969:

- How was football introduced to the native people in Zambia?
- Who played important roles in its introduction?
- How did football develop during this period and what factors influenced its development?
- How was the relationship between the local people and those who introduced football?

- What made football popular among the local people?
- Why did football develop more on the Copperbelt than the other provinces?
- How accessible was football to the local people during this period?
- What did independence mean to football?
- What role did the new political leaders play in the development of football in Zambia?

In my attempt to answer these questions, I have divided my thesis into eight chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the study. It covers the research questions and the methodology used in the study. Chapter two discusses the two main theories that have been used in this study, these are: cultural imperialism and cultural hegemony. The two theories are giving perspectives which have been used to see and analyse the history and development of football in Zambia. They are discussed in relationship with the diffusion of modern sport and the colonisation of Africa.

Chapter three discusses the historical background. It looks at the history of football, how it started in England and how it diffused to different parts of the world. It also looks at how football diffused to South Africa and Zimbabwe, laying a foundation for the discussion of the history and development of football in Zambia.

The fourth chapter starts the discussion on the introduction of football in Zambia. It looks at the roles missionary and colonial education systems played in introducing football in Northern Rhodesia. It also discusses how the colonial administrators contributed to the diffusion of football by being the first people in the territory who played the game in its organised form.

Chapter five looks at how organised football started in Northern Rhodesia. It discusses the formation of associations such as the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association (BHFA) and many others leading to the formation of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA). It also looks at how native football developed and how it was organised.

Chapter six discusses amateur football, and the ending of racial football in Northern Rhodesia. It looks at the building up of the momentum towards independence and calls for the introduction of a non-racial professional league. It also discusses how the national football league was introduced.

Chapter seven is about football and independence in Northern Rhodesia. It explores how independence influenced the development of football in the newly born Zambia, insecurities that developed among Europeans, the role the new government played in the development and administration of football and the coming in of new football leadership in Zambia.

The eighth and final chapter is a concluding chapter. It also goes back to the theoretical perspectives. Trying to assess the connection between the theories discussed in chapter two and the diffusion and development of football in Zambia. This chapter tries to look at how helpful the two theories are in analysing the diffusion of football in Zambia.

Research background

There is no evidence of any academic research that has been done on the history of football in Zambia. The only written document I found on football in Zambia was a book written by Ridgeway Liwena, a former sports journalist and football player entitled ‘The Zambian Soccer Scene’. This study is, therefore, one of the first studies in this field in the country. There were, thus, a lot of challenges experienced during the process. The main challenge encountered has been the unavailability of primary sources.

While recognising the impracticality of locating all documents and the unavoidable incompleteness of the whole historical process, historians explore archives, private collections, libraries and a lot of other repositories to find the primary sources needed to gain an understanding of the sporting past (Wiggins & Mason, 2005). Finding sources on the history of football in Zambia has been a daunting task. There are few sources on this topic because there is a poor recordkeeping system in clubs, organisations and government departments in the country. Most of the sources have either been misplaced and their whereabouts are not known or they have been destroyed by the keepers on account of them not being worthwhile. Most football clubs’ records had been kept by individuals in their homes. I was told several occasions that, it became very difficult or impossible for the clubs to retrieve the records from the family members after the death of such people. I, therefore, had to travel up and down the country scratching for sources.

Written records which were the most valued type of sources in this study were mostly found in the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka and the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) archives in Ndola on the Copperbelt (see map number 2 on page 66). The newspapers and magazines were the main sources on the history of football in Zambia. The challenge was that most of the old newspapers which has information on football found in the National archives of Zambia, especially those between 1930 and 1970 are torn to pieces. It was also challenging to follow up some articles in the papers because some people had cut out most of the interesting football articles from the newspapers found in the archives. Such acts have made the archives officials not to allow anyone to photocopy or scan the articles available in the newspapers and magazines in the archives, which made my work even more challenging.

I visited the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) offices a number of times, with the hope of finding some sources and i was given nothing. They told me that they have no documents or sources that they would give me. However, Mr. Julio Chiluba, who is currently the longest saving member of FAZ gave me names of people whom i could contact and find out if they had kept any personal documents on Zambian football.

It was interesting to learn that there are a few individuals who have kept some old football records in form of magazines, newspapers, team lists, photos etc. I travelled around to locate and meet some of those people. Some people like Peter Mashambe, a veteran football administrator were very helpful and willing to share the few sources they have, while others were not willing for reasons best known to themselves.

Although daunting, the whole process with its challenges has been a very worthwhile experience, as it has helped me to understand a little more about the football situation in Zambia.

Methodology

Sources and Literature

According to Polley (2007), historical sources include every kind of evidence that involve human beings and their past activities. All historians agree that there must be evidence in

order for a historical study to be undertaken. In this study, the main types of evidence that have been used are linguistic and documentary evidence. Despite there being many types of evidence, only two have been used in this study because of the unavailability and the challenge of finding other types of sources. It is important that a historian understands the origin and context of each source and be in a position to explain how the source is relevant to the historical question (Booth, 2005). This was the reason why I focussed and only used documentary and linguistic evidence in this study, because it is easy to contextualise and trace the origins of this type of evidence.

There are two types of sources one can use in a historical study; namely primary and secondary sources. Primary evidence is, however, the foundation of all historical research. A primary source is a firsthand source or the actual evidence of a historical account (Struna, 2005). Primary sources are original materials which are directly associated with the topic that is being investigated (Wiggins & Mason, 2005). In this study, newspapers, magazines, government reports and oral interviews are the primary sources that have been used. Polley (2007) argues that sports history research is based on contextualising and analysing a diversity of materials that exist and linking them to the relevant secondary historiography.

A secondary source is a description of primary sources, although sometimes it might be the main source. Secondary sources are distinguished from primary sources in that they usually comprise of books or articles which were written by people who were not directly associated with the event (Struna, 2005). There is nothing much that has been written in form of secondary sources on the introduction and development of football in Zambia. As previously mentioned, the only written secondary source on football in Zambia is a book entitled 'The Zambian Soccer Scene' written by Ridgeway Liwena (2005). The main secondary sources used in this study focus on the history, development and diffusion of football from England to different parts of the world.

Introduction to the primary sources used in the study

Newspapers

Newspapers and magazines have been giving sports historians a lot of information about sport in the past, events, the results, the players and the geographical distribution of sports and a sense of what sport meant to the people (Polley 2007). They have been a major source of information and pictures about sports history have been valued by sports historians.

There were two types of newspapers in Northern Rhodesia. There were newspapers whose news and articles were directed towards Africans and those which were directed towards Europeans. Those meant for Europeans focused on news mostly among white people living in Northern Rhodesia. They also gave a lot of news from England and news from the white communities in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. The African newspapers focused on news among the black communities in Northern Rhodesia. The earliest to develop, which were consistent and well organised were the newspapers for Europeans.

Newspapers for both Europeans and Africans covered football. Both types of newspapers did not only cover their local football, but also outside football, especially English football. Although the newspapers for Europeans covered more English and white South African sports than those for Africans, some of the newspapers for Africans also covered quite a lot of English football. This somehow indicates how much influence English football had on the development of football in Northern Rhodesia. It seems that both white and black communities were interested in football. The following are the newspapers used in this study.

Northern News

The Northern News was one of the most organised early newspapers in Northern Rhodesia. It was a newspaper which focused on activities and news among white people in the territory. The newspaper was controlled by the colonial government. Most of the news in the paper was about the colonial government and what was happening in the European communities. It also gave news about the happenings in England, South Africa and other dominions. The paper

had news about native people too. However, the focus in this case was mostly about how they related with the white people and weird happenings in the native communities such as crimes.

Critical people would have seen *The Northern News* as a mouth piece of the Northern Rhodesian government and to some extent as a tool for colonial propaganda. The paper was written in a modern way and most of the reporters (although their names were not written until the early 1960's) could have been qualified journalists.

Mutende (Newspaper for Africans in Northern Rhodesia)

The *Mutende*³ was one of the earliest newspapers primarily focusing on Africans in Northern Rhodesia. It was established by a European who wanted the Africans to have their own share of the existing modern media. It focussed on the lifestyles of African people. Most of the news in the *Mutende* was about the latest happenings in the African labour camps, townships, workplaces, villages, traditional leaders, ceremonies and sports activities especially football. The *Mutende* also focused on modern related successes and achievements of Africans in their communities. Its main aim could have been to modernise the Africans and help them to become developed like their European counterparts.

As much as the *Mutende* reported a lot about African traditional way of life, one can tell that the reports were also full of admiration of life in European communities and that most local people were striving to reach the standards of Europeans. Politically, the *Mutende* was sometimes quite critical about the colonial government.

Central African Post

The *Central African Post* was similar to the *Northern News*. It was formed during the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It gave coverage of news in the three territories; Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia which were members of the federation. Like the *Northern News*, the *Central African Post* focussed on news mostly in white communities and federal government propaganda.

³ *Mutende* means "peace" in Bemba, one of the Zambian languages

Zambia News and Times of Zambia

Zambia News and the Times of Zambia were born around independence; they became the first newspapers which began to balance reporting on both races. Being born around independence, they tried to strike a balance in their reporting although one would argue that they fell more on the side of Africans than Europeans. Their ways of reporting changed towards the end of the 1960's, one would argue that the two newspapers turned out to be the new government's mouth pieces.

Nshila

Nshila⁴ was a newspaper which was published every two weeks by the Zambian Government. It focussed on life among the black people especially after independence. Nshila did not cover much on Europeans. It was a newspaper meant mostly for Africans in Zambia.

Mine Newspapers

Each mining district on the Copperbelt had its own newspaper or magazine (see map number 2 on page 66). The newspapers provided news about the development in the mines and the social activities which were taking place in the mining compounds. Football was one of the most dominant sports which were found in the mining newspapers. The newspapers found in the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) archives from different mining towns used in this study include: the Mufulira Star, Mufulira, Nchanga News and Nchanga Weekly.

Magazines

A few magazines such as the Horizon and Roan Antelope have been used in the study. These magazines were found on the Copperbelt Province in the ZCCM archives, and they focussed on life in the mining districts. The magazines on the Copperbelt were also divided; there were magazines for white communities and occasionally magazines for black communities.

⁴ Nshila means "the way" in Bemba, one of the Zambian languages

Reports/Letters

The main reports used in the study were educational annual reports for European and African education. A few letters of official correspondence on the formation of the Native Football Committee by the colonial government have also been used. All these records were found in the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka. The National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka is the main archive in the country which is expected to have all documents pertaining to governmental and non-governmental records. It is also expected to have a lot of records on sports, especially football which is the most popular sport in the country. However, the archive has very little information on football.

Interviews

According to Polley (2007), oral history is another source based on memory which is especially conducted through interviews. Oral historians are unique in the way they question their informants and in evoking memories and understandings of individuals and groups mainly hidden from documentary sources (Booth, 2005). Many people who are interviewed do not normally leave a written record. Therefore, it is important to record or film the interviews (Polley, 2007).

In this study, semi-structured interviews with people who either played or administered early football in Zambia have been conducted. The interviews have also been recorded. The people interviewed include Mr. Thomas Mtine who was the first African to lead the National Football League (NFL) and later the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), Dr. Julius Sakala who was a football player and later administrator and he is currently the chairman of the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ), Mr. Peter Mashambe a former football player and veteran football administrator, Mr. Mwansa a former football player and a few others.

It was very interesting and exhilarating to personally meet these important football personalities in Zambia. However, it did not come without challenges; most of these people are well along with age, very busy and are quite protected either by their secretaries or their children. What I experienced was that the more successful these people are, the more challenging it is for one to have access to them. It was very challenging for me for example to

meet Mr. Mtine, a man who can be called the father of modern Zambian football. His son told me that it was not possible for me to meet him; he is no longer involved in football. He told me that if I want such information I should go to the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ). But when I finally managed to meet the old man, he was very welcoming, encouraging and very helpful. I got quite a number of people who gave me the same type of response, refusing to meet me and referring me to FAZ, even after I had explained to them the purpose of my discussion with them. One veteran football commentator refused to meet me and have a discussion with him arguing that he is writing his own book and he would not want to pre-empt what he is writing in his own book.

I however, had a great time discussing with a number of former football administrators and players. They were very enthusiastic in sharing their football past with me. Most of them were very kind and helpful to me, they gave me more ideas of whom to talk to and where I can go to try and find more sources. In the absence of enough written primary sources, the interviews I had with these people added a lot of value to the available written sources.

Source Critique and Analysis

The sources used in this thesis have been cautiously selected and criticised in order to make sure that the most truthful available sources have been used. Once a historian has identified and located the primary sources, he exposes the sources to a rigorous process of criticism (Wiggins & Mason, 2005). This is because the actual existence of either primary or secondary historical sources does not guarantee their authenticity, accuracy or validity. One needs to think about the nature of the sources and not just accept them as gospel truth or reject them as limited or biased (Polley, 2007).

Authenticity of the Primary sources used in the study

To examine the authenticity of the newspapers used in the study, the events, persons and customs in the newspapers have been critically analysed. However, it was difficult to closely follow the chronology and consistence in the newspapers as the newspapers were very old, some pages of the papers were missing and some of them were torn to pieces. The

impartiality in some articles is also questionable because the reporters were either players or club secretaries of clubs involved in the matches.

Some newspapers were produced monthly, while others were produced fortnightly which sometimes has influence on the quality of the news. In this line Polley (2007), points out that it is important to consider time lag between events and the newspaper appearing. In most cases the shorter the time lags are for the newspapers the better as they tend to give first-hand accounts within hours of the event. There is, however, quite some consistence in the newspapers used in terms of events. The written documents and oral interviews used in this study are corresponding and consistent with contemporary writings.

After establishing authenticity, I then assessed how credible the sources are through a process called internal criticism. I critically looked at the sources and examined them in terms of who left them and how they relate to the introduction and development of football in Zambia. This is concerned with the meaning and accuracy of the statements and the trustworthiness of the document's content (Clark & Clark, 1984).

In using my sources I had to look at the context in which the events happened and the wider connections of facts surrounding the event. According to Polley (2007 p.39), history writing is the act of putting a piece of writing about history into the context of time and the place in which it was written, recognising the role of the author's biography, career and beliefs. It is important to place the source in its original context; this focuses on the general time and place at which it was created and the circumstances of its creation. Some history chronicle more about the beliefs of the people writing the history than it does about the past itself. Research should, therefore, focus on the context rather than the content. This can help to make sense of the presence of the money, the media, politics and cheating in any period of sports history (Polley, 2007).

In this study, my focus was not only on the facts that happened which the sources are showing, but also in the context in which they took place. This included looking at the mood, atmosphere and implications of particular events at that time. This also demanded looking for sources in line with what was happening in football in Zambia at that time and not in line with what is happening in Zambian football today.

Perspective was also taken into account, having in mind that historical sources such as official records, newspapers and interviews are not accounts of complete scenes. A newspaper report may, for example, use different words, leave out entire sections of a report or even purposefully misrepresent conversations and actions (Struna, 2005). This meant that I had to analyse all the sources before using them. I had to find out who the authors' were and what role or interest they had in the story. Looking at the author's relationship with the event in relationship with the context in which the event happened helped me in understanding the perspectives of the newspaper reporters.

Given the limitations and the challenges I had in accessing the primary sources, I recognise the limited sources in my study. Polley (2007) points out that a more sensible and sophisticated approach of studying history is one that recognises all sources' limitations and also respects the fact that they come from the past that we are studying and are our links with that past. This would prove to be far more useful than being narrow minded. He argues further that one needs to use a sense of critical respect, combined with empathy and historical imagination with a hard line of inward questioning when using primary sources.

...today's sports historian is not so bold as to think that he/she can know exactly what happened in the past. Instead, an attempt is made to better understand what happened, and how this fits into our broader understanding of the conditions that shaped both that time and the present. It is assumed that the researcher's understanding will be influenced by his/her own experiences, the availability of sources, the potential biases of the sources, the underlying social dynamics of the time period studied (and the present as it affects the researcher), and the general epistemological and theoretical frameworks that guide the researcher and his/her subsequent research questions (Wiggins & Mason, 2005 p.56).

My study cannot be a reflection of exactly what happened during the introduction and development of football in Zambia. Instead, I would assert that in this study, a detailed research has been done to attempt to come up with the introduction and development of football in Zambia. Despite the challenge of not having well documented and kept written sources, a combination of the available written and oral sources complemented each other to give important directions of football development in Zambia from 1930 to the late 1960's.

Concepts and Expressions

There are some expressions in this study that need clarification for the reader to understand the perspective and context in which they are applied. These terms are: “European” and “African.” These two terms in other sources are replaced by terms such as “whites” and “blacks” or “natives.” The term “European” is referring to people who came to settle in Northern Rhodesia from either South Africa or England, who are light skinned and are of European descent. “Africans” on the other hand refers to people who are dark skinned and are believed to have been among the early inhabitants of the territory which came to be called Northern Rhodesia.

When the two groups of people began to live side by side, they generally referred to each other either by the colour of their skin as “black” and “white” or by their continents of origin “European” and “African”. The newcomers’ particularly prided in and called themselves Europeans. The two sets of terms were interchanged; the natives were called “Africans” or “blacks” while the newcomers were called “Europeans” or “whites” even in official documents. Although the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia qualified to be called Africans, as they had lived in Africa for many generations, they seemingly had no worries in being identified as Europeans and not Africans.

In this paper, the light skinned people living in Africa who are Africans, but of European descent are going to be referred to as Europeans, while the dark skinned people who are of African descent are going to be referred to as Africans. Therefore, Europeans in this context will not mean people living in Europe, but people living in Africa, who are of European descent.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Perspectives

According to Polley (2007), theory is seen as a system or a plan devised by an observer to explain a phenomenon. It is a plan which becomes ‘the framework of interpretation’ of that phenomenon. There is, therefore, always a link between theory and practice, especially when theories are based on detailed analyses done by experts. Hence theories become a way of looking at the world and a way of explaining things (Polley, 2007). Booth (2005) holds that, theory is important in history for at least three reasons: firstly, the range and volume of history on many historical problems is so large that a historian cannot avoid selection in order to avoid contradictions in explanations. Secondly, theory brings out interrelations between the parts of human experiences at given times, hence enriching historical accounts. Thirdly, identifying historical patterns always involves some form of abstract thinking and connections to theoretical explanations and interpretations (Booth, 2005). Many historians have used theory as lenses through which to study the past. The advantage of this is that theory can help us to focus and organise our data to manageable chunks, and theory add critical weight to our findings and give them structure (Polley, 2007).

This chapter will discuss the diffusion of modern sport and it also attempts to outline two theories that could help to understand the diffusion of modern sport: cultural hegemony and cultural imperialism. Looking at the work done by scholars on these topics, it will lay a foundation for understanding and attempting to discuss the diffusion and development of football in Zambia.⁵

The Diffusion of Modern Sport

In the nineteenth century, Europe exported its politics, goods, ideas, customs and sport to the rest of the world. According to Mangan and Hickey (2001), Europe’s sports which were sometimes very disruptive were variously received. They were assimilated to a lesser or greater degree, imitated likewise, irregularly resisted and certainly adapted to local talents,

⁵ Diffusion of modern sport means the spread of modern sport from England to other parts of the world

preferences, needs and possibilities. With Britain as the leading European imperial nation and England as the origin of several important modern sports, the British Empire led the way in this hugely significant export of modern sport (Mangan & Hickey, 2001).

There are theories that have been formed on the spread of modern sport from England. Goksøyr (1996) refers to Harold Perkin's historical explanation for the different diffusions of British sports. The diffusion was attributed to the young men who went to rule the empire, and those who went to other parts of Europe for work. According to Goksøyr (1996), young men mostly from the upper classes with a public school background travelled to the empire to convey the power of the empire and the British culture. Stoddart (2006) points out that cricket and rugby were the major sporting cultures the British introduced to the empire. On the other hand, to the rest of Europe travelled engineers, tradesmen, officials, and social groups carrying with them a variety of British sports culture such as football⁶(Goksøyr, 1996). He argues that Harold Perkin's theory however, underestimates the number of foreigners who went to Britain and picked up a game of their choice and returned to their countries.

With reference to the diffusion of football Walvin (1975), argues that the export of football by Englishmen, particularly working men seem to have been strangely distributed. This is because the game thrived more in areas where the British did not have direct political and social control such as parts of the world where they simply worked or traded, than in the Empire (Walvin, 1975). This was the period between 1880 and 1914 during England's global industrial and imperial pre-eminence. During this period, large tracts of the world's map were changed by imperial influence, and British capital and goods were informally poured into every corner of the world (Walvin, 1975).

Englishmen travelled, traded and lived right around the world, transplanting wherever they settled the social institutions familiar to their own class at home. Sports and recreations inevitably followed in the train of English settlers and workers, although the spread of sports was uneven and unpredictable. It is, for instance, difficult to explain why certain sports were readily adopted in certain parts of the world and not in others where the conditions looked similar (Walvin, 1975 p.93).

⁶ In this study, the term football is used to refer to soccer or association football as it is officially known in England.

While games like cricket and rugby became dominant in the dominions, football became one of the British sports that diffused in many parts of the world outside the British Empire.

Cultural Hegemony

One of the theories through which the diffusion of modern sport can be discussed is cultural hegemony. Antonio Gramsci's⁷ concept of 'hegemony' is one of the most important theories within cultural studies (Giulianotti, 2005). According to Guttman (1994), although there are many people who are convinced that the displacement of traditional indigenous pastimes by modern sports has been a disaster, hegemony is probably the most accurate term for the British and American sports dominance of the process of ludic diffusion. Guttman (1994) in reference to Antonio Gramsci⁸ argues that cultural interaction is something more complex, than domination by the totally powerful of the entirely powerless.

Antonio Gramsci – whose interest in sports was close to nil – revived the Greek word *egemonia* in his prison Note-books in order to emphasize the fact that political relationships between the rulers and the ruled cannot be characterised as simply the result of absolute domination by the former and absolute submission by the latter. The most stable form of rule is one in which the strong (who are never all-powerful) have their way only after the weak (who are never completely powerless) have their say (Guttman, 1994 p.6).

The concept of sport as an important part of cultural power in this case may be set in the wider context of a strong theoretical literature that emanates largely from the work of Antonio Gramsci. According to Stoddart (2006), Gramsci with arguments from his Italian case seems to have switched the Marxist emphasis from the economic base to the cultural superstructure, where, severe deprivation in the base could not easily shake the belief of the masses in values shared with the ruling groups and conditioned by cultural attitudes formed by the superstructure.

Hegemony describes the particular fluid power relationships, methods and techniques in a class society, whereby the dominating groups secure their control through the ideological

⁷ Antonio Gramsci was an Italian philosopher, writer and political theorist whose writing focussed on the analysis of culture and political leadership.

⁸ Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony in this study has been used based on secondary sources Gramsci's actual writings on the concept have not been used in the study.

approval, rather than the physical force of the dominated group (Giulianotti, 2005). This makes the exploitative social order to seem to be 'natural' or 'common sense' making sure that the dominated group lives its 'subordination'. The dominant group also accommodates elements of the subordinate social class within the hegemonic bloc and hegemony is established within different societal domains such as in politics, business and cultural arenas (Giulianotti, 2005). In his discussion of Sports and the British, Holt (1990) gives a good illustration of this process with what happened in India.

After the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8 a new relationship between princes and the British was established, which guaranteed them certain privileges in return for loyalty to the Crown. ...the princes not just to be imbued with Western values but with a distinctive British sense of priorities. British hegemony in India was to be underpinned by the princes themselves, who were not merely to be 'bought off' but rather were to become honorary English gentlemen. In this way they would come to see the superiority of British culture at first hand and uphold the status quo out of conviction rather than from greed or fear (Holt, 1990 p.212-213).

Guttmann (1994 p.179), argues that like cultural imperialism, cultural hegemony implies intentionality, those who adopt a sport are often the excited initiators of the business deal of which the 'donors' are hardly aware. He argues that the culturally dominated groups as much as they have often had sports imposed on them, they have also perhaps found their own unwelcome way into sports from which the dominant group desired to exclude them.

During a cultural hegemonic process, the repressive and ideological state apparatuses function to secure social domination, one of the major ideological apparatus used in a hegemonic process is the educational system (Giulianotti, 2005). According to Mangan (1987), the introduction of British education system in Africa played a role in cultural hegemony. The emphasis on character by the British colonial educational systems was enough to change the mindset of the African children. The colonial administrators achieved character training by adopting the British educational concept of public schools, in which emphasis was put on boarding schools. Boarding schools were used because they provided a lot of time for the extramural activities. Mangan (1987), argues that the whole package that imperial education offered in schools, from its curricula to the Cambridge Certificate of Education, Christian worship, the prefect system, uniforms, house systems, as well as the games, were mechanisms

which basically symbolized and actualized enculturation and disassociation of the African school children. It is obvious that these mechanisms were aimed at and actually constituted psychological and cultural processes of indoctrination of Africans (Tenga, 2000).

Mangan (1987), argues that the un-looked for consequences of the hegemonic process can be seen in Musgrove's analysis of a Ugandan boarding school in the 1950's. He posed a question as to how far the character and quality of the school's work were shaped by respectively tribal experience and by urban influence.

In his view British values resulted in an institutional structure that negated tribal association, placing new emphasis on the novel association formed around dramatic society, literary club, and cricket teams (Mangan, 1987 p.161).

Alien cultural ideas and values were transmitted to the villagers, leading to situations where the boy gained high status by virtue of his privileged knowledge. Consequently, at home when he comes for holiday, he is given more respect than the elders because he is usually treated as an honoured guest. The British did not want to see the value, power and influence tribal experience had on the people (Mangan 1987). Such perceptions made many Africans lose their self confidence, giving them a belief that their own culture and traditional sports activities were inferior and backward. The colonial education policies which ignored traditional African education and emphasized on character-training through encouraging physical education and games, played a considerable role in supporting British cultural hegemony (Mangan, 1987).

Although Guttman (1994) argues that in such a cultural exchange the path is often two way traffic; on the contrary, Mangan (1987) argues that the British seemed not to have found anything positive about African traditional education while the Africans really wanted Western education which they saw as a symbol of potential power. This could also have greatly contributed to supporting the British cultural hegemony (Mangan, 1987).

Despite the intellectual advantages of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony, most discussions of ludic diffusion refer not to cultural hegemony, but rather to cultural imperialism (Guttman, 1994). In his arguments, Darby (2002) also seems to fall more for the

argument that modern sports was more a form of cultural imperialism than cultural hegemony.

Colonisation of Africa and the diffusion of Modern Sport

During the course of the nineteenth century, which is sometimes referred to as the ‘age of imperialism,’ Africa became the most colonised of all continents in the world (Guttmann, 1994). Following the end of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 which resulted in the partition of Africa by the European nations, the Western imperial powers began what came to be called in history as ‘the scramble for Africa’ (Tenga, 2000). During this scramble for Africa; land, natural resources, and people were plundered for the benefit of the imperial powers. This atmosphere laid a foundation for the diffusion of modern sports especially football in Africa. Tenga (2000) argues that the colonial period constituted the beginning of modernisation of sport on the continent in the history of African sport in general.

According to Darby (2000), the diffusion of football in Africa is linked to the various forms of colonial doctrines and imperialist policies that were prevalent throughout the continent. This can be found in the use of direct and indirect systems of governance which the colonialists used. He argues that as much as the boundaries between the two forms of governance were flexible and most colonial powers used each system according to historically specific circumstances and objectives, the adoption of direct or indirect forms of governance did not only have a major impact in the political and economic sense but also had a strong effect on social and cultural life within the colonies. Whatever type of doctrine was used the main aim was to maintain European empires in Africa and this in another way had undeniably been the most significant factor in the socio-cultural transformation of African society (Darby, 2000).

... the missionaries and colonial administrators heralded their presence and the social change which the infiltration of their customs and culture initiated as a morally improving and ‘civilising’ force for the benefit of the Africans. However, others have argued convincingly that the diffusion of Western cultural products, including modern sport, impacted negatively on existing indigenous culture and was motivated more by a desire to uphold the prevailing colonial political and economic order through the Europeanization and de-Africanisation of Africa rather than by any sense of utilitarianism (Darby 2000, p 62)

Darby (2002), points out that it is undeniable that, football in Africa is a legacy of European colonialism. There is a consensus among historians of sport that colonial agents introduced modern sport to Africa both for natives and for themselves. It is argued that the cultural exchange between the colonisers and the colonised eroded African culture with an invasion of Western cultural forms. The extent to which it occurred was not only influenced by the interpretation of the hegemonic culture by local peoples, but was dependent upon the particular variant of colonial policy through which it was diffused (Darby, 2002).

According to Guttman (1994), among other important factors determining the process of ludic diffusion is the relative political, economic and cultural power of the nations involved. In general, the sports characteristics of the wealthy and powerful nations 'will be adopted by the populations of other lands who fall within the spheres of the influence of their mighty'. Therefore, the African culture and traditional sport could not survive the political, social and economic supremacy of the powerful imperial cultures. During the scramble for Africa, the British were the most successful of all European nations consequently their sports especially soccer spread more quickly (Guttman, 1994).

Cultural Imperialism

According to Tomlinson (1991), the term 'Cultural Imperialism' seems to have emerged along with many other terms of radical criticism in the 1960's and has become one of the general intellectual terms of the second half of the twentieth century. Cultural imperialism has been defined in many different ways; however it has also been referred to as a generic concept because it refers to a range of broadly similar phenomena. Because of this, it is not likely that any single explanation could grasp every sense in which the term is used.

Tomlinson (1991) argues that the challenges with most definitions of cultural imperialism are that the definitions do not only end up being partial, but that they end up imposing their own directions and limits on analysis from the onset. Instead of looking at cultural imperialism as concretely the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of native culture, Tomlinson (1991) defines it as being

essentially about exalting and spreading of values and habits, a process in which economic and cultural power plays an instrumental role.

In line with Tomlinson's (1991) definition of cultural imperialism, Stoddart (2006) argues in reference to British imperialism that Britain was able to hold to its vast imperial preserve for a very long time not through naked bureaucratic or military coercion. Sport played a major role in the transmission of imperial and national ideas. It is written in the history of the British Empire that England has owed her sovereignty to her sport (Holt, 1990).

A more promising explanation for the continuance of British domination lies with what might be termed cultural power – the set of ideas, beliefs, rules and conventions concerning social behaviour that was carried throughout the empire by such British servants as administrators, military officers, industrialists, agriculturalists, traders, financiers, settlers, educators, and advisors of various kinds. The significance of these ruling cultural characteristics is that they were consciously maintained within governing circles and were fostered within carefully selected sections of the colonial populations more through informal authority systems than through formal ones, such as the bureaucracy or the military (Stoddart, 2006 p.812)

This meant that the success of this cultural power relied on the imperial system's ability to have its main social tenants accepted as appropriate forms of behaviour and on the imperial administrators' implementation of the objectives and ideologies of the imperial system (Stoddart, 2006).

Although main stream discourse has seldom alluded to this domain, the concept of cultural imperialism is relatively familiar especially in literally expression. According to Guttmann (1994), long before anyone came up with the term 'Cultural imperialism' Romantic writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson complained about British influences on American habits. Stoddart (2006) argues that one example of the obvious agent of the British informal authority process was the English language. The English language was not simply a conveyor of information between different cultural groups; instead it was a medium for the exchange of moral codes and social attitudes. Attaining good command of the English language, pronunciation as well as vocabulary and grammar, became the goal of numerous colonial peoples in both white and non white sections of the British Empire (Stoddart, 2006).

Guttmann (1994) holds that even in our time, post-colonial writers such as Chinua Achebe⁹ and Leopold Senghor have been criticised by their countrymen for continuing to write and publishing in English and French. This made James Ngugi to Africanise his name to Ngugi wa Thiongo¹⁰, repudiate the language in which he had written his book ‘The River Between’ (1965) and publishing ‘Decolonising the Mind’ (1986) which was his farewell to English language. Language, literature and mass media have been big themes in the discourse of cultural imperialism (Guttmann, 1994).

Tomlinson (1991) cautions that the discussion of cultural imperialism should be done very carefully, this is because there is a danger of the practice of cultural imperialism being reproduced in the discussion of it. The vast majority of published texts of the subject are in European languages. The paradox therefore might be that writing about imperialism in one of the dominant languages is just reproducing the same imperialism. Above all, it is also worth noting that the academic discourse is not the only way to speak about cultural imperialism, because the academic discourse speaks in the language of Western rationalism of the cultural practices of other cultures (Tomlinson, 1991).

Guttmann (1994) asks a question as to why modern sport is not studied as intensely under the rubric of cultural imperialism as language, literature and the mass media? He argues that modern sport has penetrated most remote parts of the world where literature and modern media has not. According to Stoddart (2006), sport and games are perhaps the most neglected agency in the process of cultural transfer from Britain to her colonial empire.

Through sport were transferred dominant British beliefs as to social behaviour, standards, relations and conformity, all of which persisted beyond the end of the formal empire, and with considerable consequences for the post-colonial order. This wide-ranging influence of sport was consolidated through such avenues as organisation and ceremony, patterns of participation and exclusion, competition against both the imperial power and the colonial states, and the strong centralisation of authority in England, especially in London, the capital of the empire. Crucial to this was the fact that, despite considerable evidence to the contrary, sport gained a reputation as

⁹ Chinua Achebe is a Nigerian novelist, poet and critic. He is best known for his novel ‘Things Fall Apart’ which is the most widely read book in modern African literature.

¹⁰ Ngugi Wathiogo is a great Kenyan writer who renounced English language, Christianity and his name James Ngugi as colonialist.

an egalitarian and apolitical agency which alone transcended the normal sectional divisions of the colonial order (Stoddart, 2006 p.813).

The growth of the new British Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century coincided with what constituted a games revolution in England (Stoddart, 2006). During this period, sports were played by or directed at the amateurs¹¹ who were drawn from the middle classes with the assistance of professional sport class drawn usually from the lower orders. The main source of division lay with the appearance of sport as a central feature in the British public-school¹² system, which stressed in particular the social values of sports (Stoddart, 2006).

By playing team sports, participants were thought to learn teamwork, the value of obeying constituted authority, courage in the face of diversity, loyalty to fellow players, and respect for the rules. To play cricket or play the game meant being honest and upright, and accepting conformity within conventions as much as it meant actually taking part in a simple game. Beyond that, informal social networks developed outside the professional or occupational sphere of interaction, arenas in which people of like minds politically and economically might mix while theoretically at leisure (Stoddart, 2006 p.814).

The importance of sport lay not simply in acquiring fitness or in being competitive, but in the sense of unity, duty, and service it inculcated. It was also a major source of recreation and entertainment for the colonialists in the colonies (Holt, 1990). As the Empire expanded, the need of building cultural bridges through games became more important and there was need of keeping good terms with the local rulers, by assimilating them to some degree into the British way of life (Holt, 1990). There was also an issue of promoting loyalty to the Crown among white immigrants in Canada, Australia and South Africa. The British did however not impose their culture in their colonies; they preferred to give encouragement through officials such as missionaries and educationists. The cultural imperialism of the British tended to be more insidious than French or German efforts to stamp their territories with their customs and values (Holt, 1990).

¹¹ The term 'amateur' according to the English in the 19th C. referred to gentlemen of middle and upper classes who played sport in special ways which included; sportsmanship, fair play and attaching no financial benefit to sport.

¹² Though referred to as public schools, these were actually private schools; they were only public in a sense that they admitted commoners together with sons of nobility.

It is the people from the public schools most of whom went as servants of the empire to Africa, Asia and other parts of the empire taking with them their deep-rooted acceptance of the social power and importance of games. Having been started and encouraged by the educators, administrators, missionaries, bankers, lawyers, industrialists, traders and settlers, the interest for sport and games became prevalent throughout the empire by the turn of the nineteenth century (Stoddart, 2006). By the end of the nineteenth century sports activities were served by a large magazine and book literature that carried information not only about how to play but also how to dress, behave and conform to the imperial models of social performance. There were race meetings of humble and grand status, major cricket matches, and annual occasions all over the empire for the reaffirmation of the belief in the imperial ideology (Stoddart, 2006).

Stoddart (2006) argues further that the colonial social order was continued by establishing, confirming and ratifying marriage contracts. However, in order to achieve the imperial social order, two major agencies played key roles and these are education and the church. Schools and other institutions throughout the empire embraced the games ethic as they were consistently staffed by teachers who were products of the English system. The games code and its structure of values took firm root in these schools, so that generations of students were influenced by it (Stoddart, 2006).

The second major agent through which the cultural power and values of games were spread in the British Empire was the church, what came to be known as muscular Christianity. Muscular Christianity emerged during the late nineteenth century in England due to a close connection between church and education (Stoddart, 2006). Young men took holy orders after having been imbued with the games spirit and logically saw the connection between 'healthy' sport and civilising properties of Christianity. As a result, in many parts of the empire, clerics were either enthusiastic players or supporters or both of the main stream games. These people stressed the importance of games as training grounds for life around the empire towards the end of the nineteenth century and onwards. Given the social importance and responsibility placed upon games, it explains that their introduction into the colonial system was a natural development (Stoddart, 2006). Darby (2000), argues that the diffusion of football to French, Belgian and British territories in Africa did not only facilitate an understanding of the tensions which permeated the relationship between Africans and Europeans during the colonial era, it also shows how the game served as an instrument of cultural imperialism (Darby, 2000). Even

though football developed in a relatively unplanned manner in some of the remote towns and villages in Africa, there can be little doubt that, within the larger industrial centres, the Europeans utilised their hegemonic position to impose Western cultural forms and sports for their own ends (Darby, 2000).

The introduction of sports in most colonies can, therefore, be seen in terms of cultural imperialism. On the diffusion of modern sport to Africa, many scholars have argued that the spread of modern sports throughout Africa was nothing more or less than imperialism at work (Darby, 2000; Guttmann, 1994).

Summary: Theoretical Perspectives

The discussion in this chapter has attributed the diffusion of modern sport to people who went out to rule the empire, to British people who went to work or do business in other parts of the world, and to some people who went to England to study or work and later returned to their home countries with a game of their choice.

Cultural hegemony has also been discussed as one of the processes that played an important role in the diffusion of modern sport. In this discussion, cultural hegemony has been described as a powerful but largely informal social institution that can create shared beliefs and attitudes between rulers and the ruled while at the same time enhancing the social distance between them. During cultural hegemony, the state apparatus makes the exploitative social order to look natural. The dominating group secures control of the dominated group not through any physical force, but through ideological approval.

Another theory that has been discussed is cultural imperialism. It has been discussed as one of the major tools which the British imperial system used to continue domination in the empire. Through cultural imperialism, modern sport became one of the major carriers of the British cultural power. Africa, having been the most colonised in the world, became one of the continents which experienced the largest extent of British imperial and cultural powers.

CHAPTER THREE

Historical Background

This discussion will begin by looking at the history and development of football. Thereafter, the chapter will discuss the diffusion of football in Europe and Africa. It will also discuss how football diffused in South Africa and Zimbabwe; this is because Zambia, shares a lot of her colonial past with the two countries.

History of football

Football is one of the sports with a very rich global history. According to Armstrong and Giulianotti (1999), most cultures and civilisations seem to have played some kind of proto-football which involved the kicking of a ball between different groups of players. For example, the Han dynasty which ruled China for about two centuries until AD 25 ceremoniously played Tsu Chu (kick the ball), on the imperial birthdays (Young, 1968). Perhaps as a result of Chinese influence, the Japanese as well evolved a ball-game known as Kamari. About two thousand years ago, the ball-games were also a part of the great athletic-poetic-dramatic festivals of classical Greece. Since the Romans attempted to take over Greek culture, they also began to play a game which they called Harpastum (Young, 1968).

In medieval Europe, French peasants practised a violent ball-game they called Soule; while the Florentine Renaissance men practised Calcio (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 1999). The Scots and the English played various forms of 'folk football.' Walvin (1975) holds that several forms of informal or regulated games in which balls were kicked more or less, and handled by the opposing teams were a usual feature of the pre-industrial society.

The game was simply an ill-defined contest between indeterminate crowds of youths, often played in riotous fashion, in tightly restricted city streets, producing uproar and damage to property and attracting to the fray anyone with an inclination to violence (Walvin, 1975 p.12).

Some games, for example, contained a lot of kicking, some a lot of handling and others various mixtures of the two (Mason, 1980). The nature of the ball also varied from place to place, the balls were often made of inflated animal bladders, sometimes covered with leather. The field of play could sometimes comprise a large area of countryside or sometimes it consisted of the whole village with well known land marks miles apart as goals. According to Mason (1980), some matches were subject to fairly detailed sets of rules, designed to reduce aggression among participants while others had few rules.

Russell (1997), points out that folk football was a rich source of raw materials for the codified games of football and rugby that later developed in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, he argues that informal street football played an important role providing continuity between folk football and the modern game of football as folk football had largely died out by 1850. Street football was however, not very different from folk football, the only difference was that street football was less dramatic in design and was more informal and spontaneous (Russell, 1997).

According to Mason (1980), a kind of rough football, not very different to that played in many places in England, was also played in the leading public schools in the eighteenth century. The game existed at Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Shrewsbury and Charterhouse as far back as 1747-49. In these schools, football seems to have been run by the boys themselves with a lot of opposition from their teachers (Russell, 1997). Any number of boys mostly seniors could play and the matches could last the whole afternoon or just a few hours. Senior boys played a key role in football during this period as they sometimes would decide to modify the rules to suit their interests (Mason, 1980). By the end of the eighteenth century, public school pupils were mostly coming from the upper classes and playing football was one of the ways senior boys dominated other boys (Mason, 1980). The public school game was not very different from the popular game in that, each public school played a game which was unique to itself with its own special characteristics (Mason, 1980). Each school had its own set of rules and style of playing the game. Some schools such as Rugby, Marlborough and Cheltenham concentrated on basically a handling game while others, such as Eton, Shrewsbury, Westminster and Charterhouse focussed on kicking games (Russell, 1997).

In the 1830's headmasters such as Arnold, at Rugby, began to reform schools, making pupils more disciplined and making senior pupils use games as a way of exercising responsible

authority on behalf of the staff. Senior pupils were expected to run games in a manner which provided discipline, without bullying the younger pupils. This was a way of controlling the bigger boys who were a threat to the teachers. Around the 1840's and 1850's the games in public schools were no longer only a way of controlling pupils, but were seen as a formidable vehicle for character building (Russell, 1997). Mason (1980), points out that following the reforms of the public schools, rough football which had been played earlier was reformed too. In 1848, a number of collegians who had played different forms of football met in Cambridge and agreed upon a common set of rules that would enable them to play the game.

According to Young (1968), the most important date in the modern history of football is the evening of Monday, October 26, 1863. On this day, a meeting of representatives of football clubs such as Kensington School, Crusaders, Forest, Barnes, Blackheath School and many others convened at the Free-mason's Tavern, along Great Queen Street in London. The purpose for this meeting was the formation of a Football Association. Guttmann (1994) observes that it was on this date, when the Football Association was founded in London, and most scholars agree that this was the date that marked the beginning of the development of modern football.

The growth of football in England especially in the midlands and north became very pronounced in the 1870's, although still within the framework of which, in concrete and ideological terms, was entirely public school (Walvin, 1975). Despite all the developments in provincial football, the 'old boys teams' from the south still maintained their dominance of the game until the early 1880's. This was during the 'Golden Age of the Amateur' when the gentlemen of leisure were dominating the game and when the great technical and athletic skills and feats of football were a preserve of the ex-public –school men (Walvin, 1975). The first eleven years, the F.A. Cup was won by Wanderers, Old Etonians, Oxford University, Royal Engineers, Old Corinthians and Clapton Rovers. However, waves of change began blowing in 1882, when for the first time; Blackburn Rovers from the north reached the finals of the FA Cup and challenged the supremacy of the southern gentlemen's team.

This shift was firmly underlined in 1883 when Blackburn Olympic, founded as recently as 1878, beat the Old Etonians in the FA Cup final, the winning goal scored by Jimmy Costley, a cotton spinner by trade. No old boys side was ever to win the cup again ... (Russell, 1997 p.12).

This represented a major change in the nature of the game, because they broke the hegemony of public schools. Mason (1980) argues that, 1883 became the year when all football players in the United Kingdom outside the public schools accepted what came to be known as association football rules. Around 1888 the Football Association started implicitly accepting that football had become ‘the people’s game’ (Guttman, 1994). Thereafter, it began to diffuse from England to other parts of Europe and other continents.

How did football diffuse to different parts of the worlds?

According to Guttman (1994), on the continent of Europe, it was the anglophile segments of the upper classes that initially responded to the new game, the middle classes responded by spreading the word and the arrival of the working class at the soccer pitch completed the process of diffusion.

It therefore, seems very clear, that football percolated into differing social situations all over Europe and South America because of the missionary zeal of the travelling Englishmen anxious to play their national game and equally anxious to encourage locals to play with them. The international nature of the game developed from these small, accidental and often unusual personal beginnings (Walvin, 1975).

Diffusion of football in Europe

According to Walvin (1975), football spread first by settling in Europe, it diffused rapidly through Holland, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, France and central Europe. In Denmark the first club was formed in 1876 by English residents and was later encouraged by a visiting player. Through the efforts of pupils who had studied at English public schools, football spread to Holland in the 1870’s and within the same period, the game spread to Germany (Walvin, 1975).

When looking at the diffusion of football in Europe, we can draw a similarity from the diffusion of football in Norway. Football was brought to Norway by different social groups (Goksøyr & Hognestad, 1999). These groups included sailors working on British naval merchant ships, Britons who travelled to Norway for work and by Norwegians who returned

home after being in England either for business or studies (Goksøyr & Hognestad, 1999). Goksøyr (1996) adds that the diffusion of English sports in Norway has been attributed to students' and businessmen's personal knowledge of the game after their stay in England or to the role played by Britons who travelled or stayed in Norway. According to Andersen (2007), in most countries where football had spread to, the first local people to play football were the children who belonged to the upper classes of societies. Thereafter, football would spread to the other classes in the society's social ranking and become a popular sport (Andersen, 2007). Until the 1930's, football in Norway was played mostly by middle class students and merchants' sons. It was after the 1930's that football became the largest sport in the Norwegian Sports Federation and got to be described as the 'people's sport' (Goksøyr & Olstad, 2002 p.43; Goksøyr & Hognestad, 1999).

In his analysis of the diffusion of football in Norway, Goksøyr (1996) argues that:

If we are to take the circumstances surrounding the first matches on Norwegian ground in 1886 literally, officers and cadets from the fleet of the British Empire displayed British sports culture. The naval cruise functioned as a launching of British football. In two of the three largest cities which the fleet visited, the British gave influential contribution to the introduction of the game. There is, however, little reason to believe that the officers themselves felt and acted as football missionaries. A conscious ideology for the diffusion of British culture in Europe corresponding to what took place in the British Empire did not exist (Goksøyr, 1996 p.371).

Another example we can look at is the Netherlands. The diffusion of British sport to the Netherlands was almost similar to that of Norway. According to Guttmann (1994), the introduction of sports such as cricket, football and tennis in Netherlands was the work of Englishmen who were residents in the Netherlands and the Dutch who had been to England. Pin Mulier who studied in England at a boarding school, founded the Haarlemsche Football Club which became Holland's first football club in 1879 (Guttmann, 1994). On the other hand in the port city of Rotterdam, soccer was played by dock workers who had learnt it from the British seamen (Guttmann, 1994). This shows a pattern of how football diffused to some parts of Europe.

From Europe football diffused to Latin America, where the finest teams and the most fanatical supporters of the game are found today (Walvin, 1975). It was exported to Latin

America by the British entrepreneurs, who dominated the economic scene for most of the nineteenth century (Guttman, 1994).

Walvin (1975), points out that the early development of football in Europe and South America led to the formation of formal institutional frameworks. Following the initiative of pioneering clubs, local Football Associations were formed based on the English model. The development of football around the world demanded for an international controlling body. In 1904, in Paris an international football organisation FIFA¹³ was formed and its main aim was to regulate and supervise the evolution of the world game (Walvin, 1975).

Diffusion of Football in Africa

After looking at the diffusion of football in Europe, interesting questions one would ask would be: what was the difference between the diffusion of football in Europe and in Africa? What factors could have influenced the differences in these diffusions?

There are a lot of reports of early travellers, missionaries and more recently of anthropologists, sociologists and linguists who are engaged in research on traditional African cultures. They have focussed on pre-colonial African participation in many types of ball play, target games, top spinning, foot races and jumping contests (Paul, 1987). According to Blacking (1987), in pre-colonial Africa there were many sports like activities which were practised and some of which are still practiced in rural areas. These physical activities have been described by ethnographers as 'play,' 'games,' 'pastime,' 'physical education,' 'recreation,' 'sport,' etc (Blacking, 1987). Blacking argues that these activities were commonly classified together as extensions of human aesthetic and ludic capabilities. He argues further that the activities were included into social life and continuing education of all members of a community not only reflections and reinforcements of cultural tradition, but also as a means of enhancing people's creativity and adjustment to the changing circumstances (Blacking, 1987).

However, Paul (1987) cautions us that foreign observers have regularly approached African cultures with alien outlooks and a mixture of interests, motives and methods of interpretation.

¹³ FIFA - Federation of International Football Association.

He argues that they have worked at different times and within limited sections of societies, and mostly with specific categories of informants (Paul, 1987). Therefore it becomes quite challenging to get fairly balanced accounts of sports in pre-colonial Africa based on available written records.

How did football diffuse in Africa?

As we have seen, there are a lot of factors that played a role in the diffusion of modern sport and football in Africa. Such factors include imperial education systems, missionary education, the colonial administrators, the military and many others. The following discussion will attempt to discuss some of these factors.

During the imperial era, the British were still practising the late Victorian and Edwardian types of education. According to Mangan (1987), the Victorians¹⁴ believed that they had something to offer the world and all of them felt that they were missionaries who went to Africa to improve the lives of the natives. Therefore, in the empire, it was a philosophy that frequently reflected the values and impulses of the expatriate educators. Mangan and Hickey (2001), postulate that there were a lot of teachers from England who came to work in Africa. A lot of these teachers carried with them the same late Victorian and Edwardian certainty that team games were a desirable educational instrument (Mangan & Hickey, 2001).

However, morality of the Africans was a constant concern of the Victorian, mostly whose own values, if he was a product of the public school system, were often shaped substantially by experiences on playing fields, depicted in descriptions associated with team games. Mangan (1987) stipulates that the best example of pedagogic paternalism was shown by Sir Frederick Lugard who was the first governor-general of Nigeria. Within the schools especially those for high-ranking Africans, the means of implementing his basic objective of attaining athleticism included expatriate staff, residential accommodation, school prefects, and the encouragement of games (Mangan, 1987). In short Lugard advocated boarding schools for Africa, which in his own words should approximate the model of an English public school. Such thoughts played important roles in the introduction of modern sport in Africa (Mangan, 1987).

¹⁴ Victorians refer to the people who lived during the rule of Queen Victoria 1837-1901.

Mangan (1987) argues that the role of the missionaries in the 'ludic diffusion' or the diffusion of British team games in Africa has been badly underestimated. The missionaries ran most of the few schools that existed; unlike the early settlers, the missionaries recognized the power of sport in assimilating Africans to the Western culture, above all to convert Africans to Christianity. Tenga (2000) also postulates that the European communities in Africa included missionaries. The missionaries were the ones who were the first to begin enlightening the native Africans with Western Education. This made the missionaries very instrumental in introducing, and also promoting modern sports including football in Africa. The missionaries were seen as agents of social change, which was meant to improve, and morally civilize the Africans (Darby, 2000). Therefore, as long as the educators and church men viewed football as having a civilising and educative function, the game continued playing a central role in their missionary work (Darby, 2002).

The Anglican missionaries' concept of education mirrored the prevalent and fashionable metropolitan ideal of muscular Christianity, as allegedly upheld and implemented in the established schools in England (Mangan 1987). The missionaries were the major implementers of the British school system as this is seen in many schools which they built with a lot of different sports infrastructure. African children in these schools were compelled into learning physical education and doing school sports (Mangan, 1987). Mangan argues that it is important to note that missionaries, more than any other agents are the ones who deserve the credit of having laid the foundation for the promotion of modern sport in Africa. It was the missionaries who justified the incorporation of physical education and modern sport into the school curriculum, on the basis of inculcating in the African children the values of physical fitness, health and social discipline.

It is quite evident that the participants of the extraordinary games-playing educational revolution that occurred in British public school (private schools for the privileged), were to a large extent responsible both directly and indirectly for the twentieth century 'global sports culture' (Mangan & Hickey, 2001). According to Mangan and Hickey (2001), the public schools increasingly prepared their pupils for imperial roles in the neo-imperial expansion of the late nineteenth century.

The Victorians were determined to civilize the rest of the world and an integral feature of that process as they understood it, was to disseminate the gospel of athleticism which had triumphed so spectacularly at home in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Mangan & Hickey, 2001).

The quality of colonial administrators in most British colonies played an important role in the diffusion of football in Africa. Kirk-Green (1987) holds that most of the British people who worked as colonial administrators or district officers in Africa were graduates from British Universities who were all appointed when they were very young. The commissioners who examined the new administrators personally in England, made a point of knowing their athletic record, and their physique was taken into consideration. Most of them were well known footballers, or cricketers (Kirk-Greene, 1987). The recruiters were interested in what they termed 'character' and to them character was seen in terms of athleticism.

The public schools which were the originators of modern sport played a role in shaping young citizens towards what the British called a gentleman, one who could be relied on to play fair, to win with modesty and to lose with good grace. Success at games came to be equated with a stamp of having character, and according to the recruiters;

...the success of the district officer in Africa depends on his possessing 'character'; character is tested, developed and improved by participation in team games; team games are an important and integral part of the British public school system. Therefore, the best type of colonial administrator will be found among those with recognised record of above average athletic success at school or university (Kirk-Greene, 1987 p.83).

As much as the intentions of the recruiters might not have been of spreading modern sport to the colonies in Africa, it is obvious that these outstanding sports men made a big contribution in the introduction of modern sport in British colonies in Africa (Kirk-Greene, 1987). According to Kirk-Greene (1987), a few colonial administrators found themselves in a situation where they could not only continue to indulge in their favourite sport, but might often improve on them. In situations where teams could be raised from the larger-established schools or from military or police barracks, soccer and hockey frequently of high standard could be played. Inter-colonial matches were played regularly in West and East Africa (Kirk-Greene, 1987). This contributed to the diffusion of football in Africa.

Another important factor which could have played an important role in the diffusion of modern sport in Africa was the military. According to Clayton (1987), soldiers trained in the British tradition generally attached a high importance to sport, because of physical fitness where sport is linked to essential well-being and toughness. Sport was correctly seen as an important part of the personal development of a soldier and gave every soldier the pride in the membership of a unit whose standards must not be betrayed (Clayton, 1987).

The British military took with them all their views and the enormous majority of the regular officers were from public-school backgrounds. According to Clayton (1987), these views, along with those on the merits of parliamentary democracy and neoclassical education, were to be imposed to Africa as part of the colonial operation. The earliest example of the impact of British Army sports in colonial Africa appeared as early as 1899-1902 during the Anglo-Boer wars in South Africa. The presence of large numbers of the British military during these wars established football on a popular basis among the coloured population of the Western Cape (Clayton 1987).

British battalions recruited local mule-drivers, ox-drivers, scouts and other minor auxiliaries. These learned football while serving along with the British infantrymen; on a few occasions British battalion teams even included coloured players of promise (Clayton, 1987 p.117).

As time went by large crowds began to attend such football matches in several areas of South Africa, particularly in the ports of East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. The interest towards football of blacks as well as Coloureds increased greatly (Clayton, 1987).

Even though some commanding officers did not offer a lot of encouragement and sporting life was limited, most battalions by the 1930's were competing in army and sometimes in West African national football, track-and-field championship. Clayton (1987) stipulates that there was an ever-greater interest in European-style sports and games. This was because of the already noted growing awareness of and pride in local or ethnic football; teams competed in big cities to the interest, enjoyment, pride or shame of the migrant urban workers. This partly was as a result of the sporting experience gained during wartime military service. He points out that sometimes when big concentrations of African troops from all colonies were assembled, as in preparation for and in the aftermath of a war, teams were drawn from

battalions. Players recruited from one colony saw themselves as representatives of that territory in the inter-unit matches (Clayton, 1987). The soldiers, therefore, played a role in the diffusion of football in Africa.

Diffusion of football in South Africa

South Africa is one of the earliest country in Southern Africa which has had documented evidence of football being played as early as the mid of the 19th Century. According to Alegi (2004), the Cape Argus newspaper advertised on 21st August 1862, a football match which was to be played in Cape Town. On 23rd August 1862, soldiers and employees of the colonial administration played what is possibly the earliest documented football match in Africa in Cape Town. Alegi states that soldiers, sailors, traders and missionaries are believed to have brought football to South Africa. This happened during the second half of the nineteenth century British commercial and imperial expansion (Alegi, 2004).

In the beginning, the success of the game in some places in South Africa depended on the efforts of individuals. However, the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, followed by the war with the South African Republic (Transvaal) in 1880-81, brought a large influx of working-class British soldiers who made football popular in South Africa (Alegi, 2004). It was during this period when football became very popular that formal football organizations were formed. In 1879, the Pietermaritzburg County Football Club was formed by white settlers and in 1882 the Natal Football Association was formed (Alegi, 2004; Nauright, 1999). Thereafter, in 1892, the Football Association of South Africa (FASA) was formed by a group of mostly English-speaking civilians and military officers. The blacks were excluded from this association (Alegi, 2004).

The formation of the Football Association of South Africa led to the visit of the leading British amateur team, the Corinthians, in 1897. The Corinthians played games against a lot of all-white teams and large crowds gathered to watch the English gentlemen amateurs in Cape Town, King William's Town, Queenstown, Graham's Town, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Kimberly, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein (Alegi, 2004). The Corinthians later visited South Africa again in 1903 and 1907.

Football became very popular among whites at this time in South Africa and in 1906 South Africa made a tour of Brazil and Argentina (Alegi, 2004). Alegi (2004) argues that the popularity of football among white South Africans was short lived, the acceptance of football by black South Africans fostered perceptions of football as blue-collar and black and rugby as upper-class and white. According to Nauright (1999), by 1900 both British and Afrikaner men played rugby widely across class lines, while football remained a sport played by working class white immigrants, Indians and increasingly by Africans.

Internal dynamics such as these highlight the importance of understanding the process of sport diffusion to colonial South Africa as more than simply the result of successful British cultural imperialism. ... for a gentry attempting to seal itself off from black, soccer became emblematic of threatening, socially integrative forces within society. As it forged its class identity, so it took to itself the rugby code as an additional, racially exclusive, identifying feature (Alegi, 2004 p.17).

According to Alegi (2004), the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrated a lot of willingness among the black elite South Africans who were enthusiastic in the adoption of British sports such as cricket, rugby and football. Black football associations were formed across South Africa in the first few decades of the twentieth century, in 1898, the Orange Free State Bantu Football Club was formed (Alegi, 2004; Nauright, 1999).

Alegi (2004) points out that the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 and gold in Witwatersrand in 1886 transformed South African society into an industrial society. This had a tremendous repercussion for the history of sport in South Africa; Kimberly, for example, became a hotbed of black sports in South Africa. A lot of black wage earners during this period started enjoying and playing football. The first teams and competitions were formed and organized by mission-educated Africans (Alegi, 2004). The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) brought about an influx of nearly half a million British soldiers; who greatly increased the spread of football in South Africa. Both the literate and the villagers who migrated to work in the diamond and gold mines in Kimberly and Witwatersrand, respectively, adopted football to cope with the dislocations of urbanization and build alternative networks (Alegi, 2004). The early organization of football in Witwatersrand was largely undertaken by the mines, by the 1920s mines and other businesses recruited good football players and offered them the better

jobs which were available for blacks in order to attract and entertain workers at weekends (Nauright, 1999).

This marked the beginning of football being the most popular sport for blacks in South Africa, an occurrence which was yet to influence the introduction and development of football in most Southern African countries including Zambia.

Diffusion of Football in Zimbabwe

The history of football in Zimbabwe is a very interesting one and worth discussing because Zimbabwe is Zambia's neighbour on the south – western border line. Zimbabwe and Zambia have not only been sharing a common border line but have shared a lot in the colonial past. Apart from both being British colonies and sharing the name Rhodesia (where Zimbabwe was called Southern Rhodesia and Zambia Northern Rhodesia), they both at one time fell under one administration during the Federation of Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi today) from 1953 to 1963 (Dasgupta, 1990).

According to Giulianotti (2004), the first players of football in Zimbabwe were a group of Europeans called the Pioneer Column, who occupied, and began to colonise Zimbabwe under the leadership of John Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company (BSAC) in 1890. By the end of 1900, there were several sports clubs that had been founded in the emerging towns, as a result establishing competitions in football and other team sports (Giulianotti, 2004).

The social texture of sports in Zimbabwe during this period was underpinned by the unfolding colonial hegemony (Giulianotti, 2004). Organised sport at that time was the restricted preserve of whites and it is probable that football for indigenous Africans was introduced around 1923 onwards, when black mine workers from Transvaal migrated north to arrive in Bulawayo and the midlands towns seeking work and playing games in their spare time (Giulianotti, 2004). Darby (2002) argues that football took root among the local populations of the smaller towns and villages of Zimbabwe as they had been introduced to it by returning migrant labourers. The local people found football favourable especially that it required little economic and cultural capital (Giulianotti, 2004). By the 1920s and 1930s, a lot of township clubs sprang up, one of the oldest and most flourishing being the Lion Club of Bulawayo

which was founded by the grandchildren of Lobengula (the last King of the Ndebele people), and the team was in 1937 renamed Matebele Highlanders (Giulianotti, 2004).

The British colonial administration in the early 1920s practised indirect rule in Zimbabwe. However, the outbreak of civil disorders in Bulawayo in 1929 made the colonial administration change the system of control (Darby, 2002). The colonial administration opted for a more direct form of rule. Based on experiences from the neighbouring South Africa, where it was said that vigorous physical activities had provided a civilised outlet for violent behaviour, it was therefore decided that state investment in and promotion of sport represented the best means of social control in the industrial cities in Zimbabwe (Darby, 2002). As part of the policy of social control, the colonial administration set up the African Welfare Society (AWS) which began to administer sports, particularly football in Zimbabwe (Darby, 2002). This facilitated the formation of many teams in Salisbury. By 1938, there were 19 township teams in two divisions under the colonial auspices (Giulianotti, 2004).

Giulianotti (2004) argues that despite all this enthusiasm in the spread of the game, the African population remained tightly excluded from the sports related main stream activities. Even the efforts which were made by Africans to join the white controlled Southern Rhodesia Football Association (SRFA) were harshly rejected. This situation led to the formation of African Football Associations in different towns, which started running leagues and tournaments successfully under the paternalist watch of the white-controlled African Welfare Societies (Darby, 2002).

Darby (2002), points out that because of the political and economic conditions which remained oppressive, the established sports clubs and soccer teams, originally envisaged as a mechanism of social control, soon became the focus for political confrontation. Giulianotti (2004) also argues that football and other sports contributed considerably to the liberation struggle. Following the end of the Second World War, the football system continued to be organised along racial lines. There were separate football leagues for Europeans, Asians, Coloureds and Africans (Giulianotti, 2004). African confrontation to tightening white hegemony over racial affairs saw football become a venue for open struggle. When the municipality threatened to take over African football, the local population rebelled in 1947-48; the Africans' football boycott in Bulawayo lasted longer than the general strike in the city, and was victorious in preserving African control (Giulianotti, 2004). The prohibition of public

meetings since the 1960's had turned football into one of the few arenas in which Africans could gather lawfully in large numbers and so political discussion unavoidably resulted (Giulianotti, 2004). The sports clubs and soccer teams played a role to end British rule in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe and Zambia share a lot in their colonial past. Does this mean that the two countries may have shared the same football history as well? Was football introduced in Zambia in the same way as it was introduced in Zimbabwe?

Summary: Historical Background

Football has been discussed in this chapter as having a very long history, dating back to the pre-industrial era. Modern football is said to have been a form of folk football that developed in the English public schools during the middle of the eighteenth century. From England football diffused to different parts of the world. It diffused through Englishmen who went to work in different parts of the world, through students who went to study and work in England, and through Englishmen who went out to colonise the British Empire. Football in Africa is said to be a legacy of colonialism as colonial factors played important roles in its diffusion. These factors include; imperial education system, missionary education, colonial administrators and the military. As early as 1862, football was being played in Cape Town. It spread to Zimbabwe and Zambia during the early 1920s and has developed to be the most watched and played sport in the Southern African countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction of football in Zambia

Although football teams in Southern Africa have not been as competitive as those in North and West Africa, the game has a very long and interesting history in the region. Apart from Zambia having her colonial historical background connections with Zimbabwe and South Africa, she also shared a lot of her football history with the two countries.

The history of football in Zambia is strongly linked with the history of the whole region. Its foundation is traced back to the early missionaries who came to settle in Zambia, the British South African Company (BSAC) and the British colonial rule of the territory.

Missionary Education

The British South African Company (BSAC) in the beginning did not play an active role in the education of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia. During the rule of the BSAC, a lot of missionaries arrived in the territory. It was the missionaries who actively gave the Africans in the territory Western education. Before the coming of missionaries, the local people practised indigenous African traditional education. The missionaries' introduction of Western education and Christianity to the local people in Northern Rhodesia made them key players in the diffusion of British team sports in the territory (Native Educational Annual Report, 1933). With reference to missionary education in Africa, Mangan (1987) stipulates that missionaries in Africa played an important role in introducing formal western education to the Africans.

Following the pioneer work of David Livingstone, the first missionary society to enter Northern Rhodesia and to engage in educational work was the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society led by the famous missionary Francoise Coillard, who established a mission in Sesheke. Thereafter, a lot of different missionary groups followed. The missionaries established mission stations where they began converting local people to Christianity and opened up schools and health centres. Most of the early schools for Africans in Northern Rhodesia were, therefore, run by missionaries. In 1932, there were twenty two recognised mission stations in Northern Rhodesia which offered Western education. Out of 11 teachers

training colleges, 10 were run by missionaries ¹⁵(Native Educational Annual Reports, 1933; Dasgupta, 1990; Haantobolo, 2000).

In his discussion of education in Africa, Mangan (1987) postulates that distinct from the settlers¹⁶, the missionaries became the first people to be aware of the power of sport in assimilating Africans to the Western culture, in order to convert them to Christianity. For that reason, the missionaries were among the first people to have introduced modern sports and football to the natives in Africa. Bale and Sang (1996) also in their discussion of missionary education in Kenya point out that, sport formed part of the early twentieth century ethos of ‘muscular Christianity’ through which it was introduced to the African population by the work of mission schools. They argue that although African children were not forced to go to school, the moment they were in school, they were unquestionably introduced to physical education; which included physical training, games and drills which were the central aspects of the missionary education curriculum (Bale & Sang, 1996).

As most of the institutions that offered education to the natives in Northern Rhodesia were managed by missionaries, the missionaries were, therefore, influential in the diffusion and development of football in Northern Rhodesia. For example, on 14th and 15th May 1937, a sports meeting was held at Jeans School in Mazabuka, and most of the schools which attended were mission ones¹⁷. The number of mission schools that attended this sports meeting shows how much missions in Northern Rhodesia valued sports which included football as part of their education (Mutende, 1937.06).

According to the Native Annual Educational Report (1933), among majority of mission boys’ boarding schools at all missions and government schools, association football was played and proved very popular. The sporting environment around the mission stations, led to the formation of competitive community football clubs around the missions in areas like Mapanza, Ibwe Munyama, Namwianga and Lubwa (Mutende, 1936.07).

¹⁵ Teacher training colleges run by missionaries included Sefula (Paris Evangelical Mission), Lubwa (Livingstonia Mission), Mapanza (Universities Mission to Central Africa), Kafue (Methodist Mission), Rusangu (Seventh Day Adventists Mission), Ibwe Munyama (Salvation Army), Mbereshi (London Missionary Society), Rosa (White Fathers), Johnston Falls (Christian Mission in Many Lands) and Tamanda (Dutch Reformed Church)

¹⁶ Settlers refer to Europeans who came and settled in Africa as farmers or colonial administrators

¹⁷ Chikuni (run by Jesuit Fathers), Kafue (Methodist Mission), St Mark’s College Mapanza (University Mission in Central Africa), the Central Trades School, Lusaka (Northern Rhodesia Government), and the Jeans School, Mazabuka (Northern Rhodesia Government)

On the other hand, others argue that the role the missionaries played in orienting the Africans to Western culture was nothing less than cultural imperialism itself. It is argued that the missionaries believed that Western culture was superior to the indigenous traditional society. This made them habitually antagonistic towards African culture. Mangan (1987) illustrates this clearly with an example of how a young missionary in Mapanza in the Southern Province of Zambia felt towards Zambian local dancing culture.

... Reverend Geoffrey Twistleton Wykeham-Fiennes, a teacher at St. Mark's College, Mapanza in the Diocese of Northern Rhodesia introduced English dancing to his African boys-country dances, sword dances, and morris dances and thus brought to young Africans "a new experience of enjoyment", which was a far cry from "the dubious experience of some African village dances," The contributor to *Round Table* introduced earlier thought sexual excess in Africa a general condition. "What can be done?" he asked in exasperation. The teacher "finds a race of magnificent physique but subject throughout great tracts-both in wedlock and out of it-to the curse of sexual indulgence. Some hope for change, he conceded, lay in games (Mangan, 1987, p.153).

According to Mangan (1987), the missionaries were not showing signs of supporting indigenous culture in Northern Rhodesia. They, instead, felt that games like football were an answer to civilising the Africans and turn them away from their immoral activities.

Colonial Education System

The colonial education system also played an important role in introducing football to the local people in Northern Rhodesia. The administration of the BSAC opened its first school for European children in Northern Rhodesia 1912. Before 1912, most European children were educated in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), apart from a few who attended very small schools in Livingstone and Lusaka. The small school in Lusaka was opened in 1907. The first school for Africans in the territory was the Barotse National School which was built in 1906. From 1914 to 1930, this was the period when many schools were established in Northern Rhodesia. The school curriculum during this period included subjects such as Arithmetic, English Language, Geography and Science. One of the components of the curriculum was Physical and Moral Welfare, which included medical and dental inspections, teaching hygiene

and games. It was under games and hostels that pupils played football (Annual Reports upon European Education, 1936).

At all schools under government management, except Silver Rest and Mulendema, organised games have been played throughout the year. Association football, cricket, tennis, netball, tenekoit, hockey, all claimed supporters. Senior boys were permitted to play golf at one school (Annual Report upon European Education 1936, p12).

A lot of football was played in both European and African schools. As a result of the long distances which school children covered from their homes to schools, most of the African schools were boarding schools. Football was played in African schools from the early 1920's. Although European schools were the most organised, Sakala (2008) argues that football in the African schools was very well organised too. Unlike European schools where there were other sports which were popularly played, boys in African schools played more football than they did other games such as cricket and rugby. The girls, on the other hand, concentrated on netball. The secondary schools for Africans where football was very competitive during that period included schools like Munali (where former President Kenneth Kaunda attended) and Chalimbana. Schools' football could have played a role in laying a foundation for the development of competitive club football.

It was some of the pupils who graduated from the European and African schools who continued playing football in their respective communities and formed or joined competitive football clubs. The colonial educational system, therefore, could have played an important role in the introduction of football in Northern Rhodesia among both Europeans and Africans.

A question that one can ask would be: what were the motives of the colonial government in including football/games in the school curriculum for Africans? Apart from the missionaries whose motives of including sport in the education curriculum for Africans were very clear, the Northern Rhodesia colonial government's motives were not clearly defined¹⁸.

¹⁸ During the research for this study, the educational curriculum for Africans in Northern Rhodesia was not found. This made it challenging to understand the motives of colonial education in Northern Rhodesia. However, the motives of colonial education in Africa have been discussed in a broader sense based on studies done by scholars in different parts of Africa.

In reference to British education in African colonies, others have argued that the kind of education the British introduced was not a duplication of the education that was offered in England. Tenga (2000) points out that the kind of education the British introduced in the colonies in Africa was imported from the accommodationist education model which was piloted in southern United States of America. It is argued that apart from teaching the 3'Rs¹⁹, this type of education also emphasised on health and hygiene, physical environment, domestic life, culture and recreation. There was also a physical and manual component consisting of six hours daily to be spent on agricultural or trade labour. Such a curriculum was justified on accounts that the education would help develop marketing skills, would help to build character for blue-collar labour, develop work habits and Christian principles among 'Negros²⁰.' Such were the qualities which were needed to ensure continued exploitation of the black people in the United States of America (Watkins, 1994). Mangan (1987) points out that the colonialists got very attracted to this type of education because of its emphasis on "character-formation." The inherent character-formation element justifies the prominent place given to physical education and sport in the colonial education curriculum.

In Northern Rhodesia, there was quite a close link between the education curriculums which the missionaries and the colonial government offered to Africans. They both had similar goals in terms of civilising or westernising the African children. Both curriculums used sport as part of their education system; the only difference was that the missionaries aimed at Christianising the young Africans while the colonialists aimed at maintaining their control and dominance over the Africans.

Colonial Administrators

Most of the colonial administrators in Northern Rhodesia were interested in football and other sports. This is because most of them were products of the English Public schools and Universities which were the originators of modern sport. As indicated earlier, the recruiters for imperial administrators were interested in athleticism and possession of character, to them, character was acquired by playing team sports. According to the recruiters, the best form of a colonial administrator was found among those with a recognized record of above-average athletic success at school or university (Kirk-Greene, 1987). This tells a lot about the type of

¹⁹ 3'Rs stand for: reading, writing and arithmetic.

²⁰ Negro means black in Spanish and Portuguese. This was a term used to describe people of black ancestry.

imperial administrators who went to Africa including Northern Rhodesia. Bale and Sang (1996), stipulate that:

The kind of person the Colonial Office was looking for as an administrative officer was not an intellectual. Rather, he would reflect a kind of Baden-Powellism, possessing ‘modest intellectual achievement, athletic prowess, a taste for outdoor life, and implicitly, unquestioned acceptance of the ‘aristocratic’ ethos of the rules and ideals of imperialism (Bale & Sang, 1996 p.76).

This means that, most of the colonial administrators were imbued with a sense of imperialism and were coming from elite backgrounds; most of them had attended public schools and were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge universities.

The British South African Company (BSAC) officials and employees arrived and began to rule Northern Rhodesia in 1890. They joined a few missionaries from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEM) who had settled earlier in the area. The BSAC officials and employees became the first people to begin playing football in the area. This was similar to what had happened earlier in Southern Rhodesia where the BSAC officials and employees arrived and settled under a different name as pioneer column²¹. According to Liwena (2008), these Europeans did not only play football, they also played rugby, cricket, tennis and many other games. They however, did not involve the local people in all these games they came with. They played exclusively for themselves. Although they did not directly involve the Africans in playing football, it was from them that the local people of the territory first saw and learned the game of football. After watching the Europeans play football, the Africans improvised their own equipment and began to play the game as well. They made their balls out of papers, grass and sisal (Liwena, 2008; Mtine, 2008).

After the Africans in Northern Rhodesia had learned how to play basic football, they later received support from the colonial administrators. This was done by the introduction and sponsorship of cups by the top colonial administration such as: the Governor’s Cup on the Copperbelt; Colony Cup which was also donated by a former Governor, and many other cups. The colonial administrators also showed how much they valued football by attending different

²¹ Pioneer column was the name given to the force which John Cecil Rhodes raised in 1890. This was the force he used to annex the territory of Mashonaland (part of Southern Rhodesia).

football cup finals for both European and African teams (Mufulira, 1954.08; Mutende, 1936.07).

There are many probable reasons why the colonial administrators could have opted to start supporting football in the African communities, despite them not wishing to share the game with them in the first place. Mtine (2008), argues that the main reason they started supporting football among Africans was because, football had become so popular in the African communities such that supporting it could have been one way of gaining popularity and loyalty from the Africans. The colonial administrators could have felt that there was need for them to control football in the African communities to prevent the football enthusiasm to turn into grounds for political rebellion against colonial rule (Mtine, 2008). On the other hand, one would argue that as most of the colonial administrators were sportsmen from the English public (i.e. private) schools, there could also have been genuine interest among some colonial administrators to offer and support football among the Africans.

Summary: Introduction of football in Zambia

Missionaries played a very important role in the introduction of football in Zambia. They established most schools where the local people had their first contact with modern sports and football. The opening of many schools for Africans under the colonial government increased the numbers of local children who attended school and learned how to play football.

Apart from learning how to play football in schools, the local people in Northern Rhodesia saw the BSAC officials and employees play football in their communities. They began to make balls out of grass and sisal and began to play football as well.

CHAPTER FIVE

Development of Organised Football in Northern Rhodesia

Organised football in Northern Rhodesia was looked at as football which had structures such as associations or federations; it also involved football played in different competitive levels sometimes with leagues and tournaments. Mr. Thomas Mtine, who was the first African chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Football League, argues that from the time football was introduced in Northern Rhodesia, it has always been competitive. According to him, every football is competitive irrespective of the level of people who play it and the area in which it is being played in (Mtine, 2008). Organised and competitive football did not begin in Northern Rhodesia, until the beginning of the 1920's.

Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA)

The competitive and organised form of football in Northern Rhodesia was started by the formation of the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association (BHFA) in 1922. This association was formed by Mr. William Nelson Watson, who was working for the Broken Hill Mines. Broken Hill (now called Kabwe) was the first region to have competitive and organised football clubs in the territory, these included clubs like Broken Hill Callies, Broken Hill Corinthians, Broken Hill Thistle and Broken Hill Railways (see map number 2 page 66). Following the formation of the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association, other independent football associations emerged. The Rhodesia Congo Boarder Football Association was founded in 1927 and in 1928, the Livingstone and District Football Association was formed. Mr. Watson organised a meeting with the other football associations in which they discussed the formation of a national football association later in 1927. This meeting led to the formation of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) in 1929. Mr. Watson is, therefore, the man who is credited for starting organised football in Northern Rhodesia (Northern News, 1959.04.10)

In March 1930, the NRFA held its first annual general meeting and Mr. Watson was elected president. The headquarters for the NRFA was in Broken Hill, it remained in Broken Hill until 1935, when it was transferred to Kitwe and later in 1975, the headquarter was transferred

to Lusaka. It was at the same meeting in 1930, where it was decided that the NRFA should affiliate to the South African Football Association (SAFA). It, therefore, became an affiliate and a constituency member of SAFA. This was because SAFA was the only association in the region which was affiliated and recognised by the Football Association in England. The English Football Association at that time acted as a football mother body in some regions and had affiliates. This affiliation also meant that the NRFA had to adopt most of SAFA laws, some of which were racially discriminatory (Sundowner, 1959; Northern News, 1959.04.10; Liwena 2005; Mashambe, 2008.10.04).

Because of his credit for starting organised football in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Watson, who was assistant manager of Broken Hill Mine, was awarded a medal of merit for his services in soccer by SAFA in March 1953.

Mr. W.N. Watson, of Broken Hill, has been awarded the South African medal of merit for his services to soccer. This is the first award of its kind to be awarded to a Northern Rhodesian. Mr. Watson was responsible for the start of organised soccer in Northern Rhodesia at Broken Hill in 1922. In 1927, Mr. Watson organised the Northern Rhodesia Football Association and was chairman for the first two seasons. He was secretary of the NRFA until 1952. Mr. Watson still takes an active interest in soccer, being president of the Broken Hill F.A. (The Northern News, 1953.04.10, p7).

This laid a foundation for the organised modern football played in Zambia today. After the formation of the NRFA, in 1934, the Lusaka and District Football Association was formed. The Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association which was formed in 1927 was the association which was originally responsible for the administration of both football and rugby on the Copperbelt Province until 1930, when the Rhodesia Congo Border Rugby Union was born. This association was called Rhodesia Congo Border because it included football clubs not only from Northern Rhodesia, but clubs from Congo towns which were along the border with Northern Rhodesia as well (Sundowner, 1963.01, p.35). By 1947, football among Europeans in Northern Rhodesia was well organised; the football clubs were quite structured and supported.

Racial Football in Northern Rhodesia

From 1924 to 1953, the British ruled Northern Rhodesia using a system which came to be known as indirect rule. They also introduced a two pyramid system of development, where the Europeans and Africans were to develop in their own areas. Africans were to assist and work in the European areas. They were, however, not allowed any permanent rights there. This meant that the two groups of people were to develop separately. This two pyramid system of development laid a foundation for racial segregation which ended up affecting not only the political and economic, but also the social activities such as sport. This system and the NRFA's affiliation to SAFA which had racist rules in its constitution made the racial atmosphere in football in Northern Rhodesia not different from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Haantobolo, 2000).

According to Dasgupta (1990), under the indirect rule system, the British gave powers to the local chiefs of their choice to rule the people on their behalf. In exercise of their powers, the chiefs were supervised by District Commissioners in whose hands rested the effective and final power.

Therefore, the organised football which was started by Mr. Watson in 1922 was, only for Europeans. Africans were not part of this football development; they only came to start playing organised football towards the end of the 1920's. According to Liwena (2005), the NRFA's affiliation to SAFA worsened racial segregation in football. Article number 28 of the SAFA constitution which the NRFA adopted stated that "all members of associations and of clubs under the jurisdiction of associations affiliated to this Association must be amateurs of true European descent" (Liwena, 2005 p.3). SAFA used the racial segregation which existed in South Africa and the British amateurism concept to segregate the Africans from playing football together with Europeans. Apart from the racial issue, SAFA used amateurism in the same way it was used in England to exclude the working class from football. Mackenzie (1987) supports this argument by pointing out that, modern sport was brought by white settlers in Africa towards the end of the 19th Century. In the beginning, the sports were played only by the white settlers, and they were socially distanced from the local people. The local people were segregated in the same way as in England where sports was used to segregate the

working class from the upper class (MacKenzie, 1987). With the two pyramid system of governance and the issue of amateurs of true European descent, it meant that the football development which was taking place among the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia did not directly involve the Africans. The Africans, therefore, had to have their own football development.

African Football in Northern Rhodesia

The development of organised football among Africans in northern Rhodesia started towards the end of the 1920's. As football was getting organised among Europeans, many Africans started learning and playing the game as well in their areas. By the early 1930's, football had already established itself and was popularly being played among Africans in northern Rhodesia's urban areas (Sakala, 2008; Mutende, 1936.07).

The earliest forms of organised football that emerged among Africans, especially on the Copperbelt, were through tribal teams. The Copperbelt Province is a place where not only football first gained roots but other sports as well (see Copperbelt Province on map number 2 on page 71). Competitions which were confined to districts were held on inter-tribal lines. The people who came to work in towns from different provinces made tribal teams, which played against each other. For example, people from Western Province (Lozi people) had teams which they mostly referred to as 'Lions', the people from Northern Province (Bemba people) had teams which they referred to as 'Elephants' and the people of Eastern Province (Ngoni/Chewa people) had teams they called 'Tigers.' As football was becoming popular, many different tribal teams emerged (Liwena, 2005; Mashambe, 2008; Mtine, 2008).

Early tribal football was mostly played by young urban people, who were either working or were busy looking for jobs in the urban areas (Mashambe, 2008). The tribal nature of early football in the urban areas shows how strong tribal connections and traditions were among the urbanised people in Northern Rhodesia. The urban working youth being the ones pioneering tribal football in Northern Rhodesia, gives us an indication of social class playing a role in the introduction of football among the local people in Northern Rhodesia. This brings out similarities with the situation in England where football was played by the upper class in its

early stages or in Norway where football in its early stages was first played by young people from the upper class (Andersen, 2007; Mason, 1980).

Liwena (2005), points out that these tribal matches were characterised with violence as every team wanted to win at all costs even if it meant using unacceptable strategies. Some football matches ended up causing big fights and tribal grudges. Usually, the team that lost in a football match would often want to challenge the other team with punches. For example, on September 17th 1939, a football match took place in Lusaka between the Elephants (Bemba) and Tiger (Ngoni) team. The Elephant team beat Tigers 2-0. The Tigers, who were the losers in the match, almost started a fight. Fights after a game were a common feature during tribal football (Mutende, 1939; Liwena, 2005).

By the end of the 1930's, there were still a few teams that were made up of people coming from one tribe or province, for example a team called Britain in Luanshya was made up of the Bemba speaking people. Other teams were made up of players from two tribal groupings, such as the Union team, which was made up of Bembas and Ngonis. Around the same time, football was also very popular in schools. It was the school leavers who contributed to the dilution of tribal teams. When the pupils completed school, they got jobs and settled in different parts of the country joining football teams of their choice irrespective of which tribe they came from (Mtine, 2008).

According to the Mutende (1936.07), by 1936, football had started becoming a popular game among the Africans in Northern Rhodesia. By the end of 1936, many Africans, especially those living in towns, had already either played or had seen people playing football. Competitive football among Africans started getting organised, especially on the Copperbelt. The Copperbelt Province became the most organised in football, it was the most industrialised and urbanised province in Northern Rhodesia due to its rich copper mineral deposits.

After the Second World War, many towns in Northern Rhodesia were becoming industrialised; many industries were opened in different towns, and were in need of labour. This led to an influx of people from rural areas abandoning their subsistence farming in search of payable jobs in the industries. Urbanisation brought a lot of people from different tribes together, creating population increase in towns. This became a good condition for the growth of football in the townships (Mashambe, 2008.10.04; Liwena, 2005).

As competitive football was getting organised among Africans on the Copperbelt, it began to spread to other provinces too. In Broken Hill town, football among Africans had also begun to develop following the trend on the Copperbelt. Football had been played in Broken Hill for many years. In 1928, the Mine team was provided with boots, jerseys, balls and a new playing field was cleared for them. By 1932, the two main local teams in Broken Hill, Mine and Railways, played competitive matches, where cups and medals were won. Matches were also played with teams from other towns such as Lusaka and Luanshya (Mutende, 1937.06).

To support the growing enthusiasm among Africans in football and probably to gain support and popularity among Africans, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia bought a cup which was called the Broken Hill District Championship Cup. In 1936, Broken Hill teams were made into a league and a time table for the games was prepared. The enthusiasm had also expanded to Lusaka Province where there were already about eleven competitive teams²². Apart from Copperbelt, Broken Hill and Lusaka, competitive football was also played in other parts of Northern Rhodesia such as Kalomo, Mumbwa, Malole, Livingstone, Kasama, Namwala, Ibwe Munyama and many other places covering almost all the urban centres in the colony (Mutende, 1936.07).

By 1940, football was becoming popular in Northern Rhodesia among Africans. The Horizon (1959) commented that; considering its large following among Africans, football was certainly the most popular sport in the whole of Northern Rhodesia.

The game became very competitive among Africans on the Copperbelt; this led to the formation of the Copperbelt African Football Association in 1950, with Mr. W. Coyle as Chairman and Mr. Thomas Mtine as the Association Secretary. The Association was made up of ten teams coming from the main mining towns in the province. This trend was repeated in other regions. The Copperbelt African Football Association became well organised and it started sending its select teams to compete outside the colony. In 1950, it sent its team to Elizabethville (Congo) and Bulawayo (Southern Rhodesia). There were about ten football clubs²³ which played in the Copperbelt African Football division one league in 1950

²² These included teams like Elephant Tanganyika (A and B), Central Trades School (A and B), Northern Rhodesia regiment (A and B), Barotse Lion, Britain, Union and British Nyasa United. The British Nyasa team was formed in 1936 and it was made up of young Nyasaland (Malawi) civil servants who were working in Northern Rhodesia.

²³ They included: Tigers, Ndola Home Defenders, Chingola Dynamos, Luanshya Buffaloes, Kitwe Tigers, Kitwe Lions, Chingola Orientals, Luanshya Roan Antelope, Mufulira Styles and Ndola Black Follies.

(Mutende, 1950.02.07). Football among Africans continued getting organised. The Lusaka Football Association, Livingstone Football Association and Broken Hill Football Association were formed. These different associations began to work together under the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association (Mtine, 2008; Sakala, 2008; Liwena, 2005).

Despite Africans getting involved in playing football, the running of African football associations was still done by Europeans. In August 1948, an association was formed in Lusaka which was called Lusaka African Football Association. The association was made up of two members from each club and ten Europeans. The aim of this association was to encourage Africans in Lusaka to take over the responsibility of running their own football. A lot of teams joined the association and these included teams like; Medical, Tiger, Rangers, Police, Try-Again, Homestead, Wanderers and Suburb (Mutende, 1950. 02.07).

One interesting aspect in early African football in Northern Rhodesia was the way they named their football teams. They seemingly all gave their teams English names. What could have been the meaning behind these names? Where the names meant to make the teams look more British than African? These are some of the questions one would ask. According to Mashambe (2008), the Africans named their teams out of their own interest. Team names were given after any feature that was interesting to them in their society at that moment. A lot of English names could have come up in their heads basically because they associated football with the English. The English names might be indicating how much influence the British culture had on the people in Northern Rhodesia. Mashambe (2008) points out that around this period, English names were not only given to football teams, even African children who were born around this era were given English names.

International Contacts

A lot of international contacts influenced the development of football in Northern Rhodesia. In 1947, Clyde Football Club from Scotland visited Northern Rhodesia. Clyde Football Club played games with the Rhodesian all white select side. The football match was watched by His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the select side lost 8 – 0 to Clyde. Northern Rhodesia football had another visit from overseas by Newcastle in 1952. Newcastle beat the Northern Rhodesia select side 6 – 0 (Northern News, 1953.05.28).

There were a number of overseas clubs which were hosted by SAFA that made football tours to Southern Africa. SAFA had to decide how many matches it would give to each of its affiliates. The NRFA was not happy with the way SAFA was distributing matches when there was a team from Europe touring Southern Africa. On many occasions, the NRFA accused SAFA of giving more games to Southern Rhodesia than Northern Rhodesia. After being denied a game against Dundee United by SAFA during the Scottish club's football tour of Southern Africa, the NRFA decided to invite an amateur football club, Bishop Auckland from England in 1953. The NRFA with the financial support of the Northern Rhodesian Government paid £4 500 to co-host Bishop Auckland together with Southern Rhodesia. This indicated the Northern Rhodesian Government's committed to the development of football in the colony. Bishop Auckland played four games in Southern Rhodesia and four games in Northern Rhodesia. The games in Northern Rhodesia were distributed and played in four different districts (Northern News, 1953.05.28).

Other overseas teams that visited Northern Rhodesia were the Israel National Team in 1954, Wolverhampton Wanderers 1957, Preston North End 1958 and Bolton Wanderers in 1959. Apart from the Israel National team where the Northern Rhodesia select team drew, they lost the matches they played against all the other visitors. Even though they lost all these matches, the visits by overseas teams contributed to the development of football among the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia by exposing them to international football (Mufulira, 1961. 05).

As usual, the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association was not involved in all these tours made by overseas clubs. The NRFA preferred to involve their fellow European association in Southern Rhodesia rather than involving the Africans. The Northern Rhodesia African Football Association began to arrange matches with African teams in the

neighbouring countries such as Congo, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and South Africa. The South African Bantu X1 under the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association made a tour of Northern Rhodesia in 1958 and 1961. This was a team made up of black South Africans who made tours to visit fellow Africans in Northern Rhodesia. They visited the Copperbelt and played matches with different teams in the mining districts. In Mufulira District, they played games between 28th September and 7th October with the Mufulira District select team (Ara, 1961; Mufulira, 1961.05).

The Copperbelt African Football Association with Mr. Thomas Mtine as secretary, also made arrangements for their team and visited the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association in South Africa. In their first game in Pretoria, they beat the Pretoria Bantu Football Association 5 – 0.

Apart from overseas and regional clubs visiting Northern Rhodesia, there were also individual former players from Europe who made short visits to Northern Rhodesia and conducted some coaching clinics in clubs and schools. Tom Finney and Stanley Mathews, two famous former England national team players visited Northern Rhodesia in 1955. They conducted coaching clinics at different clubs in the country and played exhibition matches in the Northern Rhodesia select. They focussed mainly on the European clubs and communities; once in a while they conducted coaching courses in African clubs. Another Briton, Allan Rodgers who was a FIFA coach came to Northern Rhodesia on a two months coaching clinic visit. He coached different clubs in Lusaka and in the Copperbelt Province (Nchanga Weekly, 1963).

The visits of former English players to Northern Rhodesia seem to have been very interesting. Unanswered questions one would ask would be: what did these visits mean to those visiting coaches and former football players? What did Northern Rhodesia mean to those footballers who visited? These visits could have been in line with what Goksøyr (1996, p.371) described as a conscious ideology for the diffusion of British culture in the Empire.

Financing Early Football in Northern Rhodesia

Football in Northern Rhodesia was best organised in the European Communities. In these communities, football was sponsored by the local authorities through the Central Sports Associations and by companies such as mines, railways, military and individuals. The clubs

also raised their own funds by asking the individual players to contribute membership fees. This was the money which clubs were using to finance their programs in addition to the support they received from their financiers. It was important for some clubs to raise extra funds because the funding they were receiving from their financiers was not enough to run a club the whole year. For example, the Central African Post (1949.01.27), indicates that during one of the special general meetings of the Mufulira Sports Club, it was indicated during a debate for the formation of two more football clubs, that the previous season, the Central Sports Association had given Mufulira Sports Club £120, but the club had actually spent £450 to run its programs the whole year.

In order to raise money for the smooth running of football clubs, some clubs in 1949 charged its senior players 20 cents per season. Junior players were made to pay 12 cents. Many clubs had also resolved that no player would be allowed to play before they pay their membership fees. The Europeans in Northern Rhodesia at that time managed easily to pay all their membership fees because they were the upper class of the colony. However, this was not the case with African clubs. The Africans did not have enough money for such leisure activities and this made it challenging for them to sustain their clubs at the level of Europeans. However, the cheap nature of the game of football, made it easy for them to improvise some of the equipment and continue playing the game (Central African Post, 1949.01.13).

Football among the Africans was also partly supported by the local authorities and individual local people. The local people, especially those in towns along the line of rail such as Lusaka, Kabwe, Livingstone and the Copperbelt, began to organise their own football. Different kinds of people came together; those involved in business and those working became very enthusiastic in the organisation of the game. They were interested in organising the game at a higher level than before. They, therefore, began to organise competitions locally and between towns. As the game became popular among Africans, it made the Northern Rhodesia Government recognise the importance of the game to the Africans through the local authorities. Various groups such as businessmen and government through local authorities got involved in forming clubs and running football structures. This led to the formation of more clubs representing different geographical areas and social groups (Mtine, 2008; Sakala, 2008).

The African Welfare Societies

Based on what happened in South Africa and later in Zimbabwe in the late 1920's, where it was said that vigorous physical activities had provided a civilised outlet for violent behaviour among Africans, the African Welfare Societies (AWS) which were created in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Darby, 2002), were made in Zambia as well. This was because it was believed that the Welfare system provides the best means of social control for Africans in the urban areas. The colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia saw this as a worthwhile policy and adopted it as well. The football enthusiasm that had grown in the African communities, coupled with the interest the colonial administrators had to have total control of most of the activities the Africans were involved in, made the AWS a very good option.

The AWS in Northern Rhodesia was implemented through the Municipal Councils under the Department of Community Services. The Department of Community Services made centres which were called Welfare Centres. These centres were used as recreational places for African children in different townships. The centres offered indoor and outdoor sports and other recreational activities such as dance, drama and many more. Football, however, emerged as one of the most dominant sport in the Welfare Centres. The Welfare Centres later on came to be known as community centres (Mashambe, 2008, Sakala, 2008).

In these centres, the Department of Community Service employed personnel who were called recreation officers. The duties of the recreation officers were to offer social services to the people in the townships. Under the programs offered by the recreation officer, football was played. This gave an opportunity to the young people to play football not only at school, but also within their own communities. The Welfare system in Northern Rhodesia was not different from what was happening in Southern Rhodesia in the 1930's (Sakala, 2008; Giulianotti, 2004). The Welfare system played an important role in moving football away from the tribal connection to a community social activity.

Football Club sponsorship

African competitive football clubs, like their European counterparts, had to rely on sponsorship from government and companies. However, it was not all African football clubs

that managed to access support from the colonial administration. Some native football clubs received financial support from the colonial administration while others did not. For example, in a meeting held by the King Edward 111 Native Football Team in Broken Hill, on 9th April 1936, the chairman of the club Mr. Wilson Mundulu complained about lack of support for the club from the District Commissioner's office.

I am very glad that we have gathered together to bring this Football Team to the notice of the District Commissioner. You all know that at many stations similar associations are in the hands of the Government Officials. Why should not this sport be under the District Commissioner in a large town like Broken Hill? ... Even small towns have their Native sports, while in a large town like Broken Hill the Native sports are poor. Most of the youths do not play football and thus have no exercise. We should be very pleased if the District Commissioner would let us enjoy sports in Broken Hill as do other Natives on the line of rail stations (Mutende, June 1936 p. 9).

In the same meeting, one of the people who attended the meeting; Mr. Abel Karshell praised the government officials for assisting native sports in Luanshya and Ndola, respectively. This shows that there were a number of clubs which received support from their District Commissioner's offices.

Some successful individual Europeans also supported some African football clubs. In 1936, a Broken Hill resident, Mr. Hemans bought a cup which was to be used for a knockout football tournament for Africans in Broken Hill (Mutende, 1936.07).

In an effort to fundraise for their football clubs, it was decided in Broken Hill that each team was to appoint a treasurer who should collect small fees, such as bench fees for those who wanted to sit on the bench when watching football. The fees were to be used for refreshments for the visiting teams. The profits that were gained in beer halls in Broken Hill were also channelled to supporting African football (Mutende, 1936.07).

The Governor's Cup

In an effort to support the development of African football, while others would argue that it was an effort to gain loyalty and have total control of the African communities, in 1936, His

Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia presented a cup, which was to be for a competition between African Football teams on the Copperbelt Province. The cup came to be known as the Governor's cup. Preparations for the first competition for this cup began in May 1936, and all football teams in the Government locations²⁴ in the province participated. The purpose for these competitions was to come up with the strongest team in the locations that would represent each area in the Governor's cup. For example, in Luanshya district, teams such as Britain, Prince of Wales, Luangwa and Africa participated in the qualifying competitions. The qualifying competition in 1936 in Luanshya was attended by many Europeans who were Government representatives in Luanshya ²⁵(Mutende, 1936.07).

In preparation for the final of the Governor's cup the Provincial Commissioner arranged for the purchase of medals for the two finalist teams. According to the Provincial Commissioner's letter to the Honourable Chief Secretary, the Provincial Commissioner indicated that:

It has been proposed that bronze medals should be given to each player of the winning team at the local centre. That the members of the winning team of the Final proper should receive a silver medal each; the cost of the medals should be defrayed from Ndola, Luanshya, Nkana and Mufulira Beer Hall Funds. ... It was suggested that the cost be sent to the District Commissioner Ndola who will be responsible for obtaining a refund from the funds referred to (Provincial Commissioner's letter, 1936.06.18).

The colonial administration, therefore, took the organisation and preparations for the Governor's Cup very seriously. This could be an indication that the administration was interested in the development of football among Africans.

Using his drums, Mr. Brown Mulenga sang the National anthem 'God save the Queen' before the qualifying matches began. The English anthem being sung by Mr. Mulenga using a traditional drum, gives us an interesting blending of English and Zambian traditional culture (Mutende, 1936.07).

²⁴ Government locations were government approved residential areas.

²⁵ Government representatives such as Mr. H.L. Brigham (District Officer in Charge), Mr. Caufurd Benson (District Officer), Lieut. Commander Sandwith (Town Superintendent), Dr. Fisher (Chief Medical Officer, Roan Mine), Mr. C. H. Mansell and Inspector G. C. Smith of Northern Rhodesia were the referees.

The first final of the Governor's cup was played in Ndola on October 4th 1936 between Luanshya Britons and Nkana Bulawayo at the Ndola Rugby Club. His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, accompanied by the Senior Provincial Commissioner, the District Commissioner, with about 300 Europeans and many interested Africans watched the match. Nkana Bulawayo emerged as winners by beating Luanshya Britons 2-1. The Governor presented the trophy to the captain of Nkana and each of the winning players received a silver medal. The losers were presented with bronze medals (Mutende, 1936.07).

The 1936 Governor's Cup final, however, showed that the Africans had problems with observing two important rules; throwing in the ball from the touch line correctly and the offside rule. The Mutende (1936), volume 9 included an outline of the rules for throwing in the ball from the touchline and the offside rule. The rules were translated in two major local languages; Bemba and Tonga. The newspaper, however, argued that despite the failure to observe some of the rules, the performance of the players in the 1936 Governor's Cup indicated that the standard of football among Africans in Northern Rhodesia had improved (Mutende, 1936.07).

Native Football Committee

The colonial government saw that African football was growing. In view of the increased interest in football among Africans, the Senior Provincial Commissioner asked for the formation of a Native Football Committee. The aim of the Committee was to organise and control native football on the Copperbelt and in Broken Hill. The Committee also formulated rules governing the competition for the Governor's Cup, to avoid challenges that were met during the 1936 Governor's Cup final (Acting Provincial Commissioner's letter, 1937.05.22). According to the minutes of a meeting of the Native Football Committee (26.04.1937), it was resolved:

That this Committee constitutes itself a committee for the control and organisation of Native Football in the Western Province and in Broken Hill District of the Central Province. ... League Football is to be organised and controlled by local committees, which will include natives, co-operating with this central committee. All disputes, misconduct, and breaches of rules are to be referred to the central committee whose decision shall be final (Native Football Committee Meeting Minutes, 1937.04.26).

This gives an idea of the extent to which the colonial government was involved in the control and support of African football as early as 1937. As much as the Africans themselves were involved in the running of their football, the colonial government had most of the power to control and organise the game among them. The colonial government made sure that they were involved in and controlled all new developments that took place among Africans. This was in order to have maximum control of the colony and to prevent any form of resistance or uprising that might emerge against their rule. This explains why they were very quick to come in to finance and support African football when they saw that it had become very popular among the Africans.

Football on the Copperbelt

The discovery of rich underground copper ore deposits and opening up of copper mines on the Copperbelt Province took place during the late 1920's and early 1930's. This attracted big investments to the territory. The operation of the mines and exploitation of these huge copper reserves required a lot of manual labour and local people from all over the territory were drawn to come and work in the mines (Sundowner, 1959.05).

The high demand for labour in the mines led to the population to increase rapidly on the Copperbelt. This led to various sports to grow quickly and each sport began to demand recognition and usually financial aid. Among the early sports on the Copperbelt Province were football, rugby, golf and tennis. Football quickly became the most dominant of all (Sundowner, 1959.05).

From the time when the mines were established on the Copperbelt Province in the early 1920's, the mining companies provided sports playing fields and equipment for the miners and their families. These facilities in the beginning were only meant for the Europeans, the Africans were not allowed to participate or use the facilities. The presence of these facilities made the Copperbelt Province a very strong sporting centre in the colony since its early days.

Map Number 2

Map of Zambia showing early competitive clubs in different towns



The province produced Olympic and Empire games winners and in team sports such as soccer, rugby, cricket, bowls and tennis, the province competed against the national teams of other countries. There are many probable reasons why sports flourished on the Copperbelt and

these include favourable weather, high standards of coaching and ample time available for training. Mr. Bennie Evans who was a sports officer at Roan Antelope Mines argued that:

One of the important reasons for our sporting success, I am convinced, is the facilities available on the mines. Few places in the World can boast of such lavishly provided sporting, facilities at such a reasonable cost to sports men (Sundowner, 1963.01, p35).

Sundowner (1959) holds that the Copperbelt Province was the stronghold of soccer in Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association, an association which controlled football on the Copperbelt, won the inter-district championship which started in 1930, 20 out of 23 occasions. There was a competition which was called the Northern Rhodesia Challenge Cup which was started in 1938. It was like the territory's equivalent of the English Football Association Cup in which the winners were regarded as the champion club in Northern Rhodesia. The clubs affiliated to the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association won it 11 out of the 15 times (Sundowner, 1959.05). All the mining districts in the province (see map number 2 on page 66) had football clubs playing in the first division²⁶.

There were also Copperbelt Province local premier trophies which were played only within the province. These included the Copperbelt League, the Copperbelt Knock out Cup, the sir Edmund Davis League and the Thesner Charity Cup. Mufulira was the most competitive club on the Copperbelt in the early 1930's and 40's. Mufulira won the three trophies on three occasions in 1931, 1946 and 1947 (Sundowner, 1959.05).

Football for Africans on the Copperbelt came with the introduction of the African Welfare Societies (AWS) in the province. The Mines and Municipalities Welfare Departments, which aimed at offering social cohesion for the miners and their families on the Copperbelt, played an important role in organising football activities. Football matches were organised on community basis in the townships (Liwena, 2005). The mines welfare centres were better organised with better facilities than the municipal welfare centres. They employed recreation officers whose job was to plan and organise recreation activities in the mining townships (Sakala, 2008). This led to the formation of football clubs for Africans which were supported

²⁶ Early top clubs in the province included clubs such as Rhokana, Kitwe, Chingola, Mufulira, Roan, Ndola Rangers, Luanshya, Mufulira Mine, Ndola Hotspurs and Nchanga.

by the mines. These clubs later became the most organised and well sponsored clubs in the country.

Most of the people who played football on the Copperbelt Province, in the mine sponsored teams were miners. Others included children or dependants of miners who later joined the mines when they became old enough. The mines, being the main sponsors of the teams provided the players with transport to and from the playing fields. They also provided them with good and well maintained playing fields which other clubs could not afford. The miners worked from 0700 hours to 1500 hours with a 30 minutes lunch break between 1200 hours and 1230 hours. Football practice for the mine teams started at 16 hours, an hour after knocking from work and went up to 18 hours. When there was a need for extra practice, football grounds with floodlights were provided to the teams (Mwansa, 2008)

The availability of support in terms of logistics and equipment for the players and the availability of sufficient training time, provided by the mines, could have supported the rapid development of football in the mining districts on the Copperbelt. In the other provinces, there were, however, other companies who sponsored football as well such as the Railways, the Military, Councils and many others (Mwansa, 2008).

The mines played a central role in the development of football in Northern Rhodesia. African football, just like European football first established itself on the Copperbelt Province. Competitive teams were formed which the mines supported during and after the colonial era. The Copperbelt African Football Association, which was formed in 1950, became one of the first stages of the development of African football in Northern Rhodesia. Even after independence, the mines continued supporting different sports and had the best football clubs in the country (Mwansa, 2008; Sakala, 2008).

The Northern Rhodesia Football Association had its headquarters in the Copperbelt Province. Football began to play an important role in the mining areas. It was commonly believed that when a football team for a particular mining district wins a football match over the weekend, general production in that mine increased. The work atmosphere and morale underground in the mines would be very high. The mines supported football in order to improve the work capacity of mine workers, provide entertainment for the miners and their families and to keep the masses in the mining towns happy. From the early 1950's up to the late 1980's the

Copperbelt Province had been the backbone of football and other sports activities in Zambia (Sakala, 2008).

Summary: Development of organised football in Northern Rhodesia

Organised football in Northern Rhodesia did not start until 1922, when Nelson Watson of Broken Hill Mines formed the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association. Thereafter many other regional associations emerged. This later led to the formation of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association in 1929.

The indirect rule system of governance and the two pyramid system of development the British colonial administration introduced, together with the Northern Rhodesia Football Association's affiliation to SAFA created a foundation of racial football in the colony. This made the football developments which were happening in the European community not to be experienced in the African communities. African football in Zambia first developed on tribal lines. Industrialisation and urbanisation which took place on the Copperbelt played important roles in influencing football development among Africans.

CHAPTER SIX

Ending of racial football and introduction of a National Football League in Zambia

Just like in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, racial football in Northern Rhodesia continued until the late 1950's and early 1960's. During this period, competition in football was growing and amateur football which was one of the reasons for practising racial football began being replaced by professional football. The new professional league that was emerging was more interested in the quality of the football players and not their backgrounds or race. The professional league and the impending independence played important roles towards ending racial football in Northern Rhodesia.

Amateur football in Northern Rhodesia

As football was becoming popular among natives in Northern Rhodesia, one of the fears the Europeans came to face, was the issue of professional football. Some of the Europeans with their English public school backgrounds still believed in the amateurism ideology (Holt, 1990). The waves of change which Northern Rhodesian football was facing started demanding for multi-racial and professional football. Some conservative Europeans felt that it was their duty to guard football from professionalism. The Native Education Annual Report (1936) indicated the fears:

Football becomes increasingly popular from year to year. Leagues and championships are growing up in urban areas and the standard of play is often high. Unfortunately, there is, in some places, a mercenary element creeping into the game and the existence of purses has endangered the amateur status of many teams. The influence of interested Europeans is tending to check this practice, however, and the idea of playing for the game's sake is being inculcated (Native Education Annual Report, 1936 p13).

This development which others saw as a threat to amateurism was growing more and more in competitive football among Africans, especially on the Copperbelt. This led to the implementation of very rigid supervision and penalties for gambling and playing games for

money. The trend, however, continued growing despite the penalties that had been introduced (Native Education Annual Report, 1936).

As years went by, it became inevitable and obvious that amateur football was facing a big challenge. In the beginning of 1961, at the Copperbelt African Football Association Annual General Meeting, it was finally agreed that all reference to the word amateur should be deleted from the constitution. This meant that clubs wishing to register professional players with the Association were permitted to do so (Roan Antelope, 1961.02.04). William Bill Coyle who was the chairman for the Copperbelt African Football Association clearly expressed his fears of holding on to the amateur ideology.

During the discussion, Mr. W. Coyle, the chairman of the Copperbelt African Football Association said: "I feel professional football is coming and if we do not safeguard our interests we are going to lose players to a professional league. We cannot afford to lose our players to such leagues," he said to a local mining newspaper Roan Antelope (1961.02.04, p12).

The conference decided to amend the constitution so that clubs wishing to register professionals could do so without leaving the Association. This marked the beginning of professional football in Northern Rhodesia and it laid a foundation for the establishment of the National Football League.

The end of racial Football in Northern Rhodesia

From the time organised football developed in Northern Rhodesia in the early 1920's, Europeans did not wish to involve the Africans in their sports activities. The two groups continued playing football separately until the early 1960's. After a long period of ethnic or racial football, signs of change from racial to multi-racial football started emerging. What interests could have been behind this paradigm shift?

As indicated earlier, between 1953 and 1963, three territories: Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) came under one administration known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Haantobolo, 2000). The formation of the federation meant that, football development in the region had to involve all the three

territories in the Federation. There were proposals of having federal football and this led to the formation of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League. This league was formed by mostly Europeans who were interested in multi-racial football. The rules of this league demanded that teams in the league should consist of a specified number of players on racial basis. Although a few games were played in the league, the league did not succeed because of the travelling costs for the teams due to long distances between the three territories (Liwena, 2005).

It was around this period, when racial football started being challenged by some Africans and Europeans especially those from Northern Rhodesia, who wanted to see multi-racial football played. This received a lot of resistance from conservative Europeans who did not appreciate and see the need for multi-racial football in the region. Associations and clubs which showed interest in multi-racial football were threatened to be expelled or suspended by the Northern Rhodesia Football Association, the NRFA was acting in line with the SAFA constitution, which it was affiliated to and did not allow multi-racial football (Central African Post, 1951.02.08).

Signs of multi-racial football being played in Northern Rhodesia started showing early in the 1950's, when some Northern Rhodesian European clubs in defiance to the NRFA started organising and playing multi-racial football in the territory. Very interesting and well attended multi-racial matches were played in Lusaka. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia himself Sir Gilbert Rennie attended some of these matches. One of the matches which the governor and his entourage watched was played on February 4th 1951 between Lusaka African Select and Lusaka Europeans at the Kabwata grounds in Lusaka.

The game was being played at a terrific pace, and it became evident that, this with the heat of the day was beginning to tell on the European team. The ball rarely entered the Select half now and the African team had only themselves to blame for not being ahead at the interval. Half time score: Lusaka African Select 0, Lusaka Europeans 0 (Central African Post, 1951.02.08.p.11).

Defiance from the NRFA continued, matches between Europeans and Africans continued such matches were mostly played on special occasions such as Christmas day. Large groups of people from both races would come to watch such matches. Although not approved by the NRFA, the matches between Europeans and Africans were becoming more and more popular.

A very splendid match was played on 26th December at the Main Town Location football ground at Lusaka, between Europeans and Africans. ... A very large group of people witnessed the match, both Europeans and Africans. After a hard struggle in which both teams played excellent football, the match ended in favour of Europeans who beat the Africans by two goals to one (Mutende, 1952.01 p.1).

The new chapter of multi-racial football in Northern Rhodesia was opened in the beginning of 1961, when the Northern Rhodesia Football Association accepted an application by the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association for full membership. This led to the African Association to fall away and each district association both African and European were affiliated directly to the NRFA. Each association was to have three votes on the council, so that both Europeans and Africans were to have equal votes. This also meant that Africans had the opportunity to represent the territory and to be awarded national colours. African clubs were now also free to enter the national fixtures including the Northern Rhodesia Challenge Cup. It was at this time when the intentions of the formation of the National Football league were mentioned.

Mr. E. G. Hayes, the president of the association, revealed plans to organise a national league next season open to any team. He hoped that the executive of the old African National Association would organise this league. They will enjoy the benefits of affiliation to the international organisation (FIFA), which enables the territory to entertain overseas teams, enter for the Olympics on the World Cup Games and in fact makes them full members of the world organisation (African Mail, 1961.08. p.16)

This marked the ending of formal ethnic football in Northern Rhodesia. The benefits of the introduction of multi-racial football became reflected in the success of the national team. Comprising usually five or six Africans and the remainder being Europeans, the blending of the ball playing style of the Africans and the straight forward approach of the European players, made up a team that could take on any team on the continent (Zambia News, 1963.11.10, p.31).

The new National Football League which was formed demanded that each team was to have players from both races. This became a turning point for Northern Rhodesian football. It led

to the breaking of the racial barrier between African and European players and also provided an opportunity for African stars to try their luck in paid ranks all over Rhodesia and Nyasaland (African Mail, 1961.06.06).

Professional Football League in Northern Rhodesia

Following the amendment of the Copperbelt African Football Association constitution in 1961, the National Football League (NFL) was formed in June, 1962. This marked the beginning of professional football in Northern Rhodesia. The birth of the new league came about through the desire of football administrators of both races to improve the game in the territory. As football was split on racial lines, it had reached a point where there was very little progress being made (Sundowner, 1962.05).

Thomas Mtine, chairman of the National League, says that many people felt that the representative teams were not as good as they should have been because neither African nor European bodies could select national sides purely on basis of fielding the best players; the best they could do was select the most skilful players of one race, with the result that the team was weaker than if players were chosen irrespective of race (Sundowner, 1962.05, p35).

The poor standards of football made non-racial football to be the only answer. There was, however, a lot of fear from both the European and the African sides, of how the two races could merge and make the league successful. Some conservative Europeans did not agree with the idea of multi-racial football. They based their arguments mainly on facilities. For example in Chingola, in 1961, there was a disagreement between Europeans who wanted multi-racial football and those who did not want it to be played at Watson Stadium. Both camps had to vote to solve the difference and those who did not want multi-racial football to be played in the stadium won (Nchanga News, 1961.12.08).

A meeting was called in December 1961 to discuss the issue of professional football. All key stakeholders in football such as mines managements, mine welfare officers, the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association and the Copperbelt African Football Association were invited. After this meeting of the people who were for and against the formation of the league, a consensus for the formation of the Professional National League was reached. In the end the league started smoothly and all fears which both sides had, proved to be baseless. There was

not so much resistance towards the league because at that time, it was evident that, it would not be very long before the Africans get their independence in the territory (Liwena, 2005; Sundowner, 1962.05).

Lessons had also been learnt from the South African situation; two years before, seven clubs broke away from the South African Football Association (SAFA), who were then playing amateur football and formed a National Football League which was a professional body. Despite the cries from the amateurs' authorities and spectators that South Africa was not yet ready for professional football, after two years, professional football in South Africa had grown tremendously and they even had three leagues (African Mail, 1961.06.18).

Even though football was growing at a fast rate in Northern Rhodesia, its status was still not recognised by everyone. Elections were held in 1961 to choose the leaders of the league. A team was elected to lead the league with Ron Peterson as chairman, Thomas Mtine as deputy chairman, A. E. Johnson as secretary, H. Swindell as treasurer and A. Hendry as registrar. Ron Peterson who was chairman left for South Africa and never returned. He had been working for Luanshya Mines as a miner underground. When he was voted in as chairman of the league, he demanded that the mine should give him another job upstairs, so that the chairman of the National Football League should not continue being an underground-miner. When his request was not granted, Peterson decided not to return to Northern Rhodesia after he had travelled for a holiday to South Africa. Thomas Mtine who was deputy took over as chairman and he became the first African to take up such a post in Northern Rhodesia (Liwena, 2005).

The confidence of Africans in the new league was growing. With the rule that each team in the league should have both races represented, it worked to the advantage of Africans who were more in numbers. It did not take long before the majority of players in the league turned out to be Africans, although the administration and management of football still remained in the hands of the few Europeans (Liwena, 2005; Sundowner, 1962.05).

The league started in the beginning of March 1961 and brought about a lot of noticeable keenness among both players and spectators. The numbers of supporters coming to watch football increased tremendously on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. In the first year of the league, each district was allowed to enter a maximum of two teams in the league. In many

places, clubs joined together to sponsor a completely new non-racial team while a few existing clubs entered their own teams (Sundowner, 1962. 05).

When the season started 13 teams were registered and played in the league. Most of the teams were non-racial²⁷. Some clubs did not meet the requirements of joining the league and were left out. The argument behind each district having only two teams was in order to make sure that each district presented only its best players (quality before quantity) and the league was only to be for the elite. It was also important to keep the league small for effective management (Liwena, 2005; Sundowner, 1962.05).

According to Sundowner (1962), most of the players in the league turned semi-professional, and they were paid a signing-on fee and wages. Some players were employed by their clubs on special contracts of full time professionals, while others were employed by companies sponsoring the clubs. The home teams began paying the referees and linesmen, and the visiting team was given £25. The clubs paid the players, they, therefore, began to insist on a high standard of play, and exerted discipline that an amateur team could not. This raised the standard of the game in the territory. Any team that did not fulfil its obligation was not only reprimanded, but it was fined up to £100 by the league.

By 1962, there were five associations which were affiliated to the Northern Rhodesia Football Association; these included: the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association, the Copperbelt African Football Association, the Livingstone and District Football Association, the Midlands Football Association and the Northern Rhodesia National Football League (Sundowner, 1962.05).

The National Football League (NFL) as the league got to be known was sponsored by the business community. It got big sponsorship from Rothmans of about £350 annual sponsorship for league games. This made the NFL to be in control of two out of the three big cash prize competitions in Northern Rhodesia namely: Heinrich Trophy £1000 and the League £350. This left out only the Castle Cup and it made the league very attractive to other associations and clubs. Towards the beginning of the 1964 season, more clubs were joining the NFL and

²⁷ The teams included: Rhokana United, Kitwe United, Roan United, Mufulira Wanders, Mufulira United, Nchanga Rangers, Nchanga Sports Club, City of Lusaka, Lusaka Queen's Park, Broken Hill Warriors, Bancroft North End, Ndola and Ndola United.

its secretary Charles Gibb was very good at thoughtfully marketing the league (Northern News, 1964.09.22).

When Zambia was getting her independence from Britain in 1964, the NFL was well established. The powerful leadership that was behind the league and imminent independence, made the league one of the most successful in the region around 1964.

Summary: Ending of racial football and introduction of the National Football League (NFL)

Towards the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, different interests emerged in Northern Rhodesian football. Many Europeans and Africans began to challenge and resist racial football. On the other hand, amateur football was being challenged by professional football. It was also around the same period when a lot of African States were getting their independence from the colonial powers. Northern Rhodesia was ready to get her independence as well, and there was a lot of anxiety and excitement in the region. All these factors which were connected in some ways could have played an important role in influencing the football atmosphere in Northern Rhodesia leading to the paradigm shift.

Some Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, especially those with a Public School background tried to hang on to their amateurism ideology. This was similar to how the amateurs controlled the game in England during most parts of the 1800's (Walvin, 1975). This was, however, slowly overtaken by the coming in of professional football. Africans and Europeans, who were opposed to racial football, began to play multi-racial matches. In 1961, the word amateur was deleted from the constitution, and in the same year, the NRFA accepted the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association for full membership. This marked the end of racial football and Africans began to feature for the Northern Rhodesia National team.

In 1962, the Northern Rhodesia National Football League was formed. This marked the formal ending of amateur football in the territory. The league was formed as a result of the desire of football administrators from both white and black communities to improve the standard of the game in the territory. In order to suppress racial football, the newly formed league demanded that each team that was to be accepted in the league was to have representation of players from both races.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Football and Independence in Zambia

Independence and Exodus of Europeans

By the beginning of 1963, the preparations for independence had reached very advanced levels. Africans had started taking over the governance of the country. As this was happening, there was a mass exodus of Europeans leaving Northern Rhodesia for Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and England. Many Europeans became worried about their security with the coming of the new African government. They decided to leave for countries where independence was unforeseen and where the population of Europeans was much bigger (Nchanga Weekly, 1963.09.06). The General Manager for Nchanga Mines, Mr. Mark Rushton commented on the exodus of Europeans from Northern Rhodesia in connection with safety in the mines.

Mass and needle panic about security and savings, making people decide to leave Northern Rhodesia, would be the worst possible thing, not only for Europeans who stayed behind, but also to the new Government of the country, said the General Manager for Nchanga Mine, Mr. Mark Rushton. ... And there is a recognised need to keep the Europeans in the country – and in this job he added. ‘Until the European moved in, the vast natural resources of this country were valueless to the indigenous people. The European is still needed here – for his technical, mechanical and manual skills (Nchanga Weekly, 1963.09.06, p3).

This departure of Europeans did not only affect the mines, it affected sports as well, especially football, whose majority administrators were Europeans. Due to a strong nationalistic attitude from the African politicians during their struggle for independence, many European football administrators, especially those with families left Northern Rhodesia. This created a vacuum especially in the administration and management of football because there were few Africans involved. The number of European football players in the clubs also reduced drastically. The Africans, although, with minimal experience, stepped up and took over the administration and management of football in the country.

This sudden change of leadership had both a negative and positive effect on football. The departure of very knowledgeable and experienced leaders in football was quite a blow to the game. Liwena (2008) argues that the Europeans had more knowledge in football than Africans because they were more connected and had more access to football literature than their counterparts. On the other hand, the Africans had a better understanding of the local culture and people; hence despite lacking in knowledge and experience, the new African leaders were better positioned to be understood by their fellow locals. According to Mtine (2008), the departure of the Europeans did not affect the standards of the game, instead the standards improved. There were more football clubs that emerged, more overseas teams were brought to Zambia and the game became more inclusive. He argues that not all Europeans left Northern Rhodesia; there were Europeans who remained and joined forces with Africans to develop football in the country. Others will, however, still argue that football was better managed during the colonial era under the Europeans.

On the other hand, some argued that some Europeans were frustrated and left Northern Rhodesia simply because of their own racial attitudes. Many football clubs that wished to hang on to ethnic football got to have serious challenges around this period. For, example, the ‘all white’ Mufulira Football club was said to be one of those clubs that wilted on account of its racial beliefs. It was one of the few clubs that never wished to be a multi-racial club. However, around 1964, the club started facing challenges.

Officials of the club admit that they are finding difficulty in keeping the club going. Many players had to quit. ... Informed sources say that most of the club’s players do not want to play with or against African players. ... Officials do not discount colour-bar as a reason, “Only those who left never gave it as a reason,” they say (Zambia News, 1964.05.13, p.24).

It is, therefore, arguable that among those Europeans, who left Northern Rhodesia with the argument of safety, there would be some who left simply because of their racial beliefs and they did not picture the idea of multi-racial leadership in which Africans were to be the most dominant.

Around this period, the new African leadership was pre-occupied with national building. At that time Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. He was asked about the future of sports by the Rhokana Copper Mines and his response was urging

all sports organisations in Northern Rhodesia to seek international status. He said that the Northern Rhodesia teams should stand on their own so that Northern Rhodesia sportsmen can attain a standard that will be good for sport and for the country. He said that his ministry was willing to support sports that exist on their own and not under the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Nchanga Weekly, 1963.09.06).

Before October 24th 1964 when Zambia became independent, a full government of Africans was almost already functioning. In line with fears of security, Mr. Justin Chimba who was Minister of Labour and Mines assured Europeans that their jobs would not be taken by Africans, and that there would be openings in Zambia for skilled labour for many years to come. He urged people with a positive contribution to remain in the country and not to leave (Northern News, 1964. 07.11.).

Zambia Football Association

With the coming of independence in 1964, the Northern Rhodesia Football Association changed its name to Zambia Football Association (ZFA). On 28th June 1964, a special general meeting for football was held. There was an election for the new ZFA executive. Mr. John Kelly who was president for the Copperbelt Congo Border Football Association was elected president of ZFA beating the other contender Thomas Mtine who was chairman for the National Football League (NFL). Mr. Mtine had a lot of support from government, but he already had a lot of work with the NFL and he also had to attend to his businesses. Brennan Kets became the new secretary for the ZFA (Northern News, 1964. 01.07).

Just before independence in 1964, the Northern Rhodesia Football Association brought Ian Greaves an ex-Manchester United star and Phil Woodsman, a former Welsh international to give specialised training and coaching to selected players and coaches in the country. After the two visitors drilled the Zambia National Team, the team beat Tanganyika (Tanzania) and Malawi winning the Ufulu (Independence) cup. This built up the momentum of pride and contributed to national building (Nshila, 1964. 01.07).

Zambia got her independence from Britain on 24th October, 1964. This date marked the birth of a new nation. With the coming of independence, the ZFA, organised and invited Kenya,

Uganda and Ghana for an independence tournament. Zambia lost all the games in the tournament. The tournament was won by Ghana, Uganda came out as the runners-up, followed by Kenya and Zambia came out last in the tournament (Nshila, 1964. 01.07).

Towards the end of 1965, proposals were being made for bringing football under one council in Zambia in the name of Football Association. The game was also to be divided into three or four divisions and that a set of standards was to be laid down varying from one division to another. The main aim for this proposal was to bring about unity in football. This involved bringing all associations such as the Copperbelt Congo Border Football Association, Copperbelt African Football Association, Midlands Football Association, Livingstone and District Football Association, National Football League and the mother body the Zambia Football Association together. A committee consisting of three members from each association was set up to follow up this proposal and it was chaired by the ZFA member Mr. Killy Kilfoil (Zambia News, 1965. 12.06).

Development of Football after Independence

In 1965, two national bodies were formed to boost sport in Zambia. The two bodies were the Zambia National Sports Advisory Board and the National Sports Foundation of Zambia. The formation of these boards aimed at improving the levels of sports in the country. The new administration indicated to be determined to develop the standards of sports in the country.

The multi-racial Northern Rhodesia National Team in 1964 had a fairly good performance. They played matches against the visiting British Football Club, Dundee United and against Southern Rhodesia. According to the Northern News newspaper (1965.06.14), the team had achieved quite a lot within the short period when multi-racial football was introduced. The combination of both European and African players seemed to have worked well.

Even after independence, the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) continued inviting overseas clubs. In 1965, they invited an English football club Middlesex Wanderers. The first

game with Middlesex Wanderers was played at Dag Hammarskjöld²⁸ stadium in Ndola, and the second game was played at Scrivener Stadium (Northern News, 1965.06.14).

The National Football League continued making progress. At an annual general meeting, held at the Ndola Football Club, the league voted in the Republican President Kenneth Kaunda as its patron. This could have been a strategy to bring him closer to the game. Thomas Mtine remained as chairman, Brennan Kets as secretary and Charles Gibb as treasurer. At this meeting, the signing on fees, wages and bonuses became a matter of the player and the club to decide; earlier the league had set minimum and maximum amounts players were to receive.

This change is expected to improve the conditions for the players, and in turn improve the standards of football generally. Clubs, too, will benefit from the changes that were made at yesterday's well attended annual general meeting. ...they will only deposit £25 with the league instead of £100, and will pay a subscription of only five guineas for the first division team instead of 10, 3 guineas for the second division team and 2 for the third division club (Northern News, 1965, 02.08, p.11)

This was meant to allow more teams to join the league. From one division, the league increased to three divisions, introducing division two and three. They also introduced a promotion and relegation system among the divisions.

In order to lay a good foundation for football development, in 1966, the Zambia Secondary Schools Football Association (ZSSFA) was formed. The Association was affiliated to the Football Association of Zambia and its main aim was to co-ordinate schools football throughout the country. Membership was open to all secondary schools in the country. Apart from encouraging and promoting football, the association was going to make efforts and attempts to train school boys' referees (Zambian News, 1966.10.05).

²⁸ Dag Hammarskjöld stadium in Ndola was built and named after the late United Nations Secretary General Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld who died in a plane crash in 1961 near Ndola in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). This was to recognise and appreciate the work he was doing.

The new government's attitude towards football development

It is not doubted that modern sport played very important roles in Britain and in the colonies. Within the Empire 'Anglo-Saxon' modern sport served as a cultural bond, moral and political symbol. After some colonies got their independence from the colonialists, sports served as a stimulus to independent assertion, striving for separate identity and the elevation of national status (Mangan & Hickey, 2001). Zambia was not an exception from those countries which made use of modern sport, especially football after independence.

The new government of independent Zambia, under Kenneth Kaunda as President, was very instrumental in the support of the development of football. Kenneth Kaunda himself spared time to watch and play football. He officiated at many football matches as the guest of honour. He watched most of the international schools' football matches, club championship finals and the national team matches. Sometimes he arrived with him his wife, Betty Kaunda, to watch the football matches. According to the Zambia News (1964.12.13), he was known as one of Zambia's keenest football fans. A Zambian newspaper Nshila (1967.11.17) selected him in 1967 as number one contributor towards the development of football in Zambia.

I pick President Kaunda as "Skipper (No. 1) of the team of 20" in promoting Zambia's soccer. Despite his heavy loaded-program as head of state and government, Kenneth Kaunda's sportsmanship and devotion to sports is unquestionable. He has not missed most important matches. But two decisions which touched me were his recent advice that Zambia must enter the World Cup competitions if it is to improve its standards and that rural talents must be tapped if Zambia wanted to improve sports activities in the country (Nshila, 1967.11.17).

President Kaunda even formed a football team with his cabinet ministers called 'The Ministers X1. This team played several football matches with different select teams. One of the matches which were played was between the Ministerial X1 and Zambia United.

...the match between the Ministerial X1 and Zambia United ended in a draw at Kitwe yesterday. Dr. Kaunda's side nearly pulled it off, but a goal three minutes before the final whistle robbed the side of victory. After being four goals down at half time, the Ministerial X1 played crowd-pleasing football which split the Zambia United defence and were at four all (Zambia News, 1964.11.21, p.24)

The ministerial X1 played many games with different teams. Another exciting game which they played at Kitwe's Scrivener stadium was with Copperbelt mayors and counsellors which ended in a 2 -2 draw. Such games drew a lot of support often with stadiums filled to capacity (Nshila, 1964.11.03).

The new government showed a lot of enthusiasm towards the development of football in the country. After independence, Kenneth Kaunda and his comrades were interested in uniting the new nation. They used all possible means to unite the country and to implement their motto of 'One Zambia – One Nation'²⁹. Football having been the most popular sport in the country became part of their means to achieve unity in a country of 73 different ethnic tribes. The Zambia National team was named after him as 'KK11' meaning 'Kenneth Kaunda 11'. As much as the politicians used football to achieve their national unity, they could also have contributed greatly towards the development of the game. The President's personal interest and involvement in football could have played a very important role to the development of the game in the country after independence. This was because it sent signs to the whole new nation that football was a very important game for the nation. This political thrust also made companies and business houses to pump in a lot of financial resources in football as they wanted to be seen to be in line with the new government's policies (Liwena, 2008; Mtine 2008).

In 1964, when there was a dispute between the Football Referees Association and the National Football League, the Ministry of Labour and Social Development came in quickly to mediate. The Minister of Labour and Social Development, Mr. Nalumino Mundia in 1965 while presenting the Youth Council of Zambia Cup, announced that government was planning to establish sports centres and stadia at each provincial capital. He asked clubs and sports organisations to extend their activities to the rural areas in order to make rural areas attractive and prevent people from drifting to the towns. He also asked sports clubs to open their membership to all races. "He felt that the government's financial backing should benefit the general pool from which sportsmen of all types emerge rather than sectional interests." This indicated the new government's interest towards the development of football and other sports in the country (Zambia News, 1965.09.26, p.12).

²⁹ One Zambia-One Nation was a motto which Kaunda came up with in order to unite the 73 tribes into one nation.

The government under Kenneth Kaunda was quite interested in what was happening in football. Football organisations received some financial support from government when they were in need and requested for it. At times when there were big disagreements among football bodies, government came in to help resolve the differences. Sometimes such interventions were seen by the football bodies as interference in the smooth running of football. In 1969, the chairman of the NFL announced his resignation from the League because of the Director of Sports Mr. Musa Kasonka and FAZ president Thomas Mtine's interference and confusing of the management of football in the country (Times of Zambia, 1969.11.13).

New Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) leadership and the development of football

Independence and the new national political leadership in the country brought about changes which had an influence in football administration as well. As Europeans were diminishing in number in the political leadership, the same phenomenon occurred in football as well. Africans slowly began to take over the leadership of the game.

On 18th November 1967, the entire four-man Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) executive committee resigned to give way for a new executive before the end of their tenure of office. The four who were all Europeans were: John Kelly, chairman; Arthur Davies, secretary; Stan Petersen, assistant secretary and Peter Evans, treasurer. There were speculations that the resignations were as a result of racial pressure and the *Zambianisation*³⁰ process which was taking place all over the country in almost all councils and government departments and companies. However, Arthur Davis, the secretary of the Association, dismissed these rumours as unfounded; he argued that the main reason had been due to pressure of work (Times of Zambia, 1967.11.02).

The current executive's three-year term expires next month. We discussed this some time ago, and decided to see the current season out – but some of us simply cannot carry on the volume of work required by our businesses and the increasing amount of work required by the FAZ, as Zambia moves further into international football. We felt that it would be better to get out now

³⁰ *Zambianisation* was a process where all leadership positions in government departments or companies which were held by white people were given to black people.

and let the new executive get ahead with planning of the All-Africa tournament here in 1969, the visit of the 15 international coaches next year, the world cup, the African Cup and all the other commitments that Zambia is taking up (Times of Zambia, 1967.11.02, p.21).

Even though Mr. Davies had given an explanation, people were still suspicious about this move by the FAZ executive especially that most of them had been saving football in Zambia for over 20 years. Kelly had been in football for over 22 years while Petersen for over 25 years. The fact that most of the people who were to take over were predominantly Africans, it became inevitable for people to connect the resignation to a hidden hand of Zambianisation.

While all these developments were taking place, the NFL executive was positioning itself to put up a bid for taking over the leadership of the Football Association of Zambia. Thomas Mtine and his executive had already set a strategy and shared the posts among themselves. At a special general meeting which was held at Rhokana club, Thomas Mtine was elected as chairman of FAZ. They retained Arthur Davis in the association as their vice-chairman; Augustine Nkumbula was elected as secretary, Peter Evans; treasurer and Michel Kangote as assistant secretary. John Kelly the former chairman of FAZ was nominated for a post which Thom Mtine held earlier as honourably president of FAZ (Times of Zambia, 1967.11.02).

Apart from the elections, the most important issues discussed in the special meeting were Zambia's future football plans for the year 1968, the African Nations Cup and the 1970 World Cup. It was proposed in the meeting that Zambia was to enter the Africa Cup of Nations and the Jules Rimet Trophy. There was also a discussion of hiring professional coaches to come and train the national team in order to raise the standards of the game in the country (Zambia News, 1967.11.19).

The Thomas Mtine led Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) executive continued trying to improve the standard of Zambian football by inviting overseas teams and coaches to come to Zambia to coach and play friendly games. In order to prepare Zambia for the World Cup and African Cup of nations, they appointed Donald Lightfoot as their scout. Lightfoot was sent on a two week mission to Europe in search of clubs and individuals willing to come on a football tour of Zambia. After a lot of efforts, Lightfoot managed to secure and bring to Zambia 15 player-coaches recruited from England. They played friendly games against the Zambian National team and each of the player-coaches was attached to a local club where he coached.

They also coached other local clubs, community teams and schools (Times of Zambia, 1968.05.17).

While the player-coaches from England were still in the country, Zambia was visited by Leicester City an English division one side team. Leicester City played three games against Zambia and won them all. According to a newspaper Nshila (1968.06.14), such matches made a big contribution towards the development of the standard of football in Zambia by exposing the local players to international football.

In 1969, they invited West Ham youth football club from England and played games with the Zambia Schools' National team in the Peter Stuyvesant Trophy. West Ham beat the Zambia schools' team in all the three games and won the championship. After West Ham, FAZ invited Cardiff City to participate in the Zambia Breweries Trophy. Cardiff City won two games and drew one winning the Zambia Breweries Trophy (Times of Zambia, 1969.06.05). Possibly due to President Kaunda's socialistic ideologies, in 1969, FAZ invited and were visited by Zenith Football Club from Leningrad in Soviet Union. This was not Zenith's first visit to Africa; they had visited Congo-Brazzaville in 1965. On arrival, their team manager Kashin Vitali said:

Since this is not our first time to come to Africa, climatic changes will not make any difference – we are only hoping to put up a good showing. ... We came here to strengthen and promote cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the people of Zambia – so we are not concerned with the outcome of the matches (Times of Zambia, 1969.11.15).

In a game watched by President Kenneth Kaunda and the Soviet Union ambassador to Zambia, Zenith beat the inexperienced Zambia national team 4 – 0.

The Football Association of Zambia, under the leadership of Thomas Mtine, continued bringing regional and overseas teams and coaches to play friendly games with the national team and coach the local clubs. According to the Times of Zambia newspaper (1968.12.18), by the end of 1968, the standard of Zambian football was quite high as compared to her neighbours such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania and a few more others.

Attempts were made to form youth football structures in order to develop football from the grassroots. This led to the linking of the Zambia Secondary Schools' Football Association (ZSSFA) to the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ). To support the schools association, FAZ invited youth national football teams from neighbouring countries like Malawi and even overseas youth football clubs to come and play matches with the Zambian youth. The NFL with the support of FAZ and government managed to secure sponsorship for youth football. This made it possible for the invited overseas teams and coaches to come directly to the created structures to play friendly games and assist in coaching (Mashambe, 2008).

Summary: Football and independence in Zambia

As Africans started taking over political leadership, there was a mass exodus of Europeans from the colony. This was amidst security and economical fears with the new government dominated by Africans. This exodus created a leadership vacuum as the Europeans had dominated the running of Football in the country. The departure of most Europeans gave chance to Africans to take over the management of football. To the delight of the man who was Chairman of the Football Association of Zambia Mr. Thomas Mtine, the few Europeans who remained joined forces with the Africans to form a multi-racial football management team.

The Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) continued inviting overseas football teams and individuals to come and play matches with the Zambia National team and clubs. They managed to arrange the coming of 15 player coaches from England and they also managed to bring clubs such as Leicester City, West Ham Youth Football Club, Cardiff City and a Soviet Union football club Zenith from Leningrad.

President Kaunda and his government played an instrumental role in supporting the development of football. He formed his cabinet team called Ministerial XI and the national team was named after him as KK11. This good political will and support from Kaunda himself created a lot of enthusiasm in the people towards football.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Final Conclusion with a Theoretical Discussion

The introduction and development of football in Zambia did not take place in a straight line. A lot of independent factors played important roles. These factors included the missionary and colonial education systems, colonial administrators, enthusiasm of the Africans themselves, regional and overseas influence, the professionalization of football, Zambia's independence and the post colonial political leadership.

The missionaries' aim in Zambia was to convert the local people to Christianity. For them to achieve this, they had to introduce Western education to the local people, because they believed that the only way they would succeed in Christianising the locals was to first civilise or Westernise them (Mangan, 1987). They became the first people to realise the power of modern sport and used sport, including football, to attract, Westernise and Christianise the young Zambians in their schools and local communities. The colonial administrators also developed an education system in Zambia parallel to the one implemented by the missionaries. This system was developed after the British South African Company (BSAC) handed over the territory to the British government in 1924 (Dasgupta, 1990; Haantobolo, 2000). Like the missionaries, the British colonial government planned their curriculum in order to Westernise or civilise the young Zambians. The only difference was that the colonial government had no intention of Christianising the local people, but to continue dominating them and keep them as healthy, cheap labourers.

Similar to many other African countries, they made modern sport central and more important in the educational curriculum for the local people for "character development" (Mangan, 1987; Tenga, 2000).

In the imperial education therefore, academic development was accorded a second place in the curriculum in favour of physical education and modern sport, which were perceived to be crucial for character development – the primary objective of the colonial schools (Tenga, 2000 p.46).

Football in Zambia emerged as the most popular game played by boys in both the missionary and colonial government schools. The girls on the other hand took on netball.

There was also a lot of political, economic and social influence in Zambia coming from the more advanced southern territories such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. The first colonial administration in Zambia, the BSAC administration had its headquarters in South Africa with another established base in Zimbabwe (Haantobolo, 2000). This influence from the two southern neighbours played an important role towards the introduction and development of football as most of the skilled players, coaches and administrators came from the two territories. This prompted the newly formed Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) to seek affiliation to the South Africa Football Association (SAFA) (Northern News, 1959.04.10). Zambians did not only benefit from the football skills of people coming from the south, but they also had to share their social beliefs as well which included ethnic or racial attitudes. A combination of Europeans from Zimbabwe and South Africa who came during the rule of the BSAC and the British colonial administrators who came to administer the colony after 1924, improved the standards of football in Zambia. At the same time, this development worsened the ethnic division in the game. The Europeans from South Africa and Zimbabwe believed in colour bar³¹ and the British who came from England to administer the colony, believed in football as an amateur sport. They used football in Zambia to exclude local people in the same way it was used in England to exclude the working class (Mackenzie, 1987).

The Zambians themselves became very enthusiastic about football. As they were excluded from participating in football by the Europeans, they made a lot of efforts on their own to learn how to play the game. Despite the British playing other games such as cricket, rugby, hockey and many others, football for boys and netball for girls became the most accepted games in Zambia. This was probably because football was a team sport which was not very difficult to learn, not violent like rugby (although early Zambian football is believed to have been quite violent), cheap and it was easy to improvise the equipment. Mazrui (1987) argues that some sports are class-specific while others are not. He gives an example of lawn tennis as a game monopolised by the middleclass in Africa. Some of the imported sports are cultural-

³¹ This emanated from the Mines and Works Act of 1911 commonly referred to as 'Job Colour Bar' which legalised separate and unequal jobs and pay for whites and blacks in the new Union of South Africa formed in 1910. It became the foundation for apartheid.

intensive, meaning that for one to be attracted to them, they have to be considerably Westernised and lawn tennis is one of them. He categorises football as a culturally-neutral sport which is also not class-specific. The majority of African football players are minimally or not Westernised at all (Mazrui, 1987). As in many other African nations, this could explain why football easily became the most popular sport in Zambia out of the many games the British played in the territory.

Industrialisation started in the late 1920's in Zambia and brought about urbanisation. Hence population increase in the urban areas became fertile grounds for the development of football. The opening up of mines on the Copperbelt also increased the population there. The mining companies became the major financiers of sports in Zambia including football (Sundowner, 1963.01). As the football enthusiasm grew big, the colonial administration came in as well. With the aim of maintaining social control, the colonial government introduced welfare centres to offer social amenities for African children and youths in the townships in order to divert their energies from engaging in violent behaviours. The welfare centres which the colonial government created became the nurseries for club football development in Zambia. According to a former football player Joseph Mwansa, almost all the competitive football players in the 1960's and early 1970's were products of welfare centres (Mwansa, 2008). The colonial administrators wanted to have control of almost all the activities the local people were involved in, they therefore formed what they called Native Football Committee, whose aim was to control native football. There were fears among the colonial officials that if let free, social gatherings such as football would lay foundations for political agitation against the colonial government³².

Overseas and regional football clubs and coaches visited Zambia for friendly games or coaching clinics, which played important roles in exposing the local players to international football. Although the actual football matches especially with the overseas teams did not involve Africans (were played by Europeans only), they brought international exposure and competition to Zambia.

Towards the beginning of the 1960's two important forces emerged and influenced the course of Zambian football. These were: the professionalization of football and the independence of

³² In a similar way, in the early 1920's the IOC attempted to organise All Africa Games for African nations, but the colonisers refused with fears that the Africans may unite, assert themselves and demand for independence.

Zambia. Around this period amateur football gave way to professional football, leading to the formation of the National Football League (NFL) (Sundowner, 1962.05). Around the same time, it was also evident that it was not going to be long before Zambia gets her independence from Britain. These two forces played an influential role in ending racial football in Zambia. Toward the end of 1961, the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association was for the first time allowed to join and become a member of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association, thus, the Africans were as well for the first time allowed to play for the Northern Rhodesia National team. In 1962, the National Football League (NFL) was formed; the new formed league demanded that each team involved in the league was expected to have both European and African players.

After Zambia got her independence from Britain on 24th October, 1964, many Europeans left the country because of fears about their security under the new administration. They went to England, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This insecurity, coupled with the new government's 'Zambianisation policy', made most of the European football administrators and players leave the Northern Rhodesia (Sundowner, 1962.05). The few Europeans who remained joined forces with the local people and continued managing football in Zambia. The new football leadership in Zambia under Thomas Mtine continued inviting overseas teams for friendly games up to the early 1970's.

The new political leadership under President Kenneth Kaunda did not wish to be left out in this big football enthusiasm. Kaunda being a football enthusiast himself took up this opportunity with his cabinet to use football as a tool to bridge the tribal differences that could have existed among the 73 different ethnic groups in Zambia. Kaunda and his cabinet showed the people of Zambia that football was a very important game that should be given priority. Amidst his busy political schedules, he found time to attend and officiate most of the important football events. Football got financial support from the government and the good political will from the top political leadership encouraged local Zambian businesses to invest money in the game.

Cultural Imperialism and Football Diffusion in Zambia

When we look at how football was introduced and how it developed in Zambia, one could easily argue that it was an act of British cultural imperialism. Stoddart (2006 p.812) points out that the British domination of the Empire depended on what might be termed 'cultural power'. This cultural power included ideas, beliefs, rules and conversions concerning social order that were carried out by administrators, educators, military officers and other British servants. These ruling cultural characteristics were consciously maintained within the governing circles and were relayed unofficially. It was this cultural power that influenced the local people in the British Empire, including in Zambia.

The indirect system of governance that the British introduced in Zambia during their rule, aimed at maintaining their control in the territory. This system of governance was undeniably a significant factor in the social-cultural transformation of the local people. Using indirect rule and a two pyramid system, they appointed their own local chiefs to rule on their behalf. With Africans on one side and Europeans on the other, it possible for the British to use their cultural power to dominate the local people in Zambia (Dasgupta, 1990; Stoddart, 2006). It was through this cultural power and dominance that games like football were introduced to the Zambians.

According to Mangan (1987), the missionaries in Africa were occupied with a fierce single-mindedness in a cultural, spiritual and hegemonic undertaking. Bale and Sang (1996), also argue that with their evangelistic Western cultural perspectives, the missionaries showed less or no respect for the local African culture. This attitude, therefore, had a lot of influence on the young people who acquired missionary education in Africa. Zambia, being one of the countries in Africa which were under the influence of missionary education, could not have been an exception from this influence. One could, therefore, argue that missionary education was a form of cultural imperialism.

The Africans in Zambia found themselves intertwined in this British cultural power which had its own main social tenets it defined as appropriate form of behaviour. Football in this case fell under what the British viewed as good social behaviour, which was why football was introduced in colonial schools and in welfare centres. The diffusion of football in Zambia, in

this case, can be seen as part of the British cultural and imperial total package. Playing team sports such as football was also thought of as a way of teaching participants teamwork, obeying constituted authority, courage, loyalty to fellow players and respect for rules (Stoddart, 2006 p.814). This could be the reason why the British in Zambia did not let the natives manage their own football affairs. Instead, they formed the Native Football Committee which was composed of only Europeans in order to have total control of native football development (Acting Provincial Commissioner's letter, 1937.05.22).

The British could have used this football opportunity to transfer their cultural beliefs to the local people. While Bale and Sang (1996) argue that 'taught' movement cultures put emphasis on the straight body in straight lines, this seemed not to have been the case with football. Instead, football seems to have been close to the local people's rich and fluid movement culture in terms of giving individual expression. The British used this football opportunity to transfer their values such as fair play, teamwork, sportsmanship, and many others.

The British in Zambia used their political position to formulate school curriculums which suited their interests, formed the African Welfare Societies and sponsored football tournaments such as the colonial cup, the Governors' cup and many others in order to cement their social and political power. One would, therefore, argue that the diffusion of football among the local people in Zambia was nothing other than cultural imperialism at work.

One thing we cannot rule out was the fact that the British were more sophisticated in their cultural imperialism, than the other colonial powers (Holt, 1990). They did not directly impose their culture in their colonies; instead, they used missionaries, educationists and administrators to persuade the local people to adopt their culture. This makes their cultural imperialism more clever than that of the French or the Germans who imposed their culture directly on their colonies (Holt, 1990). Such a background makes British cultural imperialism very difficult to directly trace, because it easily comes out as cultural hegemony.

Cultural Hegemony and Football Diffusion in Zambia

As much as historians hold that football in Africa is a legacy of colonialism (Darby, 2002), there are many different ways of interpreting how colonialism influenced the diffusion of the

game in Africa. How can one see the diffusion of football in Zambia from a cultural hegemony point of view?

Looking at how football diffused in Zambia from Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' (Guttmann, 1994), one would rule out thoughts that football was imposed on the uninterested local people in Zambia. According to Gramsci (Guttmann, 1994) cultural interaction is more complex than a mere domination of the totally powerful over the entirely powerless. Cultural hegemony is a very complex system of domination. It is a very powerful, although, largely an informal social institution that creates shared beliefs and attitudes between rulers and the ruled while at the same time enhancing the social distance between them (Stoddart, 2006). Given the nature of the diffusion of football to other parts of the world, cultural hegemony could be the right term to describe the diffusion of football in Zambia.

In this case, looking at how the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) excluded the local people and how exclusive European's football clubs were, it sends signals that the British did not directly impose football on the local people. Instead, the development of African football in Zambia indicates that the local people learned football out of their own admiration, efforts and interest.

Apart from the missionaries, the Europeans were not interested in teaching the local people football. Uninvited, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia found their way to playing football. This is in line with Gramsci's argument that in a hegemonic process, the strong will only have their way after the weak have their say (Guttmann, 1994 p.6). It was, therefore, only after the Africans had made up their minds and were fully engaged in the game that the Europeans came in. With the aim of controlling the Africans, the Europeans came in to organise the game by forming the Native Football Committee, welfare centres, and financing cup competitions such as the Colony Cup and the Governor's Cup.

The Africans' acceptance of the game of football and British culture is reflected in the names they gave their early football teams. Most of the names indicated appreciation and admiration of the British and their football, not protesting or demonising them. Teams were given names such as Roan Star Britain, Prince of Wales, King Edward 111 (Mutende Newspaper, 1936.06). Whether it could have been as a result of internalised oppression or not, it clearly indicates that the Africans admired the British and their culture which included football.

The Mutende, which was a newspaper for Africans in Northern Rhodesia, was itself not critical in its reports on European football in Northern Rhodesia. On the other hand, the Northern News, a newspaper for Europeans, did not pay any attention to African football or African affairs. Most of the football articles in the Northern News hardly reported on football in the African communities; they were, instead, more interested in football in the European communities in Northern Rhodesia, South Africa and England. If the British aimed at directly imposing football on the natives, the newspapers controlled by the colonial government such as the Northern News could have some amount of football propaganda in them.

Among Africans, cultural hegemony in the diffusion of football in Zambia started becoming clear in the late 1950's. Football articles in European Newspapers in Northern Rhodesia such as the Northern News and the Central African Post show that there was a change in their sports articles towards the end of 1950. As football was growing and becoming dominant among Africans, reports and articles on football in European newspapers reduced drastically. Instead, rugby and cricket began to take over as the dominating sports activities for Europeans in Northern Rhodesia.

This reflects a similar trend which took place in South Africa prior. As discussed earlier, football in South Africa was popular among Europeans, but not for a long time. As soon as the Africans in South African accepted football and it became a popular game among them, the Europeans began to cultivate perceptions of football being blue-collar and black and rugby as upper-class and white (Alegi, 2004).

This becomes an indicator of how the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, took over the football show and the Europeans quietly began to withdraw from the game. This trend continued until the late 1960's when the Africans completed their takeover of football and the Europeans as a result withdrew almost completely from the game. Most of the European football players in Northern Rhodesia shifted to playing games which Africans showed less or no interest in at all such as bowling, cricket, rugby, swimming and many others.

On the other hand, others would argue that as much as the British settlers did not impose football on the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, they dominated them in a way that they secured an ideological approval of most of the things they did, including football without

using physical force. Cultural hegemony makes the exploitative social order to seem to be natural or common sense making sure that the oppressed continues living their subordination (Giulianotti, 2005). This may be a good argument given how the British colonial system worked. Mangan (1987), points at the British education system which was introduced in Africa as having played the most important role in cultural hegemony. Given that the hegemonic process makes the social order seem natural, it explains why the Africans in Zambia were not forced to play football by the Europeans. The Africans were ideologically convinced and approved the British culture of football because of the British education system they went through.

On the other hand, whether it was because of the ideological approval of the British culture or not, one would still argue that the Africans in Zambia became the excited initiators of the football diffusion process without the approval of the Europeans. This is in line with Guttman (1994 p.179) who argues that as much as the culturally dominated groups have often had sports imposed on them, they also perhaps have found their own unwelcome way into sport from which the dominant groups intended to exclude them. This could be because the hegemonic process that took place in football in Zambia was not about 'culturally buying off' the local people, but it was about them seeing the superiority of British culture and upholding the status quo out of conviction and not fear or greed. On this note, one would argue that cultural hegemony, therefore, could have played a bigger role in the diffusion than cultural imperialism.

In this line of thinking, Guttman (1994 p.171) brings out a very interesting argument that; it is crystal-clear that for one group of people to adopt a sport from another, the adopting group should recognise the intrinsic properties of that sport. Above all, these intrinsic properties alone may not be enough to make this sport popular, but the whole diffusion process needs some kind of meeting of the intrinsic characteristics of the sport and the collective psychological disposition of the people interested in the sport. This could explain why football diffused not only to the British Empire, but even to other parts of the world outside the British Empire. Walvin (1975) argues that the game of football actually thrived more in areas which were not under the direct political and social control of the British such as the Empire. Instead, football thrived more in the parts of the world where the British simply worked or traded such as Europe and South America. In such areas, there would definitely be

no argument of political power influencing cultural imperialism or cultural hegemony like it would be in the British Empire.

While discussing whether the diffusion of football in Zambia could have been a result of cultural hegemony or cultural imperialism, it is very important to realise that the colonised indigenes of Africa, Latin America and Asia have not been the only peoples who have been induced to discard their traditional forms of physical culture. Guttman (1994 p.9) argues that even in the industrialised parts of the world like Europe and the United States of America, modern sports have displaced traditional sports that existed there at one time. This gives an indication that the diffusion of football in Zambia could have been more complex than mere cultural imperialism or internalised oppression in form of cultural hegemony.

All in all the diffusion of football in Zambia raises some interesting questions which could probably help us understand what football could have meant to the local people. The kicking of the ball, numbers of people involved in a match, team work, individual expression of skills and the movements involved could have made the Zambians want to learn how to play football, despite being excluded by the Europeans in the beginning. The question of who introduced the game to them and why did not seem to have bothered them after the knowledge of the game had been established. Why should the Europeans have such an interesting game for themselves? This could have been a natural question. The game seems to have had an enormous appeal across ethnic groups and borders. Why this was and is, is a question beyond the scope of this thesis. An answer to this question could however, explain why football is played in Zambia today almost in all corners, even in the remotest parts of the country, as well as in most other countries of the world.

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Maps

Map Number 1: www.crossroads.ca/missions/images/zambia_map.gif

Map Number 2: www.commonswikimedia.org