

ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND THE FOREIGN BLACK OTHER:
CONSTRUCTING BLACKNESS AND THE SPORTING MIGRANT

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The popularity and globalization of sport has led to an ever-increasing black athletic labor migration from the global South to, primarily, the U.S. and Western European countries. While the hegemonic ideology surrounding sport is that it brings different people together and ameliorates social boundaries, sociologists of sport have shown this to be a gross simplification. Instead, sport is often seen to reinforce and recreate social stereotypes and boundaries, especially as it regards race and the black athlete in body and culture. At best we can think of sport as a contested terrain for both maintaining and challenging racial norms and boundaries. The mediated black athlete has thus always, for better or worse, impacted popular white perceptions of blackness broadly and globally. While much work has been done to expose the workings of race and racism in sport, studies have tended to homogenize black populations and have not taken into account the varying histories and complexities of, specifically, black African migrant athletes.

In my work here I take ten black African (im)migrant athletes as a conceptual starting point in order to analyze and interrogate discursive representations of blackness, anti-black racism and global white supremacy, in a transnational manner. The athletes examined in my research here are Hakeem Olajuwon, Dikembe Mutombo, Didier Drogba, Mario Balotelli, Tegla Loroupe, Christian Okoye, Mwadi Mabika, Catherine Ndereba, Tirunesh Dibaba, and Tamba Hali. As athletic celebrities competing in the West, these athletes are wrapped in social and cultural meanings by predominantly white owned and dominated media organizations with histories of white supremacist discourse. Using an approach grounded in discourse analysis and cultural studies, I analyze the various power relations, via media texts, surrounding the athletes above as it regards race, gender, sexuality, class, and nationality. My aim throughout is to better understand which discourses are privileged and which are marginalized in the representations of black African migrant athletes.

Additionally, with more recent black African immigration often conceived as a 'new' African diaspora, I engage with diasporic studies in order to theorize how the representations of black African athletes may impact the possibilities for diasporic communication, identity, and politics. Whereas previous African diaspora studies have tended to focus on the experiences and importance of African Americans, especially in sport, I argue that black African athletes in the U.S. and Europe are now equally significant to those recent immigrant communities in the West,

not to mention their home countries. Black African migrant athletes, as highly visible actors, are potential points around which black immigrants can create or maintain a positive identity as 'Black' and/or 'African'. To do this, I focus on the inconsistencies, slippages or 'cracks', in the hegemonic media discourse and elsewhere where we can see the importance of these athletes to black immigrants which is otherwise hidden or made invisible. In a context that has seen black immigrant communities face recent increases in racial discrimination and violence, uncovering the cultural resources that help these communities struggle against white supremacy is important. Hence, in this interdisciplinary study I engage with various academic areas and theories in order to gain better insight into the workings and politics of anti-black racism, immigration, and diaspora in globalized sport.

To my parents and Sarah

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: HISTORIES OF BLACK AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST	7
CHAPTER 3: IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES, TRANSNATIONALISM AND DIASPORA...27	
CHAPTER 4: GLOBAL SPORTS MEDIA.....	48
CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY.....	61
CHAPTER 6: EVERYDAY OTHERING: BOUNDARY MAKING AND MAINTENANCE.....	89
CHAPTER 7: MODEL MINORITIES: ORIGIN STORIES, HARD WORKERS, AND HUMANITARIANS	116
CHAPTER 8: 'BAD' BLACKS: CONTINGENT ACCEPTANCE AND ESSENTIALIZED BLACKNESS.....	139
CHAPTER 9: IMMIGRANT RECEPTION: NATIONALISM, IDENTITY, POLITICS AND RESISTANCE.....	162
CHAPTER 10: THE DIASPORIC ATHLETE: BLACKNESS AND MEANING IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA.....	196
CHAPTER 11: THE SPORTING MIGRANT: ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND THE FOREIGN OTHER.....	222
NOTES.....	234
WORKS CITED.....	265

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Popular sport often serves as one of the first cultural spaces in which recent immigrants can gain social recognition within their host countries. As sport increasingly globalizes, a rising number of athletes are migrating to fill the talent needs of various sports around the world. However, this labor migration is currently dominated by black athletic labor movement from the global South to, primarily, the U.S. and Western European countries. This trend makes sense given current global economic developments and, despite increasing rules and regulations, shows no signs of slowing down. The hegemonic ideology surrounding sport is that it exists as a social good by bringing different peoples together, ameliorating social differences, and inherently developing desirable moral values. However, sport historians, philosophers, and sociologists have shown this apolitical ideology to be a utopian ideal. Instead, academics see sport as a contested terrain for both maintaining and challenging socio-cultural norms and boundaries, especially so as it regards race and the black athlete in body and Western culture. That most individuals in the U.S. and Europe access sport through a Western media that perpetuates the hegemonic norms and cultural values of neoliberalism means that discourses on black athletes have tended to reinforce white supremacy. Media representations of the black athlete have thus always, for better or worse, impacted popular white perceptions of blackness in a broad manner (Hoberman 1997; 2000; Markovits and Rensmann 2010).

However, while Western media outlets play an important role in the creation and maintenance of racist modes of black representation, they also give us glimpses of how black athletes, black African migrant athletes in particular, navigate and understand their lives in the West. By 'glimpses' I mean that there are inevitably inconsistencies, 'cracks' or 'slips', within the dominant, or hegemonic, media discourse(s) of black athletes which contradict the dominant discourse or reveal to us something seemingly innocuous yet filled with meaning (Hennessy 1993). If we are aware of the histories of black peoples around the world and their diasporic movements then we can use these cracks to interrogate the hegemonic discourse and construct a counter discourse. Combined with other materials such as interviews, presentations, and (auto)biographies, we can begin to piece together otherwise hidden and marginalized efforts of

meaning making and identity creation in the black diaspora and bring them to the forefront. The black African celebrity athlete, akin to the diasporic African American athletes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stands as a focal point around which black communities in the diaspora, as well as in African countries, attach meaning.

My work is about exploring the discursive practices of racism in Western sport media as it concerns black African migrant athletes. It is a project that deploys discourse analysis and a cultural studies approach in an attempt to understand how black African athletes navigate their lives and what they may mean to black African diasporic communities in the West. While there are bodies of literature in the West regarding racism and racist practices in sport within various Western countries, less has been done in the sociology of sport to focus more holistically on the West and its particular stance towards Africa and its own growing black African immigrant populations. By focusing on the West as a (not uncomplicated) whole, we can more easily apprehend these processes and logics of anti-black racism in sport that indeed function globally. In my work here I explain how the discursive representations of black African migrant athletes are indicative of global white supremacy, but also how global white supremacy in sport may impact black communities.

For my purposes, a simple conceptual model, shown in Figure 1.0, is a useful starting point through which to think about how global white supremacy might impact black communities. Though we can easily make the model more complex and nuanced, what we see here is a basic process by which global white supremacy works through media outlets to have an impact on blackness. Global white supremacy, as the current organizing and political system, depends on racism, socioeconomic structures, and entrenched privilege to primarily benefit those who are considered white (Mills 1998). The overwhelming influence of global white supremacy over cultural discourse and representation is manifested through the predominantly white ownership of global media and sports. This ownership and influence has had an impact on how blackness is represented and how black peoples and communities are able to operate politically. As I will discuss in the literature review and methodology, the discourses of 'global media sport' (Rowe 2011), indeed discourse and language in general, are relevant to how individuals, and thus societies, organize and make sense of the world. This means that though I talk about the impact of white supremacist discourse on blackness broadly at times, I am saliently implicating the

numerous individual actions of people (of any shade) who, perhaps unwittingly, perpetuate entrenched discourses of white supremacy.

I take this line of study because previous research in the U.S. and Western Europe has tended to lump, or homogenize, the black populations they study in order to discuss blackness, or whiteness, as a whole. While there is merit to this approach, I believe there are insights to be gained by looking a little more closely, in this case, at black African migrant athletes, certainly not a homogeneous group themselves, and the complexity of their representations and experiences. I do not intend to privilege the black African athlete through this research and their experiences with oppression and representation are not held to be above others. Rather, I seek to add to the scholarly conversation on blackness and anti-black racism as a common (forced) experience amongst all those considered 'Black' (Gilroy, 1993; Gordon 1995; Mills 1998)

Throughout my work, I use the term 'native black' to refer to the established black communities in various countries that have a political history of racial struggle within those countries. I remain vague here because the ever-increasing movement of people across borders makes an obvious and clear division, or definition, of who is 'native' or 'foreign' difficult, particularly in Europe. Thus, I am well aware terms such as Black European, African American, American African, Afro-German, Afro-Italian, Black Briton, etc. are all dynamic and complex terms under ongoing contention (Small 2009). What is more important to me is that black African immigrants often arrive in their destination country with different political outlooks and personal goals than, for example, African Americans. These differences have often led to conflict, or intra-ethnic Othering, between 'foreigner' and 'native'. Further, for a variety of reasons these differences have sometimes led to different, seemingly preferential, treatment of black immigrants by whites in terms of attitudes, representation, and employment (Arthur 2000; 2008; Waters 1999).

I have structured the presentation of my study in the following way in order to accomplish the research project I have just sketched out. I begin with a literature review broken into three different chapters, each of which contributes relevant background information for my research. First, I discuss some of the contemporary history of African immigration to the U.S. and Europe since the 1960s. I note some of the important pieces of political legislation in the U.S. and U.K., while pointing in a more general manner to the growing black African communities all over Europe. I end the first literature review chapter by explaining the history of

black African immigration to the West for sport purposes, specifically noting the recent rise and problems in such immigration.

In the second chapter of the literature review I explore the experiences of black immigrants to the West. I discuss issues of immigrant reception, discrimination, and identity creation among first and second generation immigrants. Further, I detail briefly the notions of transnationalism, transnational activities, and their intersection(s) with theories of assimilation. I end the chapter by drawing the focus to sport and some of the important literature on the black diaspora. By pulling together black immigrant experiences in the West as diasporic, and once we consider the history of what has been called the 'sporting black Atlantic' (Carrington 2010; Carrington, Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur 2001), it becomes possible to see why sport is such a vibrant cultural space for sociological inquiry.

My efforts in the third, and last, chapter of the literature review are towards examining the role of global media and previous work done on the representation of black African athletes. Because my primary data is archival news articles, establishing the global significance of sports media and its racialized tendencies becomes necessary. I explain that the globalization of media has been controlled by a select few multi-national corporations which inherently set and standardize media practices. These practices have historically been created and maintained by white men and have tended to reinforce stereotypes of black athletes. In the latter portion of the chapter I focus on the history of racist representation of black, primarily African American, athletes, before detailing some previous research that has examined the representation specifically of black (im)migrant athletes, as well as the representation of Africa itself.

With the appropriate background to my study in place, in the next chapter I discuss my methodology and data gathering procedures. My methodology rests on the premise that we can conceive of athletes and sporting events as a nexus through which various relations of power intersect. By 'reading' the discourses around such individuals, the dominant of which make up their representation, we can interrogate power relationships that see the privileging of certain discourses and the marginalization of others. Next, because of my focus on celebrity athletes, I spend time explaining the nature of celebrity and how celebrities help us make meaning of the world around us. I then explain my data gathering procedure, first by discussing the cases in my sample, introducing each athlete in the study, and, second, by explaining how I obtained, analyzed, and organized my data into relevant themes which make up my substantive chapters.

After the methodology, the following five chapters are comprised of my findings and analysis. In chapter six I talk about the mundane and everyday processes of othering and boundary making. In this chapter I examine how the black African migrant athletes in my study are casually kept foreign and separate from the nation-states within which they often live, compete, and naturalize.

In chapter seven I examine the discourses of the backgrounds of black migrant athletes and times when they are held up as exceptional individuals for their humanitarian and charitable efforts. The backgrounds, or 'origin stories', of these athletes often rely on stereotypes of Africa while the humanitarian efforts of black African athletes often see them problematically positioned as saviors of Africa.

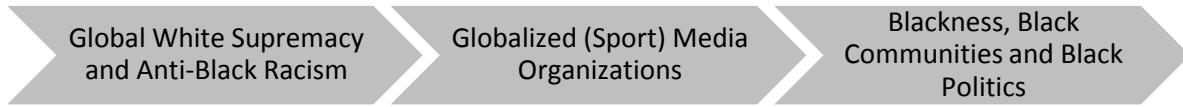
My eighth chapter discusses the contingent nature of the 'acceptance' of black African athletes demonstrated in the previous chapters. Though they are often represented as exceptional individuals, the athletes in my study were still at times represented along stereotypical notions of blackness. In this chapter I seek to emphasize the often tenuous position of the black immigrant in Western societies and the salient remarginalization of native black communities.

In the ninth chapter I begin to include in an explicit manner other sources of data (autobiographies, lengthy interviews, and presentations) and cracks in the dominant discourse in order to discuss issues of immigrant reception, nationalism, politics and resistance. In this chapter I attempt to tease out how the experiences of the athletes in my study upon immigrating to the West may have informed their political outlook and sentiments towards the West and attaining citizenship. I stress that these athletes are indeed active in negotiating their host societies but remain constrained in their actions due to the nature of celebrity and the media.

In my tenth and final substantive chapter before the conclusion I look more closely at issues of diaspora and transnational blackness. This chapter looks at three aspects of black African migrant athletes: (1) their diasporic presence in the West and their meaning to native black communities, (2) their meaning to diasporic black immigrant communities, and (3) their meaning on the African continent and/or their home country. Afterwards, I conclude this study with a summary chapter (eleven) that reviews my findings, discusses some of the shortcomings of the study, and reiterates my focus on challenging anti-black racism in Western societies and modes of cultural reproduction.

CHAPTER ONE TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1.0: Impact of white supremacy on black communities via global media



CHAPTER TWO

HISTORIES OF BLACK AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST

This chapter covers a wide range of topics in order to set the groundwork for some of my later undertakings. In it I discuss a brief history of the rise of black African immigration to the West, first in general and then specifically as it regards sport. While I focus here on relatively recent events in black immigration, I remain aware of the historical context within which this immigration occurs. To those ends, I often include research on black immigrants from the Caribbean or West Indies. I find that this research gives insight and fills some gaps where research on black African immigrants falls short or does not exist, as African communities in the West still tend to be small. There is a long history of Western anti-black immigration policies that have sought to limit and curtail the movement and populations of not only West Indians and Africans but also native black Americans (African Americans) between their countries of origin and the U.S. and Europe, as well as some Latin American and South American countries. As I will discuss in the next chapter, these histories and their similarities across time and space have been integral to the formation of what Gilroy (1993) famously termed the 'Black Atlantic'. Since the geographical focus of my study is the West, I will first focus on the U.S., including Canada, and then draw some comparisons to Europe. The strategies used to create and maintain barriers to black immigration continue to play an important role in the racism and discrimination against all blacks, as well as other people of color (Bashi 2004).

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

No contemporary history of African immigration to the United States would be complete without acknowledgement of the Atlantic slave trade. The slave trade, as Gilroy (1993) and Thornton (1998), among others, have explained, was central in creating the 'Atlantic World' or the 'Black Atlantic'. Though slaves were being traded between Europe, the Americas, and Africa as early as 1400, the Atlantic slave trade gained in significance and intensity around 1650. From that time, and throughout the eighteenth century, millions of Africans crossed the Atlantic to the Americas where they became the majority of new settlers. As Thornton details, the slave trade grew from around 36,000 slaves being imported in a year at the beginning to the eighteenth century to a high of 80,000 a year in the last few decades. The rapid and sustained demand for

slaves driven by plantations in the Caribbean, Brazil, and fledgling American colonies inflated the price and created a greater supply of slaves. Concurrently, African participation in the slave trade was at least partially fueled by numerous civil conflicts and wars along the Western and Central coasts of Africa. With the selling of slaves being one of the few ways to quickly attain weapons in a period of great turmoil, many leaders seem to have been willing to sacrifice their population for power. Ultimately, it was the interplay between African political agency and the greed of European shippers and plantation owners that sent millions overseas, eventually leading to demographic exhaustion in some areas of Western Africa (Thornton 1998).

Despite the continued importation of slaves throughout the eighteenth century, by the time of the American Revolution there were relatively few slaves in the colonies born in Africa. According to Thornton (1998), this fact had to do with the nature of slavery in the American colonies, whereby slaves tended to live longer and were able to reproduce. The American colonies also imported dramatically fewer slaves than the Caribbean. For example, when the colonies were importing one thousand slaves a year at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Caribbean islands were importing around twenty thousand. In the Caribbean it was necessary to import so many slaves because of how dangerous the work was and how overworked the slaves were (Peabody and Grinberg 2007; Thornton 1998). This difference between the Caribbean and early American states means that a process of 'creolization' (the formation of what eventually becomes an 'African American' culture) was underway in the Americas well before the turn of the century, while the Caribbean islands were still heavily influenced by the various African cultures and national affiliations of recently imported slaves. The cultures and nationalities of African slaves had implications, for example, when slaves ran away and created slave communities. In the case of the Haitian Revolution, Haitian creoles, those born on the island or mixed with European blood, and Africans clashed over who would have power after the revolution in Haiti. Creoles, thinking the Africans were without culture, were eventually able to wrest control and impose policies that would marginalize the African population (Peabody and Grinberg 2007; Thornton 1998). The internalization of French cultural norms in Haiti, and the role they played in allowing the subjugation of the African population, serves as a telling early example of anti-black racism within a predominantly black country.

Returning to the early American states, the history of struggle for freedom and then civil rights in the nineteenth and twentieth century's helped consolidate an African American cultural

identity. However, there was also very little African immigration, or black immigration in general, to the United States during this time due to obvious reasons. As Gordon (1998) notes, the early twentieth century saw around six thousand immigrants from Africa *per decade* come to the U.S. and, further, many of those were from (white) South Africa and Egypt, not sub-Saharan Africa. It was not until the colonized African states began to gain their independence that the number of black African immigrants to the U.S. begins to rise.

Hence, before the late 1970s, in the U.S. pre-civil rights era, there were few Africans who were able to leave the African continent for the U.S. and Europe, primarily due to colonialism and monetary reasons. The majority who did leave tended to be men from wealthy or privileged families who studied at European colleges or U.S. universities and later returned home. However, after the mid-1970s, a more prominent and permanent African migration began to the U.S., as the recent civil rights struggles led to more inclusive immigration laws and scholarships. These opportunities made America a more attractive place to study and work, while European countries, especially England and France, were simultaneously closing their doors to black post-colonial immigrants (Arthur 2000; Bryce-Laporte 1972; Gordon 1998). Many of these changes in the U.S. began with the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act, a kind of extension of the Civil Rights legislation of the era, that began easing and phasing out racist national quota systems which had overwhelmingly benefitted European immigrants (Arthur 2000; Bashi 2004; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

For example, the 1952 Walter-McCarran Immigration Act set the African quota, the total number of visas allowed per year, at 1,400 while Europe's was 149,667 (Bashi 2004). The 1965 law made it easier for highly skilled and educated Africans to immigrate and further facilitated family reunions, primarily women and children, and citizenship of previously undocumented Africans. This law, designed by U.S. lawmakers, was less overtly racist while also serving to maintain the status quo. Though a great improvement over the quota system, the law essentially made black immigrants from newly independent African countries compete with white European immigrants, as well as others, on the basis of skills (Bashi 2004). Reunions and immigration were further increased by the Refugee Act of 1980 which redefined U.S. definitions of a refugee to conform to the United Nations protocol and required the U.S. to provide annual visas. This redefinition meant that the number of immigrants from Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Ghana, and Liberia were greatly increased due to their refugee and asylum seeking status. Later laws, the

Immigration Reform and Control Act and the Immigration Act, passed in 1986 and 1990 respectively, further helped undocumented Africans adjust their immigration status and allowed for increases in immigration diversity, especially for those Africans migrating with employable skills (Arthur 2000; Gordon 1998; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

The U.S. also gained increasing attractiveness during these times because Britain and other European countries were simultaneously beginning to close their doors on the immigration of peoples from former colonies. For example, the 1971 Immigration Act in the U.K. effectively stopped primary immigration, essentially limiting immigration to family reunification, when it took effect in 1973 (Summerfield 1993). The simultaneous collapse, or troubles, of many African states led to various push and pull factors, where those who had the means to emigrate from those countries and seek better opportunities elsewhere often did so. Pertinent factors include economic globalization (the pressures of neoliberal policies), civil wars, natural disasters (drought and famine), political instability, and corruption (Johnson 2008; Osirim 2008). Because of these factors the foreign black population in the U.S. grew by 134,000 in the 1980s, 323,000 in the 1990s, and 759,742 in the 2000s (Arthur 2000; Johnson 2008; U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2010). In fact, at the time of Alex-Assensoh's writing (2009), more sub-Saharan Africans had migrated to the U.S. annually since 1990 than in any given year during the slave trade of the Atlantic. African immigrants, from 1990 to 2000, were the fastest growing immigrant population in the U.S., growing nearly three times faster than the Latino population and four times faster than the Asian population. Yet, according to Logan (2007), the available census tabulations force us to count as African only those born in African countries, meaning that only the first generation counts as African. Logan estimates that the 'true', population of Africans, especially in metropolitan areas, including second and third generations, may be up to 20 percent higher.

African immigrants bring an immense amount of diversity themselves, not only in terms of nation (where Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Ghana, Liberia, Kenya, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, and Sudan are the most frequent) but also in terms of language, ethnicity, religion, and kinship systems. As I will discuss further in the next section, many African immigrants identify with nation, religion, or ethnicity instead of American conceptions of race (Arthur 2000; Osirim 2008; Waters 1999). Additionally, African immigrants, both men and women, have tended to have a socioeconomic, or human capital, advantage over African

Americans primarily because of the resources it requires to gain entry into the U.S. (and Canada), and because they have tended to have a higher level of education upon entry (Arthur 2000; Yesufu 2005). This makes them more likely to compete for white collar jobs than African Americans, yet many studies have consistently and increasingly shown that African immigrants earn less income than African Americans. The complexity of black immigrant earnings and income will be discussed later in the chapter, but despite this complexity, African immigrants are still generally seen to occupy a kind of loose 'model minority' position in the racial hierarchy, meaning that they are below whites and Asians yet above Latinos and African Americans (Alex-Assensoh 2009; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

Relatedly, it has been found that African immigrants are more likely to live in higher status neighborhoods, comparable to white neighborhoods, than those of African Americans. This means that African immigrants have access to better public schools, but also that they tend to live separately (segregated) from African Americans, which raises questions about the level of interaction between the two groups. In that regard, it has been found that many organizations founded by or dealing with African immigrants tend to have a different focus than those of African Americans (Guenther, Pendaz, and Makene 2011; Osirim 2008; Logan, 2007). While African Americans, broadly speaking, tend to be more focused on racial connections, political empowerment, and anti-discrimination initiatives, African immigrant organizations focus more on socialization, cultural awareness, transnational engagements, and homeland economic development. Thus, African immigrant political engagement often carries a layer of transnational involvement into the political realm, something which can be seen in other immigrant groups as well, such as Latinos and Asians (Alex-Assensoh 2009).

IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE

Much of the above can be applied to black immigration and black immigrant communities within European countries. Yet, there are numerous differences to mention and thus necessitate a separate section on Europe. Indeed, each country within Europe could be talked about separately, but for the sake of space and simplicity I will talk about black immigration to Europe as broadly as is possible. This approach means that my nebulous conception of the West in this study at times stretches to include countries, like Italy, that would not normally be classified as Western European. Regardless, this section is concerned with the recent history of

black African immigration to Europe, and I will also discuss issues of colonialism, conflict, and identity, but to a lesser degree than that of the previous section on the States.

Black African immigration to Europe is different both currently and historically, yet we find many of the same issues of racism and racialization that black immigrants face in the U.S. There is, of course, a long history of black communities and populations all over Europe, some existing since the fifteenth century (El-Tayeb 2009). However, because European countries desired to keep slavery and the slave trade an 'external' issue, contrasted with that of the U.S., black communities remained small and dispersed because of limited possibilities for immigration (Wright 2004). Indeed, many black populations began within towns and cities known for shipping, such as Liverpool, one of the oldest black communities in England, as being a sailor was one early occupation into which blacks could gain entry. In some cases these small communities may have 'benefitted' by being able to go unnoticed in European society, and by extension white racism, something which would change with the 'end' of colonialism, African independence, and increasing black African immigration to Europe (Boittin 2012; Chessum 2000; Vasili 2000).

Yet the process of racial awareness in black Europe has been slow precisely because of the wide dispersal of black communities, language and territorial barriers, and the political crackdowns by different countries to prohibit anything like the Civil Rights Movement in the States. The further absence of a legal apartheid, as in South Africa or the Jim Crow U.S., in European countries has made the fight for equality difficult as well, especially when countries cling to ideologies of colorblindness and multiculturalism (Keaton, Sharpley-Whiting, and Stovall 2012). Though France is perhaps best known for such a stance (Constant 2009; Keaton et al 2012), during Germany's brief stint as a colonial power, miscegenation in the colonies was outlawed but remained legal in Germany itself. Though heavily debated and contested, those marriages within Germany were allowed to stand and the offspring of those unions were, however minimally, considered German 'citizens'. This history allows Germany to claim a measure of colorblindness in its approach to racial discourse, while ignoring the often brutal and oppressive lives of children of mixed parentage, which, under Hitler, extended into the realm of forced castration (El-Tayeb 2009).

By the early twentieth century and into World War II the populations had grown large enough to begin fighting against the discrimination and the racial terror the communities had

faced for the last couple hundred years. These politically active black communities were evident early on in France (circa 1920s) and later in England (circa 1950s, but also earlier, for example, in 1919 when blacks organized and rioted against their racist treatment in different cities), and goes hand-in-hand with imperial countries bringing in large numbers of Africans and Afro-Caribbeans to help fight the two World Wars (Boittin 2012; Chessum 2000; Vasili 2000). However, mass immigration from former colonial countries, as well as from other areas, after World War II eventually spurred a conservative, ethnocentric, backlash. For example, the British Nationality Act of 1948 established the right of colonial and commonwealth subjects to work and live in the United Kingdom. But, with the help of conservative and nationalist political voices such as Enoch Powell, Margaret Thatcher (later), and the Conservative Monday Club, those rights began to face erosion beginning with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 and the 1968 Immigration Act. The 1962 act essentially made black immigration possible only when it (labor) was needed through a voucher system and the 1968 act further curtailed immigration, right of entry to former colonials, by requiring one's birth, a parent's birth, or a grandparent's birth in the U.K. (Solomos, Findlay, Jones and Gilroy 1982; Vasili 2000). The previously mentioned Immigration Act of 1971 essentially ended primary immigration to the U.K. by amending and adding to the previous two immigration acts with the purpose of further distancing the U.K. from its past empire (Evans 1972; Summerfield 1993).

Later immigration acts in the U.K. further solidified and ended the era of mass immigration from the former colonies and commonwealths (Gordon 1998). Fears of immigration, driven by the aforementioned actors, and the 'sudden' existence of blacks in the U.K., indeed across Europe, have rendered the long histories of black communities invisible. More to the point, the conceptual merging of the terms 'immigrant' with 'black' has made every black an immigrant and all immigrants black in the popular, white, national imagination, an issue that remains problematic both academically and politically (Gilroy 1987; 2005; Solomos et al. 1982).

Today, the largest black communities can be found, predictably, in England, Germany, France and Spain. In more recent immigration trends, black African migrants are moving towards the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, and, increasingly, Greece. Each of the aforementioned countries has their own histories and interactions with racist media imagery, the slave trade, and colonialism, in some cases longer than that of the U.S. (Wright 2009). The established black

communities in Europe (including the U.K.) have long gone unnoticed and unrecognized, thereby marginalized politically and economically for many decades. Additionally, blacks in Europe face similar problems as in the U.S., those of under-education, unemployment, and imprisonment, combined with an overrepresentation in the cultural spheres of sports and entertainment (Arthur 2008; Blakely 2009; Solomos et al. 1982).

Yet despite relatively recent increases in immigration, African communities in these countries and Europe in general remain small. In fact, the overall black population in Europe only makes up about two percent of Europe's total population (Blakely 2009). As in the U.S., this small population size has led to problems of invisibility and racialization within society. Black African immigrants immediately find themselves at the bottom of the social order upon arrival into Europe. They are thus racialized into (Western) local understandings of blackness, whether they wish it or not, and face the harsh realities of racial discrimination as a result (Freedman 2013; Nimako and Small 2009; Small 2009). Currently, concerns are also mounting about the levels of racial violence in Europe, particularly in Italy (Human Rights Watch 2011). Given the small size of black communities, this racialization also means that white violence against black African communities often goes unnoticed or is not acted upon, especially in former Soviet Bloc (Eastern European) countries. Further, Europe's preoccupation with Islamophobia means that blacks are often not the primary target of racism and discrimination or violence, which to some extent adds to their invisibility and marginalization (Blakely 2009). That European governments, France most notoriously, also cling to an ideology of colorblindness only exacerbates the problems of racism and discrimination, in that they are not dealt with, for both native blacks and black immigrants (Stovall 2009; Thomas 2007).

There are other factors working against black Europe as well. Similar to the U.S., there are issues of stereotyping and interethnic othering among different black populations in Europe. For example, recent immigrants to Britain often hold feelings that native blacks are lazy and failed to take advantage of the opportunities 'given' to them. In France, the post-colonial African immigration resulted in what has been called an 'exteriorization of the interior' (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991, p. 43). This process means that as the black immigrant population grew, the 'interiorization of the exterior' (p. 43), there was a simultaneous process of ghettoization of blacks, both immigrant and native, most visibly into what are called the *banlieues* (metropolitan suburbs). Historically, and into today, this process has placed black populations (usually Afro-

Caribbeans and Africans) into socioeconomic conflict, thus giving lie to and making difficult any notion of black unity (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Bazenguissa-Ganga 2012; Diouf 2012).

As in the States, black immigrants may at times be received better by whites due to their linguistic accents or manner of dress, further fueling the desire of black immigrants to differentiate themselves from native black Europeans. The struggle over scarce resources and jobs has hindered black consciousness and the community development needed to build social movements that reach past the local or national level (Arthur 2008; Stovall 2009). Despite the economic consolidation of the European Union, citizenship remains a state project which continues to have a negative impact on the civil rights of minorities and their ability to immigrate to and travel within Europe. The lack of a *European* citizenship has made a coherent notion of 'Black Europe' difficult to formulate as black communities in each state are embroiled in their own political struggles (Nimako and Small 2009).

To conclude, the only similarities we can draw between black African immigration to Europe and the U.S. are the similar racial logics they encounter and the ambivalent receptions they receive in their host countries, from both native blacks and whites. Native blacks, whether in Britain, Germany, Netherlands, France, Russia, and other countries, struggle daily against institutionalized forms of racism and, increasingly, more overt forms of racial terror from neo-fascist organizations (Nimako and Small 2009). In the long history of black communities and populations in Europe, the two world wars were important in bringing a permanent black population into being (Blakely 2009). It is this racist and racialized historical context that black African immigrants experience when they migrate to European countries. Such experiences are not easily captured in broad terms because of the complexities of migration and identity (including class, gender, nationality, etc.). As with black African immigration to the U.S., black African migrants to Europe fail to fit neatly into European (homogeneous racial) national identities as their activities and experiences are inherently beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, they are transnational and diasporic, something I will address further in the next chapter (Brown 2009; Di Maio 2009; Thomas 2007; Wright 2004).

ATHLETIC LABOR MIGRATION

In the second part of this chapter I focus on the history of black African athletic labor migration, as that history is inevitably linked to and resonates with non-sport migration. The histories of black African athletic labor migration to the U.S. and Europe have a lot of

similarities, yet also differ on a number of factors. Such factors include differences in sports played, recruiting practices, migration feasibility and accessibility, and reasons for migrating, among others. Hence, my aim is to demonstrate the progression of sports labor migration, as it concerns black African athletes, in the last thirty to forty years. Throughout, I draw attention to the fact that sport, though it tends to privilege athletes, does not make the black immigrant immune from racial hostilities, discrimination, or biological stereotypes.

First, however, it is important to note that the migration of athletes would not be possible without the globalization of sport itself. According to Bale and Maguire (1994), the globalization of sport is tied in a relationship with the continued professionalization, or rationalization, of sport which in turn propels its further globalization. This almost self-propelling process is evident through the manifestation of international sports organizations, the global standardization of rules, increased competition between nations, and the establishment of global competitions (Olympics, World Cup, and athletics world championships). As sport continues to globalize it engages a greater number of individual actors working in various capacities. This engagement means that, despite the feared homogenizing influence of globalization, local actors and understandings of sport will always remain relevant (Bale and Maguire 1994; Maguire and Falcous 2011; Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe 2001).

It is now within this environment of increased interdependency between the global and local that highly skilled, elite, athletes now exist. According to Maguire and Falcous (2011), though migration for sports purposes seems unproblematic, the migration and life of the athlete is caught in a web of power relations. These relations consist of political, cultural, economic, and geographical issues which intersect with actors in sport, including owners, administrators, agents, and media personnel, to name a few. Concurrently, sports clubs (Manchester United) and associations (most notably FIFA and the NBA) are basing their business models on transnational corporations (TNCs) in order to market themselves as global entities and take advantage of an increasingly transient athletic labor population. To complicate things further, coaches, scientists, administrators, and educators involved in sport have also been engaged in and must navigate this current of migration as well (Maguire and Falcous 2011; Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe 2001).

With all of this movement in sport there are a range of conflicts that take place. The most relevant of these conflicts, for my research, concern the immigration of black African athletes

and the fear of 'too many' foreigners in local leagues or competitions. I will discuss the nature of those conflicts below but I also want to mention something for later chapters and that is the notion that these increasingly transient athletic laborers are expected to adapt and culturally perform at the local, national, and global levels simultaneously the minute they enter a stadium. As Maguire and Falcois (2011) note, highly skilled migrant athletes are similar to other, non-sport, highly skilled migrants in that they are subject to, 'local, national, global technological, political and economic state, transnational and TNC policies (p. 6)' that reflect and reinforce the more recent changes realigning the nation-state. The assumption that these athletes can, will, and want to adapt and perform adequately has implications for their treatment by fans, their organization, and the media.

That being said, the rest of this chapter will focus on the history of black African athletic labor migration to Europe and the U.S. I begin with the history of athletic labor migration to Europe because the colonial history means that Europeans introduced Western sport forms to Africa. Hence, it is with sports popular in Europe that we are most likely to see black African athletes, although inroads have been made into popular U.S. sports such as basketball and (American) football.

Migration to Europe

The history of African athletic migration to Europe begins with colonialism in the early twentieth century. It was within the civilizing missions of European powers, Britain, Germany, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, that European sport forms were first introduced to the colonized Africans, simultaneously replacing and destroying many indigenous sport and movement forms. These European sports forms, primarily soccer and athletics (running and field events), but also cricket in Asia and the West Indies, were sometimes introduced before formal colonialism and only later imbued with colonial ideology (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2004; Vasili 2000). As part of their civilizing missions, particularly in British and French Africa, these sport forms received limited resources in the form of equipment and facilities, and were disseminated through cultural institutions such as schools. The value placed on sports also made it possible for individuals who excelled athletically to receive some limited amount of social acknowledgement or standing from the white colonists (Bale and Sang 1996; Mangan 2010).

Soccer leagues and national teams in France, Portugal, and Belgium began playing African players, primarily from their colonies, in the 1930s, 1950s, and 1970s, respectively. In

Britain, black immigrants of African and West Indian ancestry, often of mixed parentage, had played at the amateur and professional levels since the early twentieth century, though it took until 1978 for the English national team to select a black player. In fact, in 1889 the 'Kaffirs' of the Basuto tribe in Lesotho (Southern Africa) became the first soccer team to visit and play in Britain (Vasili 2000). Throughout the 1900s African teams from Nigeria (1949), Ghana (then Gold Coast, 1951), and Uganda (1956) would tour the United Kingdom in part for sport and in part for a political diplomatic mission, as it was becoming evident that African independence was close at hand. Aside from being patronized and stereotyped in the media, these African tours were used by the colonial powers to show their (white) citizens that the imperial project had not been completely in vain and that Africans were capable of acquitting themselves as 'civilized sportsmen' (Vasili 2000). Yet, in many respects black players were only allowed to play soccer professionally so 'early' because the sport itself was not yet tied to the national imagination like, for example, tennis in France or cricket in England from which they were strictly excluded (Darby 2007; Lafranchi and Taylor 2001).

Similarly, according to Bale (2001; 2004a), the performances of Kenyan distance runners like Nyandika Maiyoro, in the 1950s, and Kipchoge Keino, in the 1960s, were significant in their transformation of what British whites thought was possible by the African athlete. Though it was thought that African runners would never dominate distance running because of their supposedly inadequate training, lack of technical skill and 'front-running' style of competition, it had to be acknowledged that African runners were not completely without merit. After Kenyan runners won multiple medals at the 1968 Mexico Olympics new stereotypes and explanations emerged to explain the success of the Kenyan runners, perhaps the most longstanding being the supposed altitude advantage Kenyans have over other runners because of where they grow up.

Thus, if we move forward a few decades we unsurprisingly find that African countries have exported and continue to export track talent and soccer talent to Europe and the U.S. After Maiyoro's and Keino's performances it became increasingly common for African track athletes, eventually including women, to migrate to European countries, and later U.S. universities, to live, train, learn, and naturalize in order to compete internationally for those countries (Bale 1991; Bale and Sang 1994; Chepyator-Thomson 2005). In the case of soccer, to see the French national team in the modern era without an African from one of the former colonies would be almost unthinkable. In fact, the migration of African soccer players to Europe has increased

dramatically since the 1990s and is the topic to which I now turn (Darby 2007; Lafranchi and Taylor 2001; Poli 2006).

While track and field athletic migration remains important, the history and rapid increase of soccer migration since the 1990s has led researchers (for example, see Armstrong and Giulianotti 2004; Bale 2004b; Darby 2002; 2007; 2011; Darby and Solberg 2010; Lafranchi and Taylor 2001; Poli 2006; 2010; Vasili 2000) to explore the growth and the complexities of the relationship between African countries and players with European soccer clubs and the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA), among a host of other actors. According to Poli (2006), foreign players in European clubs increased on average from 4.8 to 9.8 foreign players per club from 1995 to 2004. In the same time frame, the absolute number of African players in top-level clubs increased from 160 to 316, to where they make up 17% of all foreign players in top-level clubs and 20% in all clubs throughout Europe. By 2010, the latter percentage had risen to 23.1 percent. For reference, Latin Americans made up 13.9% of all foreign players, 27.7% for Eastern Europeans, 31.5% for Western Europeans, and 3.8% for Other (CIES Football Observatory 2010). Hence, these numbers gain in significance when we consider that 'foreign' players also include European expatriates who, presumably, have an easier time migrating within the European Union (Poli 2006).

Similar to the rise and critique of neocolonial economic practices by the West in its approach to African countries after their independence, the recruiting practices undertaken by European soccer clubs has often been equated with neocolonialism, at best, and neoslavery, or a second 'Scramble for Africa', at worst (Bale 2004b; Darby 2002; Darby and Solberg 2010). Indeed, the main receivers of African soccer talent are very often former colonial powers, such as Belgium, France, and Portugal, with the exception of England which has rules making it difficult to immigrate directly and play for an English club (Poli 2006). The recruitment of African players, concentrated in Western Africa, has historically been predatory, speculative, and without sufficient regulation or oversight. Too often African players have been brought to European countries under the auspice of playing professional soccer only to be cut or dumped by teams, left on the street with no money, contacts, or way to get home when they fail to live up to expectations. The combined lack of worker protections and the difficulties involved in attaining work permits leaves very young players vulnerable to exploitation and corrupt intermediaries. Though FIFA has instituted new rules more recently to curb such practices, new loopholes have

emerged and the rise of soccer 'academies' for youths in African countries continues the exploitation of African athletic talent under a new name (Bale 2004b; Darby 2002; 2011; Poli 2006).

Research on these academies has shown great diversity, ranging from the professional to the illegal. As Darby and Solberg (2010) explain in the case of Ghana, while professional academies in Ghana are run by clubs in Europe, which does not make them above critique, the illegal academies are run by local businessmen. Both the existence of European clubs in Africa and the rise of local businessmen to fill a need are indicative of the confluence of global and local actors I mentioned earlier (Maguire and Faloutsos 2011). The proliferation of illegal academies is in some ways indicative of the immense popularity and success of Ghanaian soccer players who have secured lucrative contracts overseas and raised the profile of the national team in recent years. However, the prevalence of illegal academies is also an indicator of the degree to which poverty, lack of opportunities, and the inability to make a living playing soccer locally, is prevalent not only in Ghana but in other African countries as well. Often these academies, professional and illegal, are questioned on their merits of soccer knowledge and the degree to which they stress academic achievement. In a sport where very few youths will make it to Europe or the professional ranks, oversight and regulation is needed to make sure these athletes have a skill set to fall back on if their dreams of professional soccer never materialize (Darby 2011; Darby and Solberg 2010; Poli 2006).

Yet there are a number of intricacies which make the case of African soccer migration more complex than straightforward European domination. Much like distance running in Kenya, soccer across Africa is the product of colonialism and an effort to civilize the African through sport. After independence, many African leaders continued to see sport as a way to build national identities and pride among the youth, and to that affect they invested, to varying degrees, in the establishment of national teams and professional soccer clubs (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2004; Darby and Solberg 2010; Mangan 2010).

However, the histories of economic and political instability on the African continent have meant that many of these leagues have fallen under, as they were largely supported by the government and did not receive enough commercial endorsements, if any, to function independently. The lack of income by professional clubs means that they were and are not able to invest in equipment or facilities, pay their players an appropriate income, or prevent them

from leaving the country to pursue better economic opportunities in Europe, the Middle East, and North/South Africa. It is in the pursuit of better economic opportunities where there is a history of corruption regarding African club officials and European sports agents exploiting young talent for income. In part, the focus on the success of a few players masks the failings of most by making success seem more likely than it really is. With education in African countries often failing to lead to professionalization, a career in sport is becoming more acceptable than it once was (Poli 2006). Desperate youths have been talked into signing contracts giving away up to fifty percent of their pay or given the impression they were signing contracts which meant they had a spot on the team only to be cut weeks later and lose their living arrangements. How many African youths have thus become street children in Europe is unknown. In short, African leagues lack the infrastructure to keep top talent within their respective countries and further lack the ability to protect their talent from exploitation (Bale 2004b; Darby and Solberg 2010).

Of course, the economic instability experienced by African soccer leagues is directly linked to the political instability of their home countries. While political instability in general is unfavorable economically, African national teams and professional leagues have often fallen victim to direct government intervention and corruption which has stunted the development of the local game. For example, in Ghana a judicial review of player transfers revealed the exploitation of young players through the combined corruption of European sports agents and officials linked to the governing body of Ghanaian soccer, which is itself a part of the government (Darby and Solberg 2010). Other brief examples include corruption in Zimbabwe soccer, involving the nephew of President Robert Mugabe, and the disappearance of sixty-thousand dollars of FIFA monies, and cases involving the bribery of match officials to fix matches (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2004).

Combine all of these negative factors influencing African soccer leagues and you find there is a very large push factor for the African soccer player to migrate overseas. Additional problems of personal security, for example, being a target for theft or playing in stadiums with hostile fans or in hostile areas, make migration all the more reasonable and attractive. However, according to Lafranchi and Taylor (2001), there are many individual motivations in the decision to migrate and, indeed, some difficulty in conceptualizing what a migrant 'footballer' should be. In the history of African players in European leagues some Africans used their ability to play soccer in order to gain access to education, some started playing after they already were getting

an education, and some migrated strictly to play professionally. Still today we see similar patterns of migration with additional complexities of reverse migration, European 'expertise' taking important coaching and management jobs for national teams, and second generation immigrants, who have the ability to play internationally for the African country of their parent(s) but have no direct link with that country (Lafranchi and Taylor 2001).

For African women who migrate to play soccer abroad, a number of the same motivational factors are involved. Though soccer is an extremely popular sport for women, especially in the U.S., the number of African women being recruited to play abroad is low (there is some recruitment of African women to U.S. university soccer programs), and there has been little research in general on the migrations of women for sport (Poli 2006). As Agergaard and Botelho (2011) point out, the motivation of clubs to recruit foreign players does not likely rest on economic gain or publicity because profits in women's soccer tend to be modest. More likely, clubs are looking abroad in order to improve and stay near the top of their league. For the women themselves, sporting ambition and validation of a career in sport becomes a strong motivating factor because, again, salaries are modest. African women, in particular, who share the migrant ambitions of African men, may be coming from leagues that are run poorly or societies that do not recognize their efforts as athletes (Agergaard and Botelho 2011). Still, it appears that women are spared the difficulties that men face as it regards athletic labor migration to Europe at least in part because of the marginalization of women's sport, socially and economically.

While we can argue that the migration of players hurts the development of soccer in their home countries, it is the state of many African countries that the poverty of economic prospects in general makes it difficult for any individual soccer player to stay and be able to earn a decent living. European leagues do offer more wealth and salary, but, in some respects, even if a prospective player fails the ability to stay in Europe presents greater opportunities than returning home, regardless of legality (Bale 2004b; Darby 2007). The ability to travel and live in Europe is only a dream for many in Africa and many young players come from family situations which push them into taking chances in going to Europe to play regardless of their talent level. Stronger soccer leagues in Africa may indeed be needed to prevent the exploitation of young talent, but without better economic opportunities in African countries overall, it seems unlikely that rule changes coming from FIFA will stop the demand from Europe or the desperation of young talent.

Migration to the U.S.

Concurrent to the developments in Europe, black African sport labor migration to the U.S. has developed along a slightly different path and, given the relatively few numbers of Africans in U.S. sport, does not attract the same level of attention in academia. As Bale and Sang (Bale 1991; Bale and Sang 1994) explain, the first African athletes to emerge in American universities were not recruited and were a part of the early migrants who were seeking higher education. Once in the States and at universities, many were recruited on campus for various reasons and were lured to participate because of the scholarship money available. The scholarship money in particular then led to a small population of African student athletes that ended up participating in track and field, basketball, and football.

It was not long, however, that the international success of African athletes in track and field would lead to their heavy recruitment by universities offering scholarships, at times without ever having seen the athlete perform. According to Bale (1991), the low cost of African recruitment relative to recruiting a domestic American athlete, combined with low oversight of international recruitment, led to abuses similar to those of European soccer today. In particular, schools with little desirability to local (American) athletes, due to location or proximity to larger, top-ranked, universities, were drawn to international recruitment. Hence when we look at the patterns of migration of African, primarily Kenyan and Nigerian, to U.S. universities we can see distinct concentrations, talent pipelines, to specific schools. For Kenyans, the University of Richmond, Iowa State University, Washington State University, and the University of Texas El Paso were significant destinations, while for Nigerians the University of Missouri and Mississippi State University were dominant recruiters (Bale 1991; Bale and Sang 1994).

Though the development of talent pipelines is interesting and very important to study, it is the rationale for that development that concerns me the most. What Bale (1991) details is that these schools, which were shunned by U.S. athletes, were taking advantage of the lack of knowledge among international recruits of American geography and educational systems. A related form of exploitation is the use of junior, or community, colleges in order to get prospective athletes the necessary grades in order to compete athletically at the university level. This junior college stepping stone is still evident today and we must ask the question of what kind of support these athletes are getting when they are recruited to the U.S. without being academically ready for a university or having little knowledge of English. Further, we need to understand what happens to these athletes when they fail because, inevitably, more will fail than

succeed in sport. These kinds of questions have yet to receive sufficient attention in the American context.

With a large influx of international black African talent flooding U.S. universities, beginning in the late 1960s and increasing in the 70s and 80s, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) took measures to curtail the immigration of foreign athletes. In particular, they instituted a set of age restrictions which hindered African participation in universities because they tended to enter at a later age, in their early twenties, which is where the restrictions were aimed (Bale and Sang 1994). Though not explicitly stated, the new rules addressed concerns over having 'too many' (black) foreigners on college athletic teams. Thus there were and are strong links with anti-black immigration broadly, but also conflict within the sport of distance running itself as it has historically been conceived as a 'white man's' domain (Bale 2001; Bale 2004a; Walton and Butryn 2006). As Bale and Sang (1994) note, during the period of heavy migration it was thought in some circles that African athletes benefitted from the 'higher levels' of competition they received from (white) American athletes. Yet, none of the early Kenyan runners we may think of as 'World Class' trained at U.S. universities, and, even later, U.S. universities essentially exploited existing mature talent (Bale and Sang 1994). According to Bale (1991) the heavy recruitment of Kenyan runners during this time period led to the underdevelopment of Kenyan athletes and hurt them on the global stage. Regardless, following the implementation of these rules, the number of African recruits declined in the late 80s and then leveled off through the 90s, but research has not been conducted to gauge where recruitment numbers currently stand (Bale 1991).

Though African men have dominated the focus of immigration studies, the athletic labor migration of women has been developing slowly as well. In his 1991 study, Bale explains the bias towards men as not being purposeful, but rather due to issues of patriarchy in African countries that barred women from entry into competition. However, at the time of Bale's writing (1991), African women were just beginning to become prominent athletes on the global stage, with Kenyan women taking four of five top places at the 1989 World Junior Cross Country Championships, and he projected that such a showing would increase their recruitment. According to Chepyator-Tomson (2005) women face many hardships coming from African societies that pressure them to conform to accepted modes of femininity. For Chepyator-Tomson, her status as a mother made her a target for scrutiny in Kenya, both in terms of being a 'bad

mother' and because sports were something for 'girls', not married women with children. Despite 'older' Kenyan society having problems with women running and being in sport, the younger generation is more accepting and unmoved by the presence of women in high-level athletics. In part, this cultural change is taking place because of what women have been able to accomplish and the minds they have been able to change over time (Chepyator-Tomson 2005).

More recently, there has been an observable increase in the number of African players on collegiate basketball and football teams. While the football players appear to be second generation immigrants, there is a greater prevalence of first generation immigrant basketball players. This migration is another area yet to receive adequate academic attention. As with athletics previously, there appear to be pipelines developing between basketball camps and academies in Africa, migration to European or Canadian basketball leagues, (or alternatively) junior and community colleges in the U.S., and ending in U.S. universities. Though the camps in Africa, some established by the NBA, stress education and not professionalism as an end goal, Ralph's (2007) work on a basketball academy in Senegal indicates a convergence towards professionalization. With few options for economic advancement for youths, basketball, though second to soccer, has become lodged in the imaginations of children and young adults, as well as their parents, who dream of better lives. In his analysis, Ralph (2007) articulates the processes of globalization, specifically the role of Michael Jordan and diasporic community 'imagining' which has translated into beliefs among Senegalese players of a shared ability to play basketball because of a shared 'style' or 'rhythm' with African Americans.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have attempted to show that African sport migration to the U.S. and Europe has developed differently, yet there are still a number of important consistencies. The differences are primarily due to the way sport institutions exist in the U.S., as colleges and universities serve as 'minor league' systems for elite sport in a way that does not exist in Europe. The U.S. structure of sport thus prohibits immigration of youths strictly for professional sport or for getting an education later. However, in both instances migration was, and still is, seen as an opportunity for further success, either out of poverty, or for higher education, or the fulfillment of a dream that cannot be achieved otherwise (Agergaard and Botelho 2011; Armstrong and Giulianotti 2004; Darby 2011).

When we step back and look at the migratory flows of African athletic labor to Europe and the U.S. we can clearly see global patterns of exploitation between wealthy countries, sports leagues, and the global South. Africa, Central and South America, the Caribbean, and even the South Pacific have become reserve labor pools of athletic talent for professional sports leagues in Europe and the U.S. The increasing prevalence of academies run by professional teams seek not only to find talent cheaply among, often poor, youth in developing countries, but also begin the process of acclimatizing young athletes to 'American', or western, ways of life so they will not get in trouble when (if) they arrive (Klein 2012). Too often the focus of media and popular opinion is upon the 'big' signing of the superstar (immigrant) talent when many, indeed most, immigrant athletes sign smaller contracts, near or at the bottom of the league in terms of worth, and are easily dismissed at the first sign of trouble (Bale 2004b; Poli 2006).

CHAPTER THREE

IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES, TRANSNATIONALISM AND DIASPORA

In order to better understand the full complexity of the black immigrant experience we must examine the issues and politics of identity construction and immigrant reception. Identity construction among black immigrant populations is an attempt to negotiate their position in the dominant Western racial order (Waters and Kasinitz 2010). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explain that the economic success of immigrants, their ability to capitalize on their human capital, is dependent on their reception in the U.S. Throughout this history, certain immigrants, such as Cubans and Vietnamese, have received more government assistance from the government in relocating and reuniting with family members than other immigrant groups, such as West Indians and Somalis. The different outcomes that inevitably result from these policies play an important role in the identities black immigrants and their children create (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

This chapter sets the stage for some of my later analysis of the athletes in this study. By understanding the experiences of black immigrants and their attempts to navigate their host societies, we gain insight into the possible experiences of migrant athletes. Though in this chapter I primarily focus on research conducted in the U.S., parallels, as in the previous chapter, can be drawn with Europe and indeed are often reflected in immigrant communities more broadly. I begin with a discussion on issues of discrimination and some of the politics of identity creation and maintenance among immigrants, including the second generation. Next, I discuss the concept of transnationalism, transnational activities, and what transnationalism means for notions of assimilation and second generation immigrants. Finally, I conclude the chapter by reviewing some of the work that has been done concerning the black diaspora, particularly as it applies to global blackness and the concept of black (racial) unity. In particular, the concept of the black diaspora and diasporic politics is important to my analysis because, as it will become clear, black African migrant athletes have meaning not only to their respective African countries, or the continent in general, but also to those living in the West.

DISCRIMINATION AND IDENTITY

As mentioned previously, the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act, combined with the recent independence of African countries, led to a substantial increase of black African

immigrants to the U.S. (Gordon 1998; Waters 1999). Before then, in the pre-Civil Rights era, black immigrants consisted primarily of Afro-Caribbean migrants who themselves were moving from colonial situations and seeking better lives in the U.S. Though they often eschewed U.S. racial categorization as 'Black' or 'African American' because of negative connotations, many of the political leaders of the Civil Rights movement were of Afro-Caribbean descent, such as Stokely Carmichael, Claude McKay, Richard B. Moore, among others (Johnson 2008; Reid 1969; Waters 1999).

Yet, in our post-Civil Rights era, black immigrants from African countries have been somewhat unaware, at least initially, of the racial stratification of the U.S., and have relied heavily on their social and cultural capital in their hopes to fulfill the 'American Dream' (Gordon 2007). In many respects then, African immigrants have largely tried to 'stay out' of race issues in America by continuing the struggle towards their economic goals. According to Johnson (2008) and Kim (2000), this is perhaps no more evident than in the relatively poor participation of African and Afro-Caribbean immigrants in protests concerning the unlawful deaths of other African immigrants due to extreme racism or police brutality. This lack of participation has resulted in questions, by whites and native blacks, as to whether post-Civil Rights immigrants are too concerned with matters in their homelands to pay attention to U.S. racial politics. Of course, such questions are too simplistic and reductionist. According to Waters and Kasinitz (2010), black immigrants are aware of their racialization and the possible discrimination their children might face, but do not want to develop a 'minority consciousness' (p. 106), in which they would see themselves as victims without agency, among themselves or for their children. Yet, while black African immigrant intellectuals try to raise concern and awareness about the realities of violence against black bodies, to some degree it would seem to elude the immigrant population that their hopes for full assimilation into the white mainstream remain a fantasy for the near future (Arthur 2008; Johnson 2008; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). I will return to this topic in more detail later when I discuss transnationalism.

Thus, contemporary black African immigrants are somewhat disconnected from civic engagements and separated from African Americans on issues of racial solidarity. Despite the generally high levels of education, black African immigrants are beginning to self-segregate into ethnic enclaves in poorer urban residential areas and seeing their income decline below that of African Americans (Dodoo 1997). That their communities are often near African American

communities gives us an indication of the racialized nature of their marginalization (Arthur, 2000; Logan 2007; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). There are a number of theories to explain this phenomenon. The most popular assertion is that black African immigrants are entering the country with lower levels of education than in years past. In addition, changes in immigration laws regarding family unification has meant more women and children, often with lower levels of education than men, have immigrated in recent years. Still, lower levels of education in general may certainly play a part, but these ideas need to be combined with the fact that there has been a concurrent devaluation of African education during the last few decades (Dodoo 1997). This devaluation, aided through the dismantling of African institutions of higher education by various dictators, has forced many immigrants to take jobs that are below their pay scale, primarily service jobs such as the now stereotypical taxi driver, domestic worker, or hair-stylist (Babou 2013; Mazrui 2005; Yesufu 2005).

Another factor that Shaw-Taylor and Tuch (2007) explain is that more recent immigrants face a depression of wages, or assimilation effects, until they become used to American culture and gain access into job networks. After a period of ten to twenty years researchers are finding that African immigrants manage to find work more appropriate to their education level and reach levels of pay comparable, as a group, to African Americans. Aside from the problematic position of African Americans as the benchmark for low pay, ten to twenty years is often too long for individuals with high hopes and aspirations upon immigrating to fight for what they deserve. Elabor-Idemudia (1999) points out that the recent immigrant, women especially, face numerous institutional barriers to success upon arrival. Contrary to the construction of the female migrant as a passive and uneducated follower of her husband, women often arrive with a significant degree of education and sometimes are the primary immigrant, leaving their families at home (Foner 1986). However, depending on the immigration laws in their host countries, women may find themselves dependent on the primary applicant (male) for residency with little legal recourse to divorce, social welfare programs, or even the job market (Elabor-Idemudia 1999; Freedman 2013; Yesufu 2005). These difficulties may arise in a variety of forms and contexts, but compacting such difficulties are the unstated nuances of the labor market and racial stereotypes of backwardness and ignorance, especially concerning female circumcision, that African immigrants confront when meeting prospective employers (Bhachu 1993; Elabor-Idemudia 1999; Yesufu 2005).

Undoubtedly, much of this evidence goes against the popular conception of black African immigrants as a kind of model minority. Yet, in this instance, the stereotype relies more on the lower rates of unemployment than economic achievement. Black African immigrants, particularly the first generation, have been found to be favored by white employers over native blacks. Employers believe that black immigrants are harder working than native blacks, meaning that work ethic is being conflated with essentialized notions of culture. While there is no basis to such cultural stereotypes, the underside of such beliefs means that employers also see immigrants as more subservient and willing to work longer hours, for less money, than native blacks (Logan 2007; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). Such stereotypes, of both black immigrants and native blacks, can be further used as a justification to keep black Americans from gaining access to social networks which would allow job advancement and wealth accumulation. In other words, black immigrants are exploited because of their lack of knowledge of the U.S. labor system, and native black Americans are further marginalized by being denied access to lower and entry-level jobs. Essentially, black immigrants are 'Otherized' and even less 'like us' than native black Americans, discriminated against because of race *and* foreignness, thus allowing their marginalization regardless of their social and human capital (Gordon 2007; Logan 2007; Pierre 2004; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

Paradoxically, it is an additional complication that both whites and native black Americans remain largely unaware of black African immigrant communities and their growth within major American cities (Arthur 2008; Doodoo 1997). Partially because of this invisibility, African immigrants have largely gone unincorporated into African American institutions, primarily religious, educational, and political. There are also issues with the perceived competition for jobs native blacks often believe they face with black immigrants, competition which can sometimes lead to social conflict, contradictions, and stereotyping (Arthur 2000; Kim 2000; Lenoir and Kidane 2007; Waters 1991). As McDermott (2006) explains, in the Atlanta, Georgia area, where there is a relatively large African immigrant population, native blacks in working class jobs repeatedly expressed derisive comments concerning the culture and actions of recent African immigrant men and women. This behavior is seen as a way for native blacks to protect their interests and distance themselves from black immigrants, framing themselves as 'not foreign' and thus being 'Americans'. Native blacks, particularly women in McDermott's (2006) work, perceived male African immigrants as presenting themselves as better than African

Americans, while African women were described as being kept in the house by their men. Thus the process of distancing between not only African Americans and Africans, but other groups lumped as black, is a dynamic and intricate process which I further try to disentangle, from the perspective of black African immigrants, below.

Black Immigrant Identities

Though the exclusion of black African immigrants from African American communities occurs for a multitude of reasons, for my purposes here I am interested in how black African immigrants confront race and the racialization process in the West. As explained by Gimenez (1988), the process of racialization fits nationality into the global racial order as a way to keep the racial order free of contradictions. Hence, countries defined by whiteness are able to keep blackness foreign and unassimilable. For immigrants to the West, this means that regardless of how race, or other forms of identity, is constructed in their home countries, they become subject to the dominant U.S., or Western, racial order when they immigrate to the U.S. or interact with Western countries. Since the beginning of black voluntary migration from Africa in the late nineteenth century, black immigrants have generally fought the racializing process that would see them defined as African American and have worked to present their distinctiveness as an Other in black America (Arthur 2000; Johnson 2008; Osirim 2008; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). This contestation has given rise to the creation of ethnic, sometimes ethno-religious, groups within the black community, further fragmenting the historical myth of a homogeneous black America (Waters 1991).

In particular, the rise and popularity of Barack Obama illuminates the struggle and the questions surrounding what it means to be African American, a black foreigner, and what claim the children of black foreigners have to be called African American. Two issues that frequently arise are the impacts of black and Latino immigration on jobs for native blacks, and the policy implications for affirmative action and what groups are actually benefitting if African Americans are not (Johnson 2008; Shulman 2004). As Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008) explain, second generation immigrants have benefitted greatly from affirmative action policies, especially as it regards higher education. The authors see patterns such as these as a way for institutions to claim diversity while avoiding confrontation with the legacy of slavery and its descendants.

Waters' (1999) work provides an exhaustive glimpse into the mindset of West Indian immigrants concerning race and racialization in the U.S. Though the Afro-Caribbean immigrant experience is different than the black African, much of the work on black immigration combines the two groups due to their relatively small sizes. Thus, while I focus here on Waters' work on West Indians, the work of Arthur (2000; 2008) and Shaw-Taylor and Tuch (2007), as well as others mentioned in this chapter, concerning African immigrants in the U.S. and England contains similar conclusions regarding the racialization processes black immigrants confront in general. Waters (1999) brings detailed attention to these processes, highlighting how black West Indian immigrants tend to construct identities around their West Indian origins. The construction of these identities helps immigrants position themselves within West Indian communities, even if only for their own knowledge and well-being, yet simultaneously serves to distance them from negative perceptions of African Americans.

Throughout her book, Waters (1999) provides quotes by immigrants who reinforce and distance themselves from stereotypical notions of African Americans relating to work ethic, education, crime, drugs, and lifestyle. Though recent immigrants may initially be ignorant of the workings of race in the U.S., they quickly learn that the only way to keep from occupying a spot at the 'bottom' with African Americans is to actively create an identity around alternative meanings. This strategy applies even *within* West Indian identities, at the nation level, where individuals from some West Indian countries may try to further distance themselves from those of other countries. For example, Jamaican immigrants were often talked about in negative terms by West Indian immigrants from different countries (Waters 1991; 1999).

Essentially, Waters (1999) argues that black immigrants tended to create 'immigrant identities' rather than 'oppositional identities'. While immigrant identities view racism and prejudice as an interpersonal hurdle to navigate and overcome, the oppositional identities taken largely by African Americans directly and fundamentally *oppose* the dominant, or mainstream, group's, whites, identities and associated ideologies (p. 142). Immigrant identities may *differ* from those of the dominant group, but they do not fundamentally oppose whiteness in their construction. Oppositional identities thus strive ideologically to be against and opposite of what dominant white identities and ideologies are conceived to be.

Yet the concept of oppositional identities, even the term itself, is by no means unproblematic. The notion of oppositionality, like 'culture of poverty', has been used to explain

failure among African Americans as being due to their holding cultural beliefs, values, and identities that are fundamentally contrary and opposed to white social norms. Thus, African Americans remain in poverty not because of institutionalized racism, but because their culture is essentially unassimilable and anti-mainstream. It is better, perhaps, to conceive of oppositionality as a matter of degrees, where oppositional modes of identity often intersect with or are subverted to mainstream ideologies depending on the situation. Ogbu (2004) further clarifies the term, oppositionality that he helped conceptualize in Fordham and Ogbu (1986) by drawing attention to the historical creation of oppositionality as a response to the group status condition of African Americans from early slavery to today. In short, he explains that the conclusions of the original study were not to say that African Americans devalued educational attainment, but that there is sometimes rejection of behaviors *conducive* to educational attainment because they are labeled 'White'.

A brief example of this line of theorizing is the work of Akom (2003) regarding the Nation of Islam. As Akom explains, Nation of Islam fosters an oppositional identity but with an achievement ideology that intersects with some white mainstream notions of achievement, education specifically. However, regardless of the details and complexities of oppositional identities, immigrants may have pre-conceived identity forms we could call oppositional as well, where they do or do not intersect with mainstream ideologies (Hall, 2010). I am ultimately more concerned with the perception and representation of identities by mainstream society, where immigrant identities tend to have greater 'success' in mainstream society relative to African American identity forms no matter how 'oppositional' those identities may actually be (Dodoo 1997; Guenther, Pendaz, and Makene 2011; Sakamoto, Woo, and Kim 2010).

The identities African and Afro-Caribbean immigrants form, however, are by no means static and often change over time. As Watson (1999), Vickerman (1999), and Osirim (2008) have explained, immigrant identities serve to set immigrants apart from African Americans in ways that simultaneously create tension with African Americans, yet makes them more likely to gain employment because of favorable opinions and relationships with whites, problems of stereotypes notwithstanding. Further, immigrant identities remain problematic theoretically because they are context dependent. Depending on the situation, immigrants may find different options available for identity creation, for example, the ability to choose or switch, as different

identities are appropriate at different times, between national, regional, or 'simply' black identities (Vickerman 1999).

However, the longer immigrants stay in the U.S. the more likely they are to become aware of the greater nuances of race and racism in America. This awareness leads to the creation of more oppositional or pan-ethnic (pan-black or pan-African), forms of identity similar to those of African Americans. The creation of more oppositional identities goes hand in hand with the disillusionment many immigrants feel when their hard work fails to pay off in terms of social and economic mobility. Such sentiments may also impact the feelings immigrants who have been in the country a long time have towards recent immigrants from the same country. According to Vickerman (1999), Jamaican immigrants who have taken on a pan-black outlook often castigate recent Jamaican immigrants for having a false sense of pride and attitude. Thus there are often twin processes of social distancing and identification with African Americans regarding blackness as an identity. Such disillusionment has the potential, in the extreme, to turn immigrants into the people most concerned with race than any other group, and has produced prominent black leaders such as Marcus Garvey, Stokely Carmichael, and Louis Farrakhan, some of the most vocal leaders for black separatism (Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999). Indeed, there is a long history of black immigrant, specifically West Indian, leadership and political action within black American politics since the early 1900s (Reid, 1969).

Second generation immigrants. In my study, I focus specifically on a few athletes who are one and one half or second generation immigrants. Aside from that focus, there are also a number of meaningful intersections the athletes in my analysis share with second generation migrant athletes. Thus, I would like to briefly discuss identity formation among second generation immigrants. As the children of immigrants growing up in the West, second generation immigrants have different experiences and realities than their parents which are negotiated in different, sometimes similar, ways. In this section, I explore the issues of assimilation and identity creation, and how that may contribute to the homogenization of blackness by whites and Western media.

As Waters (1991; 1999) and Neckerman, Carter, and Lee (1999) have explained, there is a great deal of complexity, indeed agency, in the identity construction of second generation and one and one half generation (those who immigrated around adolescence or before) immigrants. This (post-modern) complexity means that trying to peg any given individual or group of people

into a fixed identity is an unproductive exercise (Gilroy 2000; 2005). They may align closely with the ethnicity of their parents, form a more 'oppositional' identity closer to African Americans, retain an immigrant identity where they see race as less of an issue, or utilize any and all of these identities in different situations. The construction of these various identities depends on factors such as economic class, neighborhood, school, and personal experiences with race and racism (Liberato and Feagin 2007; Waters and Kasinitz 2010). Further, the formation of second generation identities may end up being in conflict both within racial or ethnic categories and/or between racial groups.

When these processes of identity creation refer to intraethnic group dynamics, they have been referred to as 'intraethnic othering'. Pyke and Dang (2003), looking at second generation Vietnamese and Korean children, describe how intraethnic othering serves as a basis for sub-ethnic identities. The authors discuss how the second generation uses the symbolic labeling devices of 'FOB' ('Fresh Off the Boat') and 'whitewashed' in order to create and maintain social boundaries and behavior among co-ethnic peers. Minority individuals recognize their stigmatized status in society and attempt to negotiate the racial hierarchy and their social relations. Pyke and Dang found that those in the second generation strove for a middle ground, a bicultural identity, whereby they were neither 'too ethnic' nor 'too white'. Though being too white was looked down upon, being too ethnic was stigmatized to a much greater degree. As the authors explain, the act of labeling someone an FOB shows a high degree of internalization regarding the racial hierarchy. This labeling act also reinforces racist assumptions that ethnic cultures and identities are unchanging, or natural, and thus forever unable to be 'American'.

Intraethnic othering can thus become problematic on multiple levels. First, intraethnic identities based on 'acculturation' may result in the creation and maintenance of a social geography of acculturation. This is done through the purposeful evasion of people and groups considered FOB or whitewashed. Second, the attempt to resist racial stigmatization reproduces stereotypes and reinforces essentialized notions of race and ethnicity. As Pyke and Dang (2003) explain, the nature of racial inequality makes a truly resistive strategy or identity difficult as inevitably there will be some compliance with the white mainstream. However, this difficulty should not be understood as meaning that the oppressed are creating their oppression. Third, strategies of resistance that label individuals whitewashed do not challenge racial categories but rather reaffirms them through beliefs in racial essentialism and authenticity. These findings, and

problems, can be applied to other racial groups and ethnicities as well. Pyke and Dang mention similar occurrences in Latino communities, and I believe we can glean similar practices through the work concerning both West Indian and African immigrant populations.

Regarding second generation identity formation as it relates to white mainstream society, or intergroup relations, it has been found that second generation black immigrants tend to create oppositional identities. This tendency is besides the fact that it has been shown to be to their relative advantage to maintain an ethnic identity, hence distance themselves from native blacks, especially as it relates to greater social mobility. Waters (1991; 1999) discusses that second generation immigrants become aware of racism, both structural and interpersonal, and their classification as Black or African American by whites. It is this greater awareness of structural racism and their racialization as Black that can be seen as pushing youths towards oppositional identities. Another push factor complicating this matter is the interaction with the African American community and youths, where being an immigrant or 'acting white' does not pass as cool or gain acceptance among peers (Waters 1999).

What happens then is the systematic homogenization of black communities through contact with the racial structure of the U.S. and Western Europe. This happens because immigrants eventually come to realize that white society cannot tell the difference between different groups or ethnicities. This realization and disillusionment moves immigrants in the U.S. closer to African American identity forms, and the efforts of African Americans to resist white dominance tends to erase the visibility of differences within the black American population (Gordon 2007; Vickerman 1999).

Despite this realization, second generation youths living in inner city neighborhoods appear to be unaware of the advantages immigrant identities can convey in terms of social mobility. In part, this lack of awareness may be due to the lack of interaction with middle class whites. It may also depend on the success of their parents or the fact that living in inner city neighborhoods creates more pressure, relative to middle class black second generation youths, to conform to African American norms. Conversely, youths with higher socioeconomic status may be more insulated from racialization processes, especially as it concerns interactions with the state (police), but also face more experiences of racism due to their relatively greater exposure to white society. Thus they are 'freer' to create identities similar to those of their parents, because

they are not accused of acting white, yet these possibilities remain *highly* situation dependent (Neckerman et al. 1999; Vickerman 1999).

Another important part of this debate is made by Kasinitz et al. (2008), who make the salient observation that previous studies on the second generation have often relied on immigrant parental interpretations (stereotypes) of native blacks and their culture as oppositional or problematic. As the authors explain, such research fails to take into account youth culture in general, such as the proliferation of hip-hop styles of dress, which may not necessarily be linked to deviant (black) behavior. There is much more nuance in the activities and motivations of black youths than is generally given credit, and second generation immigrants may assimilate towards African American identity forms in a myriad of ways. The second generation has been shown to be an amalgamation of competing allegiances and attachments, forming a plurality of identity formations that help them cope within our postmodern societies and, to some degree, challenge their lumping in society towards blackness (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Yet what does this all mean in terms of racial ordering or racialization for white mainstream society? Essentially the pushing of black immigrants into identifying with African American identities places black immigrants, and their children, at the bottom of the racial order. According to Bryce-Laporte (1972), even when the achievements of black immigrants gain the attention of white society, they are compared to the native black population, not the foreign population or society as a whole, an observation that has proven remarkably durable. At the macro level, ethnicity thus becomes a mere particularity through the processes of racialization, or racial lumping. Though immigrant identities sometimes serve to 'aid' relationships with whites and social mobility, continued exposure to structural and interpersonal racism serves to change immigrant identities towards more 'oppositional' forms. This change is even more pronounced for second generation immigrants, and coincides with the further erosion of immigrant 'benefits', such as having initial higher education, especially if they reside in poor inner city neighborhoods, or even a foreign accent like their parents (Neckerman et al. 1999; Waters 1999). Yet understanding some of the processes of racialization is only part of the analysis. In order to more fully conceptualize and study black African immigrants, the concept of 'transnationalism' is useful in thinking about the ways immigrants straddle their home country and adopted country, extending social, economic, and political fields of engagement across borders (Waters, 1999).

BLACK IMMIGRANTS AND TRANSNATIONALISM

In order to better situate and conceptualize the contemporary activities and experiences of black African immigrants to the West, the concept of transnationalism is very useful. Transnationalism posits that migrants maintain identities and practices that span the borders of their home and new countries, involving engagement with both countries. Such broad engagement creates transnational social fields which further link the familial, economic, and political activities of societies and individuals. The identities of transnationals are thus inherently complicated and contradictory, utilizing different sides of their identities depending on the context (Basch 2001; Osirim 2008; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007; Waters 1999). It is the contextualization of the usual binary modes of identification, foreigner/citizen, personal/political, home/community, where we can get an understanding of transnationals that is public and private. Simultaneously, we can connect those understandings with cultural and political experiences of being transnational (Basch 2001; Merithew 2009; Osirim 2008).

The rise of transnationals is different from the immigration of earlier European immigrants, as technology has made it possible for immigrants to keep deeper and closer links with their home countries and use those extended networks as support groups for their experiences in the West. Examples include monetary remittances to family members, more frequent communication, and being able to stay politically connected to events in real-time, all of which is due to improvements in technology and cheaper costs (Arthur 2000, 2008; Basch 2001; Osirim, 2008; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

Cultural production and reproduction are at the center of the creation of transnational identities. Transnational identities can also refer to immigrant identities, though I see 'immigrant identities' as being a narrower concept. To begin with, black immigrants have historically tried to maintain their preconceived, pre-immigration, identities through a variety of ways (Osirim 2008; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999). Two of these means of preserving identity that arise in the literature are religion and festivals, while others include ethnic publications, national associations, sports, food, etc. The churches, involving a great proliferation of country, language, and culture specific variations of African Christianity and Islam, can be seen as offering a similar kind of faith-based community development that churches provided for African Americans during the migration of the early 20th century. In terms of ethnic celebrations, such events have a long history beginning with Afro-Caribbeans and carnival in the 1940s. Today, celebrations such as naming ceremonies, funerals and weddings, sports (especially

soccer and cricket), and independence days serve to further delineate those of Caribbean or African heritage (Johnson 2008).

Increasingly, however, the impacts of transnationalism are being felt in the area of politics, specifically what can be called 'Black Politics'. Because of the movement of African American scholars to newly independent African countries in the 1950s and 1960s, and in addition to pan-Africanist movements, much of the previous research on Black Politics assumes a unified outlook based on racial affinity (Alex-Assensoh 2009; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). Yet with increased voluntary immigration from black African countries, ethnic-based and intra-racial contestation is challenging the presumed homogeneity of Black Politics. Questions are being asked as to whether political candidates are 'black like us', or 'black enough', as was asked of Barack Obama during his run for president. The tension between the images of black racial homogeneity and black ethnic heterogeneity is giving way to a Black *Ethnic* Politics, which remains related to but different from racial identity. While researchers and popular media try to explain homogeneity and a unified purpose among African Americans, they are overlooking the heterogeneous nature of African Americans while simultaneously overlooking black African and Caribbean immigrants, and their variations of culture, language, and world views that they have brought with them, as well. Often, black immigrants fail to fit neatly into the liberal-conservative dichotomy. For example, many of the views black immigrants hold towards the social welfare system make them rather conservative on that issue, while issues of immigration and anti-black violence tends to make them lean towards the left (Alex-Assensoh 2009; Gordon 2007; Vickerman 1999).

Speaking broadly, the identities of transnational immigrants are based on fundamentally different factors in their life experiences, such as geography, ethnicity, religion, or nation, while African American identities have been primarily centered on issues of race and racism. As Reid (1969) chronicles, the differences between black immigrants and native blacks have not only existed for quite some time but are also dependent on definite historical roots in the various histories of the countries from which black immigrants come. For example, immigrants from Jamaica come from a country run by people who are black and a government which has actively stressed the 'racelessness' of Jamaican society. Thus when Jamaicans migrate to the U.S. they often attempt to transpose the values, such as hard work, that are seen to equate with success in a 'raceless' Jamaica (Kasinitz et al. 2008).

Consequently, many of the social and political organizations started by black African immigrants focus on issues of acculturation, immigration, jobs, childcare, learning English, and less on issues of social justice and welfare related to race and racism (Arthur 2000; Osirim 2008). Women in particular have often been at the forefront of establishing immigrant organizations and dealing with the inevitable changes in identity that immigration brings (Bhachu 1993; Summerfield 1993). According to Summerfeld (1993), writing about Somalian immigrants in Britain, while some groups of immigrant men take jobs in ethnic enclaves, women often have domestic jobs that force them to interact with white society and learn the English language. They must navigate societies that see their ethnicity and culture as anti-women while also navigating changing gender roles and division of labor with immigrant men (Babou 2013; Bhachu 1993; Elabor-Idemudia 1999; Foner 1986). Hence, with oftentimes greater levels of independence and shifting relations with immigrant men, immigrant women have tended to rely on each other for support and form social groups that deal with important issues to their lives (Foner 1986; Summerfeld 1993).

An additional wrinkle is the idea that immigrants often feel as though they have an 'escape'. This notion expresses the ability or desire of immigrants to one day return to their home country in case life in the West gets too bad, in terms of racism or economics, or they feel they have accomplished what they came to do. In some respects, such feelings involve an idealization of the economic and racial structure of the immigrant's homeland, as if poverty and racial barriers did not exist, especially in West Indian countries (Bryce-Laporte 1972; Summerfield 1993). Indeed, Anwar (1979) has described this feeling among Pakistani immigrants in Britain as the 'myth of return', because immigrants often end up staying in their host country for a multitude of reasons. For the purposes of my study, this mindset, and actual ability to leave the West to 'go home', is something native blacks simply do not possess and, further, influences the decision making of black immigrants. In short, for black (African) immigrants there are not the same communal experiences of racial oppression that would necessarily give rise to a unified political outlook based on race (Alex-Assensoh 2009; Liberato and Feagin 2007).

By conceptualizing black African immigrants through transnationalism, or as transnationals, we are kept aware of a contemporary, though historically influenced, rise in the activities of immigrants in both their 'new' and 'old' countries, and the increasing impact those activities are having in both the black community and society at large (Basch 2001; Osirim

2008). The attempts and struggles of transnationals to maintain their immigrant identity with and against the forces of racialization thus becomes a salient factor in their analysis as a group or individuals. This move is important because it allows us to think more about the actions and experiences of African immigrants without getting 'bogged down' in excessive issues of identity. Identity certainly remains important and fundamental, but the particulars and complexities of its formation are not always necessary in any given analysis. Transnationalism further allows us to analyze the macro-processes of racialization of immigrants in the U.S. and the internationalization (racialization) of minorities globally.

Assimilation and Immigration

Another issue I would like to address is that of 'assimilation' and how we might think about it operating in a transnational context. With immigrants having closer ties to their homelands, questions arise concerning the assimilation process. Research in this area regarding migrants underscores the complexity of assimilation as certain factors, such as education and immigrant reception, have been shown to have different outcomes for different groups of black immigrants which are in turn seen as hindering or helping their ability to 'merge' with the mainstream (Dodoo 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Much of the research still utilizes segmented assimilation as a way to talk about possible routes to assimilation. Currently, a specific focus is directed towards the paths of selective assimilation, or acculturation. This is a process whereby immigrants utilize the immigrant community to protect themselves, and their children, from prejudice and draw upon community material resources while still attempting to raise their overall socioeconomic status (Neckerman et. al 1999; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007; Waters 1999). According to Freeman (2002), first and one and one half generation immigrants heavily utilize selective assimilation within the immigrant community, the second generation to a lesser degree, and third/fourth generation immigrants have little to no data to draw upon conclusively. As noted previously, the second generation can be very diverse in its type of assimilation or acculturation, as the discussion on identity showed. For example, socioeconomic class of the immigrant may also play a role in assimilation, as acculturation into a black minority 'underclass' not a given, and may instead acculturate towards, or take traits and ideologies from, the black minority middle class (Neckerman et. al 1999; Osirim 2008).

The complexity between identity formation and assimilation is explored further in an article by Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, and Mollenkopf (2010), which tested various forms of

assimilation against different life outcomes, such as unemployment, college education, teen pregnancy, etc. For their study there were three types of assimilation: (1) dissonant, referring to 'oppositional' identities, (2) consonant, referring to heavy identification with traditional parents, and (3) segmented, referring to a mix between ethnic identification and local U.S. forms of identity. According to Waters and colleagues, the type of assimilation hardly mattered for the life outcomes tested for, meaning that the predictive power of segmented assimilation, as it is posited a more favorable than the other two forms of assimilation, is currently lacking. While the results of this study are interesting, Waters et al. (2010) construct their variables to measure what I would call 'hard' measures of ethnic identification, such as belonging to groups and organizations, to gauge levels of ethnic incorporation. Going forward, it may be more insightful to examine how immigrants 'imagine' themselves as ethnic and the kind of actions and identities that imaginary leads them to take, actions which do not necessarily mean joining ethnic activities. For example, in the context of my work here, sport media provides a space where individuals can learn about or identify with black African athletes. Bandura's (1977) theory of social learning states that mass media influences and shapes the behavior, emotional responses, and social attitudes of both children and adults. With our current level of media saturation and media providing the only experience or opportunity to identify with black African athletes, it becomes necessary to study media in order to examine what kind of knowledge forms are produced.

For many, the key question yet to be answered regarding assimilation is how transnationalism may or may not slow that process of assimilation into African American identities. Yet this question itself is problematic for its reinforcement of African Americans being the 'undesirable' group to avoid assimilating into. As authors such as Pierre (2004), regarding cultural narratives of ethnicity, and Jung (2009), regarding segmented assimilation theories, have explained, we need to be careful in the ways in which we talk about black immigrants and their incorporation into U.S. society, and I would extend this to Western societies as well. Though the intention to use black immigrant ethnic diversity as a means to explain their possible routes to success is worth exploring, that same diversity is often used to marginalize African ethnic groups while further stigmatizing African Americans (Pierre 2004). African Americans are often reframed along culture of poverty tropes while black immigrants are marginalized through their ethnicities being derived from or compared to that very same

culture of poverty. Simultaneously, the encouragement of immigrant identities, often portrayed as culturally superior to African Americans, prevents the possibility of assimilation. When combined with the fact that African peoples and cultures are still heavily stereotyped in popular media, black immigrants to the U.S. and Europe are kept foreign and unassimilable (Jackson 2007; Jung 2009; Pierre 2004). Black immigrants are thus conceptually overdetermined for assimilation into Western racial 'blackness' because it is the only route available to them.

Pierre (2004) argues for socio-historical awareness concerning the racialized context within which black immigrants construct their identities. While conflicts and intentional separation do exist within the black American population, immigrant identities are a response to the U.S. racial hierarchy and the limited options, socially and structurally, within which immigrants must navigate. Therefore researchers must avoid reinforcing the dominant racial structures by making sure that such structures are the ultimate focus of social research, lest we end up further privileging whiteness (Jackson 2007; Pierre 2004; Jung 2009). It is with that caution that I approach within this work the complexities of immigrant representation (within sport) (chapters six through eight), immigrant identities and immigrant reception (chapters nine and ten), and their broad intersection with the continued discrimination of native blacks in Western societies. These specific areas of immigration are central to my work and overall thesis on the nature of anti-black racism and white supremacy in globalized sport.

Blackness, Diaspora, and Sport

A primary focus of my study makes use of and extends into issues of identity and meaning making in the African diaspora. The work Appiah (1992), Mills (1998), Gordon (1995; 1997), Gilroy (1987; 1993; 2000; 2005), and Wright (2004), among others, has been useful in framing parts of my analysis in terms of anti-black racism, global white supremacy, diaspora and blackness. In particular, Gilroy's influential work over the years on the concept of the black Atlantic has been useful outlining a politics of the black diaspora without relying on essentialist or authentic notions of blackness. Gilroy, and other intellectuals, are very well aware that, though their analyses are grounded in populations linked with the African diaspora, it is impossible and undesirable to create a politics of anti-racism or 'radical humanism' (Gilroy 2005) based solely on race or racial unity. Any attempt to build such a politics must fundamentally recognize the humanity of each individual regardless of race.

Like Gilroy, Wright (2004) denounces discourses of authenticity and homogeneity that often plague black diasporic identity or nationalism. Yet she goes even further by explicitly denouncing the often salient heteropatriarchal, and universalizing, formations of these discourses while bringing issues of gender, sexuality, and class back alongside those of race. As she and Appiah (1992) describe, previous black organizing principles such as pan-Africanism, Afrocentrism, Negritude, Black Nationalism, and anti-racist efforts have tended to slip into an essentialist black or African cultural valorization similar to white supremacy. To be successful, blackness, or the black subject, cannot rely on exclusivity if it is to avoid the pitfalls of discourses that created black Otherness in the first place. If we are to establish meaningful ties and representation for all within the black diaspora then black discourse must recognize difference and reach beyond the limits of nation in order to make links with black communities throughout the diaspora (Wright 2004).

Hence, what is necessary is a politics that recognizes the cultural and experiential hybridity of the black Atlantic, but can then expand and make links with other groups of people. These other groups include peoples of color on the spectrum of blackness who face racism, such as Latinos, Asians, and Arabs, racialized religions such as Judaism and Islam, which feature prominently in diasporic literature, and forms of oppression, where gender and sexuality remain marginalized (Gordon 1995; Gilroy 1993; Mazrui 1999; Wright 2004). For Gilroy, the compression of time and space via the progression of postmodernity and neoliberal practices has, in part, sustained a long 'tradition' of communication, the sharing of similar experiences of racism and exclusion, between black communities around the Atlantic. However, Gilroy warns against the impulse to engage in backwards and static notions via such tradition. Instead, tradition must be (re)conceptualized in order to embrace the hybridity and plural nature of diasporic communities and experiences. It is thus a history and tradition of change and intermixture that should be embraced.

In *Postcolonial Melancholia*, Gilroy (2005) outlines the need for what he calls a 'radical openness' in bringing alive the concept of 'conviviality' which he hopes can eventually pick up where the concept of multiculturalism died. In his formulation, race/culture (now fused), along with ethnicity and nationality, is increasingly problematic as a fixed point of identity because it keeps race/culture static and tied to nation and national borders. For too long race/culture has been deployed as defense mechanism by majorities and minorities alike in order to orient

themselves in the uncertainty and loneliness that is postmodern society. Though white supremacy may be dominant, the rise of cultural absolutism, another way of talking about race, has made white supremacy only one of a host of other unappealing options. For Gilroy, what we require is an anti-racist humanism, one that uses radical openness that moves us towards conviviality. This conviviality makes multiculturalism an ordinary aspect of everyday life, such as it already is in many urban areas and postcolonial cities. It is by drawing attention to the faulty notion, and possibility, of closed identities around race/ethnicity/nation that we can begin to think about new and emerging forms of anti-humanism which, for Gilroy, center on the reorganization of citizenship status.

We can further think of this tradition of diasporic communication through sport and bodily performance to the increased visibility of African American sports stars over the years. From Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, and Muhammad Ali, to Michael Jordan, Kobe Bryant, and LeBron James (to name a few), the athletic performances and actions of black athletes have often carried a political and ethical critique of Western notions of right, justice, and democracy similar to the ways black musical forms have throughout history (Carrington 2010; Gilroy 2000). In some respects, those performances resonate with black communities all over the world because of what they mean for the possibilities of black peoples and because of local and global forces that make sport, and entertainment, one of few 'viable' ways out of abject poverty, both economically and of opportunity.

Carrington, Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur (2001) extend this notion of diasporic communication to sports through their concept of the 'sporting Black Atlantic'. As they explain,

... the sporting black Atlantic can be defined, on one level, as a complex cultural and political diasporic space, which transgresses the boundaries of nation-states, whereby the migrations and achievements of black athletes have come to assume a heightened political significance for the dispersed cultures and peoples of the black diaspora—the sports arena thus operates as an important symbolic space in the struggles of black peoples against the ideologies and practices of white supremacy. (pp. 204-205)

In essence, what athletes such as Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Muhammad Ali, and Michael Jordan (among others) have become is a part of the cultural resources of black communities in forming resistive transnational identities. Until now, the focus on and prominence of the African American athlete to the black diaspora, and the research concerning it, had to do with how

African Americans were some of the first athletes to transgress racial boundaries of their day and reach new levels of possibilities for black peoples.

As Carrington et al. (2001) note, the insular nature of American popular culture makes the sporting black Atlantic more likely to be found in countries other than the States. For example, those in cities like London and Soweto may be more comfortable reaching beyond national boundaries for their sport heroines and heroes than those in Chicago or New York. However, different black communities in different locations will symbolically appropriate black athletes in different ways because of the ways race and racism are experienced in different contexts. So despite the transnational nature of the sporting black Atlantic, there is a significant part that remains rooted in local contexts and particularities. Such relativity makes determining how black communities identify with certain black athletes rather unpredictable, but that does not rule out the existence of generalizable similarities.

While it remains too early to tell what the real impact of these processes mean for U.S. or European sport, it is clear that the increasing presence in sport by those from the global South is an unstoppable trend. This presence means that the many peoples of the global South, and all along the continuum of blackness, will maintain a presence in the global sphere of cultural production that is sport. With increased migration and recent technological advances compressing time and space even further, black (African) immigrant athletes are continuously emerging in the diaspora and taking their place alongside African Americans. Despite their representations in Western media, these athletes bring new meanings to the aforementioned cultural resources of black groups in the diaspora, meanings which are not as incompatible to those of African Americans and/or native blacks as we are led to believe. It is, of course, my aim to begin exploring in a meaningful way what these athletes may mean to different populations and communities, particularly those in the African diaspora.

CONCLUSION

The literature I reviewed in this chapter aids in understanding the kind of experiences black immigrants have in Western societies. Arriving with specific economic goals they wish to achieve, their efforts are often frustrated by the unforeseen racism that pervades the institutions and interactions of the West. In an effort to persist, black immigrants often create or fall back on cultural or ethnic modes of identification in an attempt to distance themselves from native black communities. The transnational activities that allow black immigrants to more easily stay in

touch with family and events 'back home' through technological improvement has meant, in some respects, a furthering of self-segregation from native blacks, though, through common experiences of racism, sympathetic understandings tend to arise. In thinking about these common experiences and understandings of life among those of the African diaspora, it becomes clear that any anti-racist political project emerging from the black diaspora would need to be anti-essentialist and highly inclusive.

CHAPTER FOUR

GLOBAL SPORTS MEDIA

The media-centric nature of my study makes understanding the role of global sports media in cultural production and meaning a necessity. This global business, its concentration in the West, and its institutional logics are responsible for our access to sport content and molding how we engage with that content. Thus, through sport media Western cultural values and social norms are produced, maintained, and distributed, particularly as they apply to understandings of race and immigration. In this chapter I explore the globalized nature and business of sport media before discussing the role of sport media in perpetuating the racism often found in and around sport. I begin by talking about sport as a globalized business with its concentration firmly in the West, before touching on some of the main actors and why business as usual remains problematic today. The next section talks about race and racism, as well as gender, within sport, drawing attention to the interplay between sport and media in reinforcing racist and gendered stereotypes. I conclude the section by refocusing on black African immigrant athletes and some of the previous research studying them and their media representations.

THE GLOBAL MEDIA SPORT CULTURAL COMPLEX

The intense linkages and interdependencies between media and sport are best thought of as the sports/media complex, or what Wenner (1998) calls 'Mediasport', or, increasingly, as the 'Global Media Sports Cultural Complex' (Rowe 2011a). According to Jhally (1989), the sports/media complex is the only way to think about sport in a capitalist context because of the highly mediated experience of sport and the mutual dependency sport and media have developed. Specifically, the rise of college football in the U.S. led to increasing television demand and necessitated new technologies in order to televise sport in a compelling manner. Sport was also inherently tied to political issues such as immigration (assimilating white ethnics) and nationalism/patriotism (particularly around war and conflict, for example, WWII, Cold War, and now post 9/11) (Montez de Oca 2013). This mediated, and therefore commodified, sport form makes numerous areas of study possible, from the intersections with corporations and advertisements, to the processes of live media production of sport, to reading the texts of mediated sport, to studying consumer (fan) behavior and the lived realities of sport (Jhally 1989;

Wenner 1998). Given the immense social and symbolic capital sport possesses, researchers study the sports/media complex in order to better understand how certain social phenomena are constructed and perpetuated at various levels of society and by societal institutions (Markovits and Rensmann 2010; McDonald and Birrell 1999; Wenner 1998). For my purposes going forward, I will use the term 'global media sport' (Rowe 2011a) in order to refer to the link between media, sport and culture in a global setting.

The Western media production and presentation of sport both in print and live television is dominated by a handful of corporations. In the positions of power at those corporations are predominantly white men. This structure propagates a hegemonic white masculine ideology of sport which was created in Western imperial societies and recreated in the now former colonies. As Montez de Oca (2013) explains, the imagined audience for sports entertainment during its rapid expansion in the mid-19th century was middle class white heterosexual men. Sports entertainment not only tried to hegemonize this demographic but was a salient pedagogical tool to teach white men how to be good citizen-consumers and, perhaps more importantly, masculine. Hence, this structure of global media sport resonates with other areas of racial and gender inequality in sport as it regards coaches, owners, athletic directors, access to sport and even playing position. Global media outlets are largely monopolized and in the ownership of a few corporations consisting of News Corporation, Disney, General Electric, and Viacom (Andrews 2004; Arsenault and Castells 2008). The rise, in particular, of News Corporation (FOX sports) and ESPN (Disney/ABC) in the last few decades have dramatically altered the way we view sports. It has resulted in a twenty-four hour news cycle of sports entertainment covering live events, news programming, print formats, radio, and web content, especially as it applies to Twitter and Facebook (Rowe 2011a; Crepeau 2000; Nathan 2000; Sanderson and Kassing 2011).

The broadcasting and dissemination of sport has become increasingly globalized and easier to access through advances in broadcast and internet technology. This tightening of the relationship between sports and media has also meant increasingly large amounts of money being paid to broadcast and advertise during spectacle events such as the Olympics, Super Bowl, and World Cup (Markovits and Rensmann 2010; Roche 2004). As a brief example, NBC (General Electric) paid escalating fees of \$715 million, \$793 million, and \$894 million (U.S.) dollars for the broadcasting rights to the 2000 Sydney, 2004 Athens, and 2008 Beijing Olympics respectively. Additionally, it was estimated that 4.7 billion people watched at least part of the

two weeks of events at the Beijing Olympics (Rowe, 2004; Rowe 2011b). As large as the Olympic numbers are, they pale in comparison to those of the NFL. In 2011 the NFL signed a television rights deal with Fox, NBC, and CBS of nearly \$28 billion dollars over nine years. The yearly average of \$3.1 billion is up from the \$1.9 billion yearly average of the previous deal and, together with other contracts from ESPN and DirecTV, means that the NFL will receive around \$6 billion a year in television rights fees (Flint 2011).

What makes global media sport a potent force for the maintenance of white heterosexual male cultural norms is the establishment of industry norms and standards. Because of these norms, the routinization of the work, the agency of producers, writers, journalists, and even the athletes themselves is extremely curtailed. However, media organizations are not homogeneous and individuals working in such places do not mindlessly absorb and reflect what those at the 'top' do and say. Lowes (2004) and Silk, Slack, and Amis (2004) explain that there is not necessarily pressure from 'above' in terms of the television production or the writing process, but rather pressures to produce and entertain, to satisfy consumers. Though there is indeed some agency, what both pieces of research discuss is the routinization and institutionalization of the work, and how those processes are influenced by normative industry values, or 'industrial wisdom', which molds the actions of production crews. Such developments make alternative methods of producing, and even consuming, sport difficult if not impossible. This industrial wisdom has and continues to reflect white male norms and even as we have entered the age of new media, phone and internet technologies, including social media, little has changed (Mean 2011; Oates 2009; Rowe 2004).

SPORT MEDIA AND RACISM

With my focus on global media sport and racism, the role of media in maintaining racial stereotypes throughout the twentieth century is well established and represented in an immense body of literature. In this section I briefly address the history of racial stereotypes in sports media, while focusing more on research concerning the representations of black migrants in sport. I begin with a very general discussion on the issue of discrimination in sport before moving on to more specifically address the role of mass media.

Racial Discrimination in Sport

As a brief digression, it is worth mentioning some of the ways racial discrimination has operated in sport, before returning to a focus on media's role in perpetuating what has become

common sense. By doing so we get a better understanding of the impact and circulation of racism and racist stereotypes in global media sport. This section addresses two salient aspects of racism in sport. The first of these is the issue of 'positional stacking' and it is where we see some of the earliest work on racism in sport. The other aspect is that of fan racism, particularly as it applies to soccer stadiums in Europe.

To begin with, discrimination and segregation within sport relies on stereotypes historically used to keep blacks out of certain playing positions, usually called 'thinking' or 'central' positions, because of their assumed lack of intelligence. Positions such as quarterback and center in football, catcher and shortstop in baseball, point guard in basketball, and goalkeeper, center-half, and inside forward in soccer, were thought to be too intellectually demanding for blacks. Blacks were thus relegated to 'peripheral', or 'instinctive', positions, such as running back in football or the outfield in baseball, which often have shorter careers, greater possibility for injury, and are less likely to lead to management positions later in life (Back, Crabbe and Solomos 2001; Lafranchi and Taylor 2001; Loy and McElvogue 1970).

While positional 'stacking', as it is called, has faded away on the playing field, questions persist to this day within sport regarding the intellectual ability and character of black athletes. The recent debates over black NFL quarterbacks, most notably Cam Newton and Robert Griffin III, have been laced with racist undertones hidden in color-blind language. Subtle questions regarding judgment, maturity, and intelligence, combined with an overwhelming focus on athleticism and comparison solely to other black quarterbacks demonstrates that there remains a different evaluative standard for blacks. As it concerns women, black females often have to confront questions and stereotypes about their sex, sexuality, and appropriate femininity (Vertinsky and Captain 1998). Especially in sports traditionally popular with higher socioeconomic classes, such as tennis, figure skating, and gymnastics, we often see black women being labeled as masculine and subjected to critiques on their personal style or hair (Douglas 2005; Shultz 2005). Though black women have not faced the same kind of barriers as black men in terms of segregation, the construction of some sports as 'white' may deter black women from participation.

Similarly, the number of blacks in coaching and management, not to mention ownership, at the highest levels of professional and collegiate sport remains negligible. As Borland and Bruening (2010) mention, there is a sense among black female coaches that black athletes are

steered away from the coaching profession and thus do not see it as a viable career choice. Though juridical barriers have been removed, hiring power remains in the hands of white elites despite the fact that their wealth is acquired on the backs of predominantly black athletes. While the National Basketball Association (NBA) has made significant progress in hiring black coaches and managers, the same has not been true for the NFL (National Football League). It was not until the Rooney Rule, essentially a form of affirmative action, was instituted in 2003 that we began to see the number of black head coaches in the NFL increase. The number of black head coaches in NCAA college football remains abysmal and, in Europe, the number of black managers of soccer clubs remains low as well (Cashmore and Cleland 2011; Cunningham and Sagas 2005). For women, despite the growth of women's collegiate basketball programs, and the players increasingly being black, the number of black women coaches remains negligible (Borland and Bruening 2010). Researchers often explain these low numbers through institutionalized racism, 'old boy' networks or job-network access discrimination, lack of job support or professionalization, and stereotypes about the capacity of blacks in leadership roles. Thus in many ways we can think of sport as a microcosm of larger society in terms of how race and racism have, explicitly and implicitly, led to de facto forms of continued segregation (Back, Crabbe and Solomos 2001; Borland and Bruening 2010; Goff and Tollison 2009; Sack, Singh and Thiel 2005).

Turning to Europe, despite some early inclusion into professional soccer, which was itself just beginning to professionalize in the early 1900s, blacks similarly faced numerous barriers and obstacles to playing. According to Vasili (2000), at the turn of the century, black athletic success was seen as a threat to white supremacy. Because of this ideology, club managers and owners often colluded in barring black players from rosters, or dismissed them for arbitrary reasons, or, when they did play, faced openly hostile fans shouting racial epithets. The travelling African teams of the early to mid-twentieth century were represented in the media as savage and backwards for their exoticism along the lines of appearance, the sexual stereotypes of the time, and because they did not wear shoes to play. It was not until the middle of the century that black athletic success was claimed to be the result of the residual animalism of blacks and certain stereotypes or styles of play redefined the black athlete. These stereotypes are often backhanded compliments. According to the logic, black players are innately superior athletically to white players and have greater talent and capability for creativity or 'play-making'. Yet black players

are also lazy, inconsistent, lack physical aggression (ironically), are best suited to play on the wing, and do not play well in the cold. Despite the best efforts of black players to resist such stereotyping, the pinning of the black athlete to certain racial stereotypes essentially 'de-skills' them, meaning they are seen as less, valued less, and thus do not receive appropriate compensation for their skill level (Lafranchi and Taylor 2001; Vasili 2000).

The second, and related, issue I want to address is fan racism in and around stadiums throughout Europe. Concurrent to the rising numbers of African players, and the simultaneous decline of social conditions in Europe combined with changing demographics and immigration, soccer stadiums in the 1970s became recruiting stations for far right extremist organizations eager to attract disaffected young adults, primarily white uneducated males. 'Ultras', or extreme fan groups, took to the stadium seats and turned them into bastions of hate directed towards black players in the form of racist chants, banners, and Nazi salutes (Back, Crabbe and Solomos 2001). Yet, to be clear, the rise of racism within and around soccer stadiums had little to do with the number of black players on professional teams. The fact is that racism was allowed in the stadiums because it was condoned outside the stadiums. The racial politics of Margaret Thatcher and Enoch Powell, which labeled all immigrants as black and all blacks as immigrants, condoned an atmosphere of hatred towards blacks within English society. The labeling of all blacks as immigrants also served to help erase some of the early histories of black, working class, athletes as they are inconvenient reminders of a nation that has never been as white as it likes to believe (Vasili 2000). Nevertheless, it is this anti-immigrant, or anti-black, mindset that can still be seen resonating in soccer stadiums throughout Europe.

Over the years there have been numerous instances where people of color were attacked and beaten in the stands or parking lots and, in extreme circumstances, the police have been attacked and even killed trying to keep the peace. Racism continues to persist as recent events in 2012 have seen monkey chants and gestures directed at black players during Euro 2012, an England versus Serbia match in Serbia, and a Chelsea versus Manchester United match in London. Though organizations and efforts to 'kick out' racism are improving, there remains an unwillingness among European soccer clubs to confront the problems of racism within their organizations as it regards hiring minorities and attitudes towards black players. This unwillingness is indicative of the institutionalized racism noted above and throughout my work here. These post-modern racist forms are increasingly de-linked from the traditional, and

stereotypical, notion of the 'racist-hooligan', the embodied working-class nationalist or neo-nazi individual. They also inherently keep black fans marginalized and excluded from participation in both the fan community and in stadiums through fear of racist attack, and former black players out of management and ownership positions (Back, Crabbe and Solomos 2001).

Though violence occasionally happens in U.S. sport, usually in the form of post-championship riots or, most recently, the seemingly random and meaningless attack against a Giants fan at Dodger Stadium, it rarely takes on an overtly racist element. In part, the lack of such expression of racism is due to America's taboo on vocalizing racism in public settings (Markovits and Rensmann 2010). Yet what researchers also note are the economics around sport in America, more acutely the prohibitively high ticket prices and the familial inclusion of women and children. Part of the relative decline of racism in European, especially English, soccer stadiums is attributed to rising ticket prices, which lessens the presence of the stereotypical racist hooligan, who tends to be poorer, and a greater emphasis to make sporting events a space for families. As stadiums have become less of a strictly defined masculine space, more open to larger societal pressures, racism has declined significantly from where it was, even if there is still a long way to go (Markovits and Rensmann 2010).

Racial Discrimination in Media

Hoberman's (1997) thought provoking work on the status of the black athlete in (U.S.) society argues that black success in sport has and continues to hurt black communities and that the media representation of black athleticism is intricately tied to the perpetuation of stereotypes and racial inequality. Hoberman's focus is not on media per se, but his detailing of the history of black participation in western sport, and the media stereotypes surrounding that participation, speaks to the generalizability of his conclusions to global anti-black racism in global media sport. The exoticism of black bodies in sport through physical ability, sexual prowess, or criminality perpetuates blackness as sub-human in popular discourse, and the linking of blackness to the body, or nature, inherently cuts blackness off from and overshadows other, intellectual, forms of achievement. It is the preservation of the mind/body dichotomy that says blacks are 'unfairly' physically talented and so must be deficient elsewhere, in mental capacity, to make up for their extraordinary talent (Hoberman 1997).

Examples of this anti-black, biological and cultural, racism in U.S. media and academia include Kane's (1971) *Sports Illustrated* article and Jon Entine's (2001) book *Taboo: Why Black*

Athletes Dominate Sport and Why We're Afraid to Talk About It. Kane explains various biological factors for black athletic success, while Entine tries to convince us that it should be obvious, based on what we see in sport today, that black athletic ability is natural and part of the essential nature of black populations. To Kane, Entine, and similar writers, 'blackness' and race are uncomplicated biologically- or culturally-based categories that determine athletic ability and potential. Kane and others follow a belief that every black child has a 'sporting chance' to succeed in sport when doors to other forms of intellectual achievement have been and remain closed. The obvious contradiction here is that the authors simultaneously point out the 'God given', or 'natural', athletic ability of blacks while also acknowledging that blacks are often discouraged from pursuing intellectual achievement. It is thus an excellent example of post-modern racism. Blacks are complimented for what they are 'obviously' good at while leaving the undertone of that compliment, lack of intelligence, intact and decrying the more overt social 'discouragement' of blacks from intellectual endeavors.

These examples are, of course, among the most provocative and illustrative in sports media, but the salience of the thought contained within them and its importance to popular thought should not be glossed over. Throughout the years researchers have shown consistent patterns of coding black athletes in terms of physical ability, low intelligence, and low character (criminalization). These patterns go beyond the occasional and obvious racist slip, in both print and live sports coverage, and often go uncontested because of the white dominance in sports media. This casual, color-blind, coding of black athletes along stereotypical lines serves to reinforce common sense notions and understandings of racial groups in the West. Academics have further argued that these stereotypes, perpetuated and circulated through the media and sport institutions, have had and continue to have consequences within sport in terms of discrimination and segregation (Berry and Smith 2000; Bruce 2004; Davis and Harris 1998; Eastman and Billings 2001; Lumpkin and Williams 1991; McCarthy, Jones, and Potrac 2003; Rada and Wulfemeyer 2005).

My primary focus, of course, is on sport media practices of representing, othering and homogenizing black African athletic bodies. Already I have alluded to early conceptions that were disseminated through English media of what the British thought black Africans could achieve in distance running during the 1950s (Bale 2001; Bale and Sang 1994). While the successes of Kenyan runners changed the minds of some, the reasons for African success soon

became essentialized through the bodies of black Africans and through Africa's geography. 'Scientific journalism' has historically focused on the bodies of African runners (bone structure, lung capacity, running posture, etc.), their cultures (labor during childhood), and their environment (hot, dangerous, and at high altitude) (Bale 2001; Hoberman 1997). For example, journalists Kenny Moore and Heinz Kluetmeier (1990), in a *Sports Illustrated* article entitled 'Sons of the wind', wrote:

Africa can seem a sieve of afflictions through which only the hardy may pass. The largest, fastest, wildest, strangest beasts are here. Every poisonous bug, screaming bird and thorned shrub has arrived at this moment through the most severe environments. . . Sport is a pale shadow of the competitive life that has gone on for ever across this high, fierce, first continent. Is it any wonder that frail European visitors feel threatened? (p. 6, quoted in Bale 2001)

Themes of genetic and physical superiority or cultural and geographical determinism have a long history and persist to this day through media discourse as a way to explain both successes and failures, particularly in swimming and skiing, of black African athletes in sport (Bale 2001; Denison and Markula 2005; Mwaniki 2012; Nauright and Magdalinski 2003; Ralph 2007; Walton and Butryn 2006).

In order to help us further understand the kind of treatment black migrant athletes receive in the media there are three examples I will discuss. The first concerns media representations of Eric Moussambani, a swimmer from Equatorial Guinea who competed at the 2000 Sydney Olympics. The second example concerns legendary distance runner Haile Gebrselassie and examines his performance and treatment by Western media during press conferences. My third example focuses on Ben Johnson, a Canadian who immigrated from Jamaica, and changes in his representation before, during, and after his winning the 100m gold medal at the 1988 Seoul Olympics. These three examples give us some insight into how Western media frames black (im)migrant athletes

To begin with, Nauright and Magdalinski's (2003) article performs a textual analysis of Olympic swimmer Eric Moussambani at the Sydney Olympics. After the other two racers in his 100m heat were disqualified, Moussambani was forced to swim the race alone. His solitary swim and the relatively poor time he achieved made for a provocative image and garnered a disproportionate amount of media attention. As the authors argue, the discourse surrounding Moussambani's performance at these Olympics is notable in that it revives colonial modes of

thinking and talking about the black foreign Other. Through their analysis the authors identify three prominent frameworks within which Moussambani was situated by the media. These frameworks are: (1) Moussambani as the embodiment of the Olympic Spirit, (2) Moussambani as the exotic African, and (3) Moussambani as a representative for the need of athletic civilizing. Each of these relates to the larger picture of the West being portrayed as the authority in all things and Africa being situated as the other in need of civilizing.

Within the 'Moussambani as the embodiment of the Olympic Spirit' framework, the authors discuss how the media, in a time when the Olympics were being criticized for drug use and losing its founding ideals, continually described Moussambani's performance as 'heroic'. As a representative of the lost innocence of the Olympics, Moussambani quickly gets turned into a 'noble savage', an ideal type that poses him as an object from which to regain the lost innocence of the Olympics, or West. This discourse is paternalistic, there are no expectations for Moussambani to be competitive, his inclusion into the competition is thus a favor, and his 'simple' nature makes his presence valid only because 'we' can learn something about ourselves from him. The second framework, 'Moussambani as exotic African', is straight forward and refers to how media framed Moussambani's upbringing and training in Equatorial Guinea. Moussambani is portrayed as uncultured and primitive, creating a 'culture vs. nature', West vs. Africa, theme which further validates the West's cultural superiority. Finally, the third framework, 'Moussambani as a representative for athletic civilizing', situates the advanced swimwear worn by the elite athletes versus Moussambani's simple one-piece Speedo briefs. The debate here focuses on technology as another sign of culture/civilization vs. nature. Moussambani's bare black skin represents the technological shortcomings of his training and country. Even when Moussambani tries on one of the newer swimsuits, he is viewed simply as an imitator.

The findings of Nauright and Magdalinski (2003) show that Western media still actively deploys colonial discourses in the representation of black African athletes. The authors see such discourses as reflective of the overall efforts in international sport and by the Olympics to '(re)colonize' non-Western countries into Western sport forms. My second example below demonstrates how difficult these framings can be to challenge or overcome because of the institutionalized and routinized nature of media press conferences.

According to Denison and Markula (2005), the press conference is an important part of sport and a space where the black athlete is in direct communication with an overwhelmingly white press corps. Many social forces are at work in the press conference, for example, it is one arena where the athlete has a chance to portray and construct themselves as athletes and as individuals. These constructions are then interpreted by the media which will disperse the information that most people will end up consuming because they themselves do not have access to elite athletes. Denison and Markula focus on Haile Gebrselassie and the social aspects at work because of his status as an Ethiopian and the international (European) nature of the reporters at his press conference, many of whom have been exposed to stereotypical images of Africa throughout their lives. For the authors, it is of interest as to how Gebrselassie presents himself and Ethiopia while being questioned by a predominantly white press who are simultaneously looking to construct meaning around him. Much of the discursive action Denison and Markula explore centers on a European preoccupation with the African body as a talented runner, its opposition to white athletic bodies, and around the simplified culture which African runners are presumed to be from.

The researchers find, contrary to their expectations of individual agency, that Gebrselassie's performance at the press conference was a spectacle for Westerners by Westerners. He was transformed into an obtuse *in situ* object representing both Ethiopia and Africa. Denison and Markula (2005) describe how the political questions Gebrselassie was asked regarding the problems of Ethiopia ultimately serve to take pressure off of Western societies in terms of aid to Africa. In his efforts to explain the problems of his country and in describing his humanitarian goals, the press conference is carefully directed by the Western media to satisfy their curiosity about Ethiopia without allowing Gebrselassie to articulate the fullness of his being and intent. The end result is a new stereotype, the African 'humanitarian businessman', which is positioned alongside stereotypes of natural athleticism, and allows the continuation of unequal status among African countries and the West. Gebrselassie is posited as a kind of 'savior' of Ethiopia which serves to reinforce neoliberal notions of African self-help (Africa for Africans). To highlight the absurdity of this notion, many African American athletes do charitable work in their communities, but it would seem rather out of place to position a basketball player as the savior of America. However, African American athletes have historically been positioned as saviors of the black American community, such as Joe Louis during the

height of his popularity and success (Carrington 2010). In my later analysis the humanitarian efforts of different athletes will be discussed at length. However, for now it is important to keep in mind that the very process of asking athletes about Africa and their humanitarian activities is biased by those asking the questions.

My third, and last, example here demonstrates the discursive construction and destruction of a black immigrant athlete, Ben Johnson. A Jamaican immigrant who became a Canadian citizen, Johnson won the gold medal in the 100m dash at the 1988 Seoul Olympics, for Canada, before testing positive for steroids and receiving a life-time ban from competition. Regarding his construction in the media, Jackson (1998) explains that before his rise to fame in the 1988 Olympics Johnson was often described in the media as a 'Jamaican' or 'Jamaican immigrant', meaning that he was framed outside of the national conception of a Canadian, he was black and a foreigner. However, as his fame increased before and during the Olympics, descriptors increasingly posited Johnson as 'Jamaican-Canadian' and, during the height of his fame, 'Canadian', essentially linking him with the highest values of the nation and displacing his blackness, much like a Michael Jordan or Tiger Woods. Yet, after the failed drug test the media once again returned to Jamaican identity descriptors, this time with ethnocentric zest, concentrating on his blackness and immigrant status, effectively labeling all black immigrants as undeserving social deviants. What Jackson (1998) demonstrates here is the media's power in using racial and national signifiers to create, maintain, and destroy identities and public personas. These discursive identity creations of the media are dependent upon existing racial attitudes and give insight into processes of national and racial boundary making.

CONCLUSION

While the research discussed throughout this chapter has addressed some of the issues of race and immigrant representation, work still remains to be done as it concerns race and immigration. My work here builds on previous contributions and makes a number of interventions in areas that have to date received scant attention. The examples above explore the relevant topics of stereotypes, nationality, and existing colonial thought in media representations, but such articles alone cannot cover the range and depth of those stereotypes. There is more that can be done in terms of making links and exposing the tendency of global media sport towards reinforcing racist stereotypes of blackness. The industry norms of the media corporations

reviewed in this chapter have geographic and temporal consistencies between the U.S. (including Canada) and Western Europe.

In addition, the topic of immigration, the representation of immigration and nationality, and the sport migrant and their experiences in the West deserve greater attention. The analysis of these issues needs to be extended to one and one half and second generation immigrants. For example, European soccer players Wilfried Zaha, Mario Balotelli, and Jerome Boateng play for England, Italy, and Germany, respectively, though they were eligible to play for Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Ghana, respectively. The politics of identity and their decisions to play for their nation of birth, or adoption, are worth exploring further.

Further, the transnational nature of black African migrant athletes in the West allows us to explore a range of their transnational activities, identities and experiences, politics and histories in both new and former countries. For example, many such athletes send portions of their salaries as remittances or invest heavily in projects for development and aid. The role these athletes play in the development sphere or how such desires operate among black African migrant athletes is a relatively open field of study. Studying these athletes as transnationals, or members of the African diaspora, allows us to see where global media sport reproduces the dominant Western racial hierarchy, but also inevitably allows us to see the inconsistencies and contradictions in that same discourse. In examining and critiquing those inconsistencies we can create counter-discourses that challenge the homogenization and marginalization of black communities in the West.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

Further studying the representations of black African immigrant athletes will yield information pertinent to the field of sociology in three key areas of study: (im)migration, race, and diaspora. To do this I use a methodology that conceptualizes the celebrity athlete and spectacle event as a nexus of power relations that we can 'read', or make intelligible, in order to make links between global white supremacy and anti-black racism and Western media discourses on black African migrant athletes. In terms of the athletes, their status as migrants, their racial status in the West as 'Black', and their transnational or diasporic activities are all compelling reasons for further sociological analysis. As I have already noted, though there have been previous studies upon the representations of black athletes from many backgrounds, the aspects of immigration and (im)migrant experience at the highest levels of sport remain under-conceptualized and unincorporated into past works. By using an approach borrowing from different aspects of discourse analysis, cultural studies, and social learning theory, I believe we can come closer to understanding the experiences of (im)migrant athletes on pertinent topics such as immigrant reception, experiences with racism, identity and nationalism. Further, in taking a transnational approach with a focus on migrants and immigration, I explore how the movements and activities of black African athletes challenge the borders and coherency of the Western, and also African, nation-state. There are complexities and contradictions to be discovered that are important to the concept of the black diaspora, diasporic politics and communication. My analysis thus extends to include the intricacies contained within notions of diaspora as they pertain to the lived experiences of blackness.

This project is a qualitative study of, primarily, archived news articles and, secondarily, autobiographies, biographies, and online (web) text and video content. Faced with such a large amount of data, I used a number of research questions that served to guide and delineate the study. The research questions of this study are designed to help illuminate processes and tendencies regarding the representations of blackness in Western sport and the attempts of black African migrant athletes to navigate their host societies. In other words, I am looking for patterns of discourse at both the structural (the media and its ways of representing the foreign black

Other) and individual (the athlete's discourse within media but also in other formats such as autobiographies or less 'formal' interviews and presentations) level. The research questions that guide my research are:

1. How are black African migrant athletes in the West discursively constructed and represented by Western media along the social categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality? How is 'Africa' represented and what roles, if any, do foreignness and the migration process play in the representation of these athletes?
2. How are stereotypes and representations of native blacks in the West applied, or not, to black African migrant athletes (foreign blacks)? What are these stereotypes and what sort of social processes invoke and engage with them?
3. What influence does generation have on the representation of black African migrant athletes? Are later generations represented differently? Does the second (or 1.5) generation engage in certain, different, social activities than the first generation (or those who never truly immigrate to the West)?
4. How might these representations impact native and foreign (diasporic) black communities, or populations, in the United States and Europe? Do they play a role in the continued marginalization or invisibility of these communities?
5. How might the representations of black African migrant athletes in the West move us towards a framework for 'seeing' anti-black policies and global white supremacy within and around sport?

With these research questions serving to ground and direct the study, we can begin to fill the gaps in previous research concerning black African migrants in sport. Clearly, however, my research questions point to much broader issues, particularly, the very nature of representing the foreign/native Other in Western societies. A concern for the different modes of alterity placed on the Other, including the how/when/where/why 'they' are represented as such, is a strong undercurrent to my work here. Hence the focus on black Africans is a means to discuss some of the broader sociological implications of representing the Other.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA GATHERING PROCEDURES

I aim to discover, understand, and investigate the kinds of discourses and representations surrounding black African migrant athletes, and what impact those representations may have for blackness in general. For that purpose, I borrow from discourse analysis and discourse theory in order to question how events become meaningful (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002; Schram 2006). Discourse analysis is a broad methodological approach to research, employing many varying methods or techniques to analyze discourse, whether it is in conversational, textual, or any other form. Discourse refers to 'a particular way of talking about or understanding the world (or an

aspect of the world)' (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002:1). The concept of discourse developed within linguistics and referred to interconnected writings and speech. However, it was philosopher Michel Foucault who advanced the discourse concept to entail language *and* practice (Hall 2007a). Foucault saw discourse not only as a representation of knowledge, but as the production of knowledge (meaning) through language, and since meaning influences individual practices (actions), all social practices have a discursive aspect; that is, help reinforce and create specific modes of thinking (Hall 2007a). This view of discourse relates strongly to Phillips and Jørgensen's (2002) explanation that our access to and experience of reality is primarily mediated through language. This mediation means that language, and the inherent creation of discourses through language, results in both our creation and understanding of the social world. Hence discourse influences our understanding and subsequent actions regarding race, gender, nationality, and other markers of social inequality. A further premise of this kind of research and analysis is that individual texts do not carry meaning on their own as they draw upon, accumulate, and create meaning from a variety of other texts (Hall 2007b). The process of accumulating meaning, or the selective use of familiar discourses, across texts and reading within the context of other texts results in an intertextuality from which hegemonic, or dominant, discourse emerges (Hall 2007b; Wood and Kroger 2000). In this study, it is the hegemonic discourse around a specific athlete that forms that athlete's 'representation'.

In thinking about the impact of discourse on the individual, especially as it concerns that of mass media, Bandura's (1977) theory of social learning remains useful. According to Bandura (1977), in the course of daily life we as individuals only have direct contact with a small portion of our environment. This lack of contact with other aspects of our (social) environment means that our perceptions of social reality largely depend on vicarious experiences, specifically as it regards what we see, hear, and read in popular media. The more our lives are intertwined with the symbolic environment of mass media the greater the social impact of media on 'acceptable' behaviors and emotional responses. Bandura (1977) explains the importance of mass media being found in how we, individuals, create and verify our conceptions of self based on the world around us. According to Miller (1998) media, sport media in particular (with its emphasis on militarism and patriotism), provides a space where individuals can learn how to be (make themselves) citizens and actively perform citizenship. People form conceptions of self based on observations and regularities in the environment that give them knowledge about objects,

relationships, and likelihood of events. Because knowledge gained through mass media is a vicarious experience, it is also an inherently limited experience. The implications of this restricted range of access to the activities and experiences of others are that biased observations and processes of overgeneralization can result in people being less trustful of others and overestimate their chances of being victimized in general. The symbolic modeling of stereotypes cultivates and perpetuates misconceptions people form regarding occupations, ethnic groups, social roles, and other aspects of social life (Bandura 1977). Indeed, as it concerns race, it has been shown that the levels and likelihood of black crime, and even the black population in the U.S., are often overinflated in the minds of white Americans who consume high levels of news media (Gallagher 2003; Gilens 1996).

Still, individuals do not absorb mass media information automatically. An individual's preconceptions of reality, their individual biases, filter what experiences or information they accept. As Bandura (1977) notes, this form of selection bias means that erroneous suppositions can become self-perpetuating and thus reinforced over time. The creation of a reality based on false beliefs often leads individuals to act in ways that either reinforce or fail to challenge those beliefs. Additionally, these erroneous beliefs can mislead people regarding their reasoning processes, meaning that they can deduce reasonable inferences that are factually inaccurate. Appropriately for this study, Bandura (1977) uses the example that someone who has come to believe that all athletes have no interest in intellectual pursuits will logically conclude that no baseball players are interested in such activities. While a simple example, such individuals have overgeneralized and formed strong beliefs about the nature of reality from limited experiences (Bandura 1977). Though such biases in thinking can be reversed by disconfirming experiences, the current hegemony of white supremacy inherently prohibits and discourages such efforts.

Lastly, this scholarship leans on 'Reading Sport Critically', a methodology for interrogating power developed by McDonald and Birrell (1999; 2000). They argue for a specific form of cultural criticism, 'one that focuses analytical attention on specific sporting incidents and personalities and uses them to reveal a nexus of power that helps produce their meanings' (1999: 283–284). According to McDonald and Birrell, the tendency of some academics and mainstream media to focus on, or give primacy to, one relationship of power, such as race, simultaneously serves to ignore or erase others, such as gender, sexuality, nationality, etc. Reading sport critically seeks to avoid such erasures by uncovering and exploring multiple power relationships

as they intersect around a particular incident or celebrity figure. As McDonald and Birrell (1999:283) explain further,

We find this move to read non-literary cultural forms as texts significant because it ties sport scholars to other critical scholars in terms of the theoretical and methodological choices we make as cultural critics. And we find the analyses themselves compelling because they concern the popular yet deceptively innocent cultural form of sport. Thus they offer insight into how to connect seemingly discrete incidents and events that are generated within the world of sport to the larger social world.

Based on the legacy of British cultural studies, the methodology for reading sport critically is inherently 'multi-interdisciplinary' (1999:285) in nature and thus blends multiple theoretical insights, from Marxism, feminism, post-modernism and other disciplines. For McDonald and Birrell (1999; 2000), reading sport critically is perhaps most indebted to Gramsci's hegemony theory and is further enriched by Foucauldian (as well as feminist) notions and insights concerning knowledge production and the linguistic turn within the social sciences.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony posits that power is not primarily exercised through top-down class domination or physical force. Instead, power is often secured through a struggle for cultural leadership resulting in the naturalization of ruling ideas or ideologies, thus becoming common sense. Though the ruling class has greater resources to determine this outcome, power relations nonetheless involve some degree of consent from the subordinated and the co-optation of their resistance into the hegemonic order. Hall (1997) cautions us, however, not to think that hegemony is static or makes everyone the same. Instead, hegemony is the construction of a collective will through the coming together of differences, differences which never truly disappear. Using Thatcherism as an example, Hall explains that Thatcherism became hegemonic because it only allowed smaller or individual political projects to be possible by accepting the larger (hegemonic) political-economic project. For example, it supported the political projects of individuals wanting the 'traditional family' only if those individuals and groups also supported the larger neoliberal imperative. Thus, hegemony can bring together both wealthy and poor, without relying on a notion of false consciousness, because it can reach and speak to their identities and needs in different ways. The eventual fall of Thatcherism indicates that the processes of hegemony-making are never complete or closed off, even if more recent changes within its structure are, in reality, rather small (Hall 1997).

Foucault, on the other hand, conceives of power as diffuse and existing in multiple places, forms, and intensities. The capillary-like structure of power, or its existence, however uneven, throughout society, thus draws attention to potentially productive forms of power and not merely a repressive conceptualization (McDonald and Birrell 1999). His discursive approach has been instrumental in giving semiotics sensitivity to the politics of cultural production and meaning. As previously mentioned, he advanced the discourse concept to entail language *and* practice, meaning that discourse is not only a representation of knowledge, but the production of knowledge (meaning) through language. Since meaning influences individual practices (actions), all social practices have a discursive aspect, meaning they help create and reinforce specific modes of thinking (Hall 2007a). This process means that the ideologically coded cultural text is the result of complex social practices and various institutional histories from which it cannot be separated, as 'subjectivity and social life are always already embedded in particular relations of power that produce particular knowledges' (McDonald and Birrell 1999:292).

Hence, the study and critique of cultural texts in the form of sports media can give us insight into the broader social relations that have material consequences based on our understandings and subsequent actions regarding race, gender, sexuality, nationality, and other social categories. The body of literature that approaches celebrity athletes, spectacle events, or 'magnified moments' (Messner 2002:22) has steadily been growing the last thirty years (for examples, see Andrews and Jackson 2001; Baker and Boyd 1997; Birrell and McDonald 2000; Holt, Mangan and Lanfranchi 1996; Kissling 1999; Montez de Oca 2013; Mwaniki 2012; Oriard 1993; 2001; 2006; Walton 2010; Wensing and Bruce 2003; Whannel 1992; 1998; 1999; 2000). What the methodology for reading sport critically achieves is a theoretical and methodological foundation for the analysis and interrogation of power within sport. By outlining a critical strategy and establishing the ontological and epistemological bases with which to study sport celebrities, McDonald and Birrell (1999) show that the celebrity athlete as text, or collection of narratives, can be read for the broader power relations that produce its meaning.

Celebrities and Popular Culture

Because this research relies on athletes who can be considered celebrities, to varying degrees, it is worthwhile to further explore the concept of celebrity. Celebrities can be conceptualized as public individuals playing out one or multiple roles in popular culture, for example, the hero, villain, underdog, and enigma (Marshall 1997). Distinctively, the modern

sports celebrity in the West begins to emerge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century through the development of the sports section in newspapers. As sport has continued to modernize and move towards higher levels of professionalization and organization, the sport celebrity has grown in visibility as well (Andrews and Jackson 2001; Smart 2005; Whannel 2002). After the widespread adoption and development of television, the number and variety of sport celebrities increased dramatically. Andrews and Jackson (2001) explain that sport has become a celebrity-focused form of entertainment, with narratives and storylines built around the personalities of celebrities that audiences (fans) can relate to and virtually interact with.

The corresponding industry that has built up around the celebrity athlete has meant the routinization of the production process regarding celebrity athletes. This process inherently requires essentializing and caricaturizing the celebrity individual. Because of these developments, Weber's concept of the charismatic prophet can be extended to the concept of celebrity in order to explain how, similar to the institution of the church, the culture industry seeks to give durability to the structure and meaning of celebrity through its routinization. Western cultural values, in particular the irrationality of excessive individualism, become rationalized as commodities for consumption through the routinization of the celebrity (Marshall 1997; Smart 2005). With the ever-increasing institutional boundary blurring in post-modern societies, especially between sport, entertainment, and politics, the celebrity athlete has become a 'multi-textual and multi-platform promotional entity' (Andrews and Jackson 2001, pp. 7; Marshall 1997).

As Marshall (1997) elaborates, celebrities represent a coming together of neoliberal democracy and consumer capitalism. As representatives of neoliberal democracies, celebrities stand for and reaffirm a political system built on notions of individualism, particularly as it concerns individual achievement. Simultaneously, celebrities perpetuate the economic regime of neoliberal democracy, consumer capitalism, which also stresses individualism, but through freedom of choice and individual identity, consumer freedom (Smart 2005). Thus the dominant political and economic regimes benefit from the hyper-individualism of commercialized media programming. Though consumers may have a choice in their consumption, their choices are ultimately limited by the cultural products (celebrities) created by those who control the dominant modes of production (Marshall 1997).

However, the nature of celebrities as a carefully crafted cultural product does not mean that they are interpreted in a homogeneous manner, as audiences are themselves far from homogeneous. Celebrities can be interpreted in a variety of manners, sometimes in contested and sometimes in unintended ways. Yet, because of the inability of the culture industry itself to perfectly predict how celebrities will be interpreted, care is often given to surround celebrities with specific cultural modes of target audiences. These target audiences are usually a combination of those who control the dominant modes of cultural production and the actual audience, whose cultural sensibilities are targeted for reinforcement (Marshall 1997). As previously mentioned, this imagined audience has historically been white middle-class heterosexual males (Montez de Oca 2013). In this way, celebrities often become sources of cultural identification drawing upon widely held cultural beliefs, as it may regard race, gender, class, sexuality, and nation (Whannel 2002). Commercial media, or global media sport, intentionally imbues celebrity athletes with cultural beliefs in order to build familiarity and interest with audiences. Despite the fact that celebrities are individuals we are unlikely to meet, our virtual intimacy and daily saturation with them has implications for how individuals interpret and negotiate their everyday experiences. Thus, celebrities are public entities around which meaning and ideology cohere and which serve as contextual roadmaps for how individuals make sense of the world (Andrews and Jackson 2001; Marshall 1997).

Though celebrities obviously exist in cultural spheres outside of sport, the sport celebrity differs from others for a number of reasons. The first concerns the assumption of sport as a meritocracy and that an athlete's rise to prominence rests on hard work and innate talent. Here, sport celebrities fit in with neoliberal societies as corollaries for personal and economic gains the average individual can attain through effort and recognizing their innate special abilities. Secondly, sport is unique in that it has the ability to capture national and global attention. Not only are sport celebrities nationally and globally visible, but the narratives around them mesh with those of the cultural or national polity and consciousness. Lastly, whereas other cultural forms often involve fictive identities, such as acting, there is an intimacy and 'reality' to the sport celebrity which creates a dramatic authenticity, if only a facade, to the unfolding of sports events and the celebrity athlete (Andrews and Jackson 2001; Smart 2005; Whannel 2002). Ultimately, sport celebrities play various and complex roles in the global cultural economy. They serve as 'athletic laborers, entertainers, marketable commodities, role models, and political figures'

(Andrews and Jackson 2001:9) in shifting and sometimes contradictory ways. As a product of commercialized media wrapped in narratives of cultural meaning, sports celebrities are fetishized public entities aimed to create desire among and identification with their audiences (Andrews and Jackson 2001).

DATA SAMPLING

To obtain data on the representations of black African immigrant athletes I performed a number of archival searches. The findings I present here will be only *possible* representations of all African athletes, as, despite the efforts towards a diverse sampling, no one athlete or group of athletes encompasses all or a standard set of representations regarding African athletes as a whole. This kind of sampling represents a mix between what Mason (2002) calls *sampling strategically* and *sampling illustratively/evocatively*, and is elsewhere comparatively referred to as criterion based or purposive sampling. Sampling strategically/illustratively means that I have selected certain black African migrant athletes not to represent the 'wider universe', or *all* Africans in sport, but to capture a 'relevant range' in relation to the wider universe. As Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam (2003) explain, there are two main goals in this kind of sampling. Simply put, the first goal is to make sure we are studying the population we want to study, and the second is to include diversity so that we can sufficiently explore the characteristics of those populations we are interested in without excessive redundancy.

Thus, I have chosen ten black African migrant athletes with celebrity status in order to study issues related to blackness, anti-black racism, and immigration broadly, within global media sport more specifically. These athletes were chosen because they represent what Patton (2002:230) calls 'information-rich cases', as their celebrity status and exceptionality draws significant media attention and popular interest. This richness of information allows for a deep understanding and the possibility for what Denzin (2001) and Geertz (1973) discuss as 'thick' description. This amount of interest is important to studying processes of blackness and immigration and therefore increases the potential impact of my research in the academic fields of race and gender, immigration, global studies, inequality, and sport (Mason 2002; Ritchie, Lewis and Elam 2003). As will be made clearer below, each athlete is unique in their own way, varying on aspects of immigration, gender, sport, geography, and temporality, thereby extending the theoretical possibilities and relevance of the research.

List and Profiles of the Athletes in the Study

What I provide here is a glimpse into one reality within the larger universe of Western sport media constructions of black African migrant athletes involved in professional sport in the U.S. and European societies (Mason 2002). Though not uncomplicated, the 'West' in this study refers to the dominant cultures and concentrated media structure of the United States and Western Europe (Andrews 2004; Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe 2001; Rowe 2011a). I admittedly use a nebulous meta-conception of the West that adheres not so much to national borders as it does to primary locations of power and range of influence (Hardt and Negri 2000). Through (post/neo)colonial discourses that frame and homogenize the perception of athletes from African countries as 'Others', or non-Western, Western media inherently defines itself as Western (this line of thinking is taken from Said's [1978a] *Orientalism*). Where necessary, attention will be drawn to the media in specific countries. Similarly, I fully recognize the complexity of the African continent and any references to Africa as a whole are made for the sake of readability.

That being said, I have chosen ten black African migrant athletes for their celebrity and a combination of their individual success and popularity in athletics. The athletes selected for this project are: former National Basketball Association (NBA) players Hakeem Olajuwon and Dikembe Mutombo, former National Football League (NFL) player Christian Okoye and current NFL player Tamba Hali, former distance runners Tegla Loroupe and Catherine Ndereba, current distance runner Tirunesh Dibaba, former Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) player Mwadi Mabika, and current international soccer players Didier Drogba and Mario Balotelli. In Table 5.0 I summarize key characteristics of each athlete. As you can see, most of the athletes are first generation (im)migrants, the majority is men from West Africa, and the majority of women are from East Africa. In terms of sports, distance running, American football, soccer, and basketball are the sports played and represented by the athletes in my study. Yet these generalities and Table 5.0 can only tell us so much. Below, I provide more about each of these athletes, their accomplishments and the rationale for their inclusion in my research.

I should also note that there are a number of athletes who could have been included in this proposal and are not for various reasons. Most of my reasons for excluding certain athletes have to do with length of career, relative popularity, and amount of media coverage. For example, Cameroonian soccer player Samuel Eto'o is arguably one of the greatest African soccer players to play the game. Yet I selected Didier Drogba for further analysis because, while both

players are sport celebrities, Drogba's fame and personal activities spill over into charity work and politics in a way Eto'o's does not. Eto'o may be the better player, but the media attention and influence Drogba has shown off the field of play is what makes him a provocative site for analysis. Relatedly, athletes such as Manute Bol, Lornah Kiplagat, Emeka Okafor, Serge Ibaka, Donald Igwebuike, and Mo Farah, among many others, could all be included into my study. Indeed, most of these athletes at some point intersect with the primary athletes examined here, so in no way are they completely eliminated from analysis. However, in researching primary candidates for research these athletes were excluded not only because of the aforementioned reasons, but also because their inclusion might result in unneeded theoretical redundancy or saturation (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Mason 2002; Ritchie, Lewis, Elam 2003).

Hakeem Olajuwon. In 1980, Hakeem Olajuwon first came to the United States from Lagos, Nigeria, on a plane ticket bought by his family, to visit the University of Houston and to potentially play collegiate basketball. Though he started playing basketball and had success in Nigeria, he did not arrive as a blue chip or highly touted prospect, but, rather, he was a walk-on to the University of Houston's basketball team (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996). After two collegiate championship appearances with the University of Houston, Olajuwon would begin a Hall of Fame basketball career in the NBA after being select number one overall in the 1984 NBA draft, ahead of Michael Jordan. He would win two NBA championships with the Houston Rockets and win a gold medal with 'Dream Team II' during the Atlanta Olympics before being traded from Houston to Toronto, eventually retiring in 2002. History records Olajuwon among the greatest centers ever to play the game of basketball, often discussed alongside Hall of Famers such as 'Magic' Johnson, Patrick Ewing, Larry Bird, and Michael Jordan. His creative and difficult to defend post moves around the basket are immortalized in NBA circles as the 'Dream Shake'.

The study of Olajuwon is significant not solely because he was a great basketball player. It is important because Olajuwon and the small group of Africans he played with during his career, notably Dikembe Mutombo and Manute Bol, were some of the *first* foreign players in the NBA, and many thought they represented the first of a soon to be 'wave' of African talent. The combination of Olajuwon's success and the novelty of his situation make the study of his representation of great academic interest. Not only does Olajuwon represent a black African foreigner in U.S. sport, but a black African Muslim in a sport dominated by African Americans,

who, along with the rest of the U.S., tend to have Christian faith. In this way, Olajuwon serves as a triple minority in terms of being black, foreign, and Muslim. In previous work I have found that U.S. sport media constructs different representations of Olajuwon as his career progresses, and other academic work has found problems with Olajuwon's construction as a Muslim. Yet Olajuwon's career spanned over two decades, meaning that further analyses will be able to go beyond a snapshot of his representation at a particular time, and focus upon a career's worth of discourse in the media.

Dikembe Mutombo. Dikembe Mutombo Mukamba Jean Jacque Wamutombo immigrated to the States in 1988 on a USAID scholarship to Georgetown University. Though initially focused on his studies to become a doctor (he instead graduated with a degree in linguistics and diplomacy), Mutombo was recruited by legendary Hoyas coach John Thompson to play basketball, and by his senior year he would win Big East Defensive Player of the Year and All-Big East First-Team honors. He would go on to become a first round pick (4th overall) in the 1991 NBA draft, where over his career he would win NBA Defensive Player of the Year four times (1995, 1997, 1998, 2001), appear in eight NBA All-Star Games (1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002), be name to the NBA All-Defensive First Team three times (1997, 1998, 2001), and end his career ranked second all-time in shots blocked with 3,230.

Despite his success on the court, Mutombo is just as well known for his humanitarian efforts, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where he was born. His efforts have been focused through his Dikembe Mutombo Foundation, founded in 1997, which was created to help construct the Biamba Marie Mutombo Hospital and Research Center. Named after his mother, the hospital is part of a larger effort to help improve health, education, and quality of life in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Mutombo has received noticeable praise for his charitable contributions, including the President's Service Award in 1999, the NBA's J. Walter Kennedy Citizenship Award in 2001, and public acknowledgement by President George W. Bush in 2007 during the State of the Union Address.

Much more so than Olajuwon, Mutombo's actions and efforts have been towards gaining attention to the problems of people in Africa. Combined with his participation in the NBA's Basketball Without Borders program, among other similar programs, and we can see that Mutombo appears to have a deliberate transnationalism about his actions. His everyday involvement with issues all over the African continent begs critical inquiry upon how those

efforts are represented, along with other aspects of his blackness or 'Africanness', in Western media.

Tegla Loroupe. Tegla Chepkite Loroupe is from the West Pokot district in the Rift Valley province of North-West Kenya. The Pokot are one of the ethnic groups that can be considered to make up the Kalenjin, the larger ethnic group out of which many of Kenya's famous runners are a part. The degree to which the Kalenjin have earned an international reputation as distance runners is important not only to Loroupe's framing as a runner, but to the representation of the Kalenjin and Pokot as specific ethnic groups inside Kenya. In some ways the Kalenjin have become one of the most well-known aspects of Kenya, despite being only the third largest ethnic group in that country. Loroupe's distinguished international career began with her victory at the New York City Marathon in 1994 and continues today through her work in her peace foundation. Throughout her running career Loroupe achieved numerous accomplishments, including: Goodwill Games 10 km (1994 and 1998), IAAF World Championships 10 km (3rd in 1995 and 1999), New York City Marathon (1994, 1995, and 3rd in 1998), Rotterdam Marathon (three-time winner 1997–1999), Berlin Marathon (1999, 2nd in 2001), Lisbon Half Marathon (six-time winner 1994–1997, 1999, and 2000), London Marathon (2000), Cologne Marathon (2003), Hong Kong Half Marathon (2006). Other successes include three consecutive world titles in the half-marathon (1997–1999), world records in the 20 km, 25 km, and 30 km, past world record holder in the marathon, past world record for one-hour distance (18,340 m), and she finished eighth in the New York City Marathon (2007) (<http://www.teglaloroupepeacefoundation.org>).

Additionally, in 2006 Loroupe was named a United Nations Ambassador for Sport along with other prominent athletes such as Roger Federer, Elias Figueroa, and Katrina Webb. Loroupe holds a similar position, International Sports Ambassador, with the IAAF (International Association of Athletics Federations) and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund). In 2003 Loroupe started the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation with the goal to curb violence between pastoralist groups in Rift Valley province of Kenya and bordering countries of Uganda and Sudan. The foundation holds Peace Marathons and has started the Tegla Loroupe Peace Academy, a school and orphanage, to help further achieve that goal. Loroupe was an established and respected runner who has transitioned that success into her humanitarian peace organizations. As one of the first African women to achieve great success and popularity on the

international stage, she represented a 'novel' celebrity entity around which to crystallize discourse and meaning.

Christian Okoye. Christian Emeka Okoye was a running back for the Kansas City Chiefs from 1987 to 1993. Prior to that Okoye played football at Azusa-Pacific University where he first competed in track and field, amassing seven national titles in shot-put, discus, and hammer throw as well as seventeen All-American honors in track and field. In fact, it was Okoye's success in track and field in Nigeria that led to his immigration from Nigeria to the U.S. After being convinced to give football a try, Okoye showed enough impressive running ability, in only two college seasons, to be a high draft pick in the next NFL draft. Drafted in the second round of the 1987 NFL draft (35th overall), Okoye played all his years for the Chiefs, totaling 4,897 rushing yards, a franchise record at the time. Though he was not the first athlete of African origin to play in the NFL, Okoye was one of the earliest athletes of African origin at a time when very few African immigrants were playing football. Even today, many of the players of recent African descent in the NFL are second generation. The best years of Okoye's career were 1989 and 1991, where he rushed for 1480 and 1031 yards respectfully (the former being the NFL season high that year), and made the Pro Bowl both years. Though his career would be shortened by injury, Okoye's achievements would be enough to ensure his entrance into the Kansas City Chief's Hall of Fame, the 30th person to do so in the franchise's forty-five years. I have included him in this study because he was the first African immigrant to find success and become popular within the NFL. His nickname, the 'Nigerian Nightmare', and his immortalization in the 1991 Tecmo Bowl video game as 'untackable' means he is still remembered today by those who grew up playing such games.

Tamba Hali. Currently a defensive end/linebacker for the Kansas City Chiefs, Tamba Hali was drafted in 2006 with the 20th overall pick. Hali immigrated to the United States when he was ten years old because of civil war and conflict in Liberia. Indeed, the story of his 'escape' or immigration and the horrors he witnessed in Liberia are recurrent features concerning his success, from high school to college to the NFL. Hali began playing football in New Jersey where he starred for his high school after being convinced to play because of his size. His performance would lead to him being recruited to play for the Penn State Nittany Lions, which, at the time, was a well-respected football program. During his senior year at Penn State he tallied eleven sacks and seventeen tackles for loss, garnering him All-American honors at his position

on his way to being a first-round NFL draft pick. When contextually compared to the NFL Okoye played in, we find that Hali is playing in a league where having an African background can almost go unnoticed due to the number of one and one half and, primarily, second generation athletes playing football at the college and professional ranks. Now in his seventh season in the NFL, Hali has been a Pro Bowler the last two seasons after reaching double-digit sacks. Generally recognized as an impact player, Hali has so far had a relatively successful playing career, even if he is not immediately recognized as being among the best at his position.

Didier Drogba. Didier Yves Drogba Tébily made his professional soccer debut in France at the age of nineteen, secured his first full professional contract in France's Ligue 2 at age twenty-one (1999), and emerged as an elite player in the France first division, Ligue 1, at age twenty-four in 2002. After the 2003-2004 season playing for Olympique de Marseille in France which saw him score nineteen goals and lead the team to the 2004 UEFA Cup Final, Drogba moved to Chelsea in the English Premier League for a then record twenty-four million pound fee. The move made Drogba one of the most expensive players in the world and he proved to be one of the top players in the years following. During his time in the Premier League (arguably the top league in the world at the time) Drogba helped lead Chelsea to three Premier League wins (2005, 2006, 2010), three FA Cup victories (2007, 2009, 2010), two Carling Cup victories (2005, 2007), and one Champions League victory (2012). Individually, Drogba has won the Premier League Golden Boot twice as top goal scorer in the league (2007, 2010), won the CAF African Footballer of the Year award twice (2006, 2009), won European Player of the Year (Onze d'Or) once (2004), and scored one-hundred career goals in the Premier League, ranking fourth all-time for Chelsea and the only African player to do so.

Drogba is also well known for his international soccer appearances for his native Ivory Coast. Despite having French citizenship, he moved to France to live with his uncle when he was four years old, he has played for the Ivory Coast internationally since 2002, leading them to the African Cup of Nations final in 2006 and semifinal in 2008. He also helped the team qualify for the World Cup in 2006 and 2010, and is team's all-time leader in goals scored. Further, for his efforts in 2006 in helping bring a temporary peace to the Civil War within Ivory Coast, and his continued charitable involvement to this day, Drogba was named by *Time* as one of the world's one-hundred most influential people, joining the ranks of Muhammed Ali and Michael Jordan as the few sport icons to appear on the cover. Drogba's career on and off the field of play has

reached heights only few have known, making him an ideal celebrity athlete to further examine through media discourse.

Mario Balotelli. Mario Barwuah Balotelli currently plays striker for AC Milan in the Italian league Serie A and also plays internationally for the Italian national team. Balotelli began his professional career at the age of fifteen for A.C. Lumezzane in Italy, becoming the youngest player in history to do so. Later that same year he would sign a contract with F.C. Internazionale Milano (Inter) and play for their under-16 squad, leading that team to multiple youth tournament victories. In 2007, when he was seventeen, Balotelli made his Serie A, the senior Italian league, debut for Inter, quickly gaining regular playing time and making a name for himself with his play. Balotelli would have a stellar, if short, career with Inter, helping them to three straight championship seasons (2008-2010) and a Champions League victory during the 2009-2010 season.

In the summer of 2010 Balotelli would sign with Manchester City and promptly help them win the FA Cup, winning 'Man of the match' honors in the process. In his second season with Manchester, 2011-2012, Balotelli would help the team win the English Premier League for the first time in forty-four years. After a great deal of controversy, however, Balotelli would be transferred back to Italy and Serie A where he currently plays for his favorite team growing up, AC Milan. Internationally, Balotelli made his Italian national team debut for the under-21 squad in 2008 after his naturalization at the age of eighteen. In 2010, at nearly twenty years old, he would debut for the senior national team, eventually headlining the team during the 2012 European Championships where Italy would finish as the runner-up to Spain.

Despite his on-field success, the personal story of Balotelli is what makes him a compelling celebrity athlete. Though naturalized in 2008, Balotelli was born in Palermo, Sicily to Ghanaian parents, meaning that he was considered an immigrant to the Italian government. Because of health problems as an infant his parents placed him in foster care in order to get proper treatment and he eventually came to live permanently with the (white, Jewish Italian) Balotellis in Brescia, Italy. Despite growing up then as culturally 'Italian', his inclusion into the Italian national team remains problematic because of how blackness is conceived in Italy. As one of few blacks to play for the national team, and the only one in recent memory, Balotelli has become a lightning rod for racial issues both within Italy and within European soccer generally. Combined with his celebrity off the field of play, as evidenced by his common presence in the

tabloids, for better or worse, and Balotelli is quite possibly the most popular athlete in my dissertation at the moment. Thus I have included Balotelli because as the lone second generation immigrant in this study his representation may give us a further glimpse into the complexities and politics of blackness, citizenship, and identity.

Catherine Ndereba. Catherine Nyambura Ndereba is a former distance runner from Kenya who grew up in Gatunganga, Nyeri District. She is interesting for the purposes of my study because she does not come from the Kalenjin ethnic group that so many of Kenya's well-known runners do, and instead belongs to the Kikuyu ethnic group, the largest in Kenya. After competing in and dominating shorter distances, such as the 5K, 12K, 15K, 10-mile, Ndereba moved to the marathon distance and continued her success. After winning thirteen U.S. road races in 1998, her first year back from after giving birth to her daughter (her motherhood, in fact, often defines her as an athlete), Ndereba would win the Boston Marathon, the first of a record four, in 2000, and gain the appropriate nickname 'Catherine the Great'. She would go on to represent Kenya internationally, claiming that, unlike others runners who now represent Western countries, she would never run for another country. Her silver medal in the marathon at the Athens Olympics would be the first Olympic marathon medal by a Kenyan woman. At a time when Kenyan distance running was facing a crisis because of poor results at the Olympics and World Championships, Ndereba emerged as one of its greatest marathoners of all-time.

Mwadi Mabika. Mwadi Mabika played in the Women's National Basketball Association for the Los Angeles Sparks most of her career, from 1997 to 2007. She grew up in Kinshasa, DRC (then Zaire) where she attended the well-known Masamba School and studied biology and chemistry. Considered too young to play basketball until she was thirteen, Mabika often shot around with older players and watched NBA highlights on television, copying the moves of Jordan and others and try them for herself on the court. Once given the opportunity to play, Mabika flourished, becoming the Junior National Team captain at the age of fifteen. At nineteen, she scored twenty points against the U.S. National Team at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, and drew the attention of the WNBA. With the later help of Dikembe Mutombo, Tshitingo Mutombo (Dikembe's brother), and, eventual WNBA vice president of player personnel, Renee Brown, Mabika was able to attain a visa from authorities in the Congo in order to try out for the WNBA.

After winning a roster spot on the Los Angeles Sparks, Mabika would work to become an All-Star in the league, helping the Sparks to back-to-back championships in 2001 and 2002.

Highly regarded as a player, at times she has been called the 'Michael Jordan' of the WNBA and has become a popular figure, especially for young women, in the Congo. Of all the athletes in this study, Mabika had among the fewest articles written about her, a trend which generally hampered the female athletes in this study. As such, she does not feature prominently in my analyses.

Tirunesh Dibaba. Starting her international career at fifteen years old, in 2001, Tirunesh Dibaba Kenene has so far had a stellar career and is the current World and Olympic champion at the 10K distance. Dibaba has won gold medals at both the 5K and 10K distances, as well as in cross country, at the Olympics, World Championships, World Cross Country Championships, and African Championships. Originally from Ethiopia, Dibaba was born in the small town of Bokoji which is in the Arsi zone (district) of Oromiya, a regional state. Though dominant in her own right, Dibaba represents a part of what has otherwise been a highly successful Ethiopian distance running program. Dibaba's family has links with this tradition, and though her parents were not athletes, she has received support from her family and her sisters have often run with her during training. It is also worth noting that Ethiopia's running history is centered on Bokoji, where a number of runners have come from and still go back to train. However, as with Mabika, the media coverage of Dibaba often leaves much to be desired and, while telling of the devaluation of women in sport, hurts the ability of this study to draw more meaningful conclusions about African female athletes.

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURE

To collect data, I relied on major media outlets whose publications exist within the *LexisNexis* and, to a lesser extent, *Factiva* news databases. These databases were chosen because they contain news items from various U.S. and European media outlets, and subsequently allowed for searching all available English news items. By searching 'All News (English)' in *LexisNexis* I attained a variety of news items from Western media sources, but also news from English outlets from Africa (Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa), Asia (China and Japan), and the South Pacific (Australia and New Zealand). I use some of these non-Western sources in my later chapters that consider the meaning of migrant athletes in the world today. Though I considered delimiting searches by geographic region in order to keep data manageable, the data returned by the all English option was still dominated by Western media sources, with a minority of sources coming from elsewhere. Hence, what drove the English news coverage of the athletes in my

study was their participation in sport in Western countries. Further, the particularities of the sources for each athlete was dictated by where they competed, meaning that, for example, the *Houston Chronicle* was overrepresented during the time Hakeem Olajuwon and Dikembe Mutombo played for the Houston Rockets.

One immediate drawback of this study is the exclusive reliance on English language news sources. However, English language sources are not limited to predominantly English speaking countries, as there were a number of news agencies providing English language news services. For example, the *Agence France Presse* (France), the *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* (Germany), and the *Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata* (Italy) all provide English language news. In addition, news agencies like the *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, and *The New York Times* all have offices in European countries and provide English language news from those sites. Where possible, I attempted to use online services to translate French/German/Italian language sources, yet given the embeddedness of media in these countries and the media's propensity to cover significant events, it quickly became apparent that little new knowledge was being produced. In the end, I am confident that any concerns about the 'authenticity' of, or missing viewpoints within, English language news from predominantly non-English speaking countries are met by the aforementioned sources, the pervasiveness of Western media in general, and its tendencies towards industry norms of production.

To generate sources for each athlete separately, I set search terms to the athlete's whole name and last name using the Boolean search operator AND, for example, 'Didier Drogba' AND 'Drogba'.¹ This way of searching ensured that returned news items contained some reference to the athlete of interest. For some athletes, such as Mario Balotelli, the number of documents returned reached the limits (3000) of the *LexisNexis* search engine. This problem necessitated performing multiple searches and delimiting them by date. Around one thousand articles were returned by the search for Loroupe, fourteen thousand for Olajuwon, eight thousand for Mutombo, five hundred for Hali, twenty-two thousand for Balotelli, fifteen hundred for Ndereba, five hundred for Mabika, one thousand for Dibaba, five hundred for Okoye, and nineteen thousand for Drogba. Table 5.1 makes this information easier to read. With the number of articles generated I feel confident that 'data saturation' (Mason 2002), a point where little new data are being generated, was sufficiently satisfied.

The news articles returned by *LexisNexis* were stored as text in Microsoft Word documents.² Due to limits in the amount of articles I could download at one time (500) searches which returned thousands of news documents had to be broken up into Word documents of around five-hundred articles a piece. This process resulted in Word documents 900-1300 pages in length based on number, length, and type of articles in the documents.³ Hence, two large Word documents sufficed for news articles on Loroupe, while Mutombo, due to multiple searches and around eight thousand articles, required eighteen separate Word documents. It is thus clear from the beginning by the number of news articles returned in my searches that women in sport are devalued and given less media attention than their male counterparts.

Once the datasets were constructed, I pre-coded the data in the Word documents and then proceeded to read each news article contained within. Pre-coding, according to Saldaña (2009), enables researchers to bring attention to potentially important quotes or passages by circling, highlighting, bolding, and underlining texts. For my purposes, pre-coding consisted of bolding and coloring (1) the athlete's name, (2) the names of other athletes, (3) places and religions, and (4) various words relating to the representation of the athlete. Pre-coding was not originally undertaken when I started my research but became useful as I proceeded through the thousands of articles that make up my data. Tables 5.2 through 5.5 are examples of the words I pre-coded in Word documents from the Mario Balotelli, Hakeem Olajuwon, Dikembe Mutombo, and Tirunesh Dibaba datasets. What Tables 5.2 through 5.5 represent are a finished product of words selected for pre-coding, because pre-coding was itself an evolving process as I proceeded through the data on each individual athlete. I began with certain words (pre-codes) representing assumptions, or words I thought might be relevant to my analysis, and then built and refined the list of words as I went through the data. Hence the pre-codes themselves become indicative of the kind of tendencies and interactions I find within the data.⁴

After pre-coding, all of the generated articles were read, with a smaller sample selected for later use as quotes or examples based on their relevance to the study. In general, it was possible to read through one Word document of five hundred articles, or one thousand pages, in eight to twelve hours. This reading speed was possible due in part to some repetition of articles (for example, *Associated Press* articles may be released in slightly different forms and then appear in multiple local news outlets) and long articles with irrelevant data (such as marathon race results), but it was primarily due to the general simplicity and banality of sports news

articles. Most sports articles are not very long, often one page or less, and it is easy to understand their direction and purpose rather quickly. Articles which take the time and necessary length to explore, for example, the backgrounds of the athletes in this study, are relatively rare given the size of my data. Such articles are important because their scarcity inherently privileges their discourse, and thus it is with these articles that I spent the most time with during analysis. If an article seemed to contain important information, or information that could develop into a relevant theme, even if only for a different project, the full length article was placed in a separate Word document which was labeled with reference to its 'parent' document (for example 'Loroupe 02 notes' refers to the complete version 'Loroupe 02'). In general, the reduction of the parent version into its 'notes' version resulted in the latter being ten percent of the original version. This reduction helped make the data more manageable and aided in finding important quotes and passages during the later writing process.

Aside from pre-coding, I allowed my codes and themes to emerge through a process of taking 'field notes' combined with analytical memos. In some ways, this approach borrows from discourse and narrative analysis. As Saldaña (2009) explains, discourse analysis often relies on the taking of detailed field notes and analytical memos which then become the basis for codes and themes. For my purposes, field notes can be thought of as a recording of 'what happened' while analytical memos can be thought of as a theoretical insight (Boyatzis 1998; Saldaña 2009). Hence, my theme building process consisted of a simultaneous process of taking field notes throughout the careers of the athletes in my study and making links between those notes and my larger theoretical project. By using this method, I was able to see patterns and themes develop in the representation of athletes over time. As I will discuss later, some themes and subthemes are prevalent in the beginning of an athlete's career and then disappear, while others arise only in certain situations. In short, my approach allowed for variation over time. The end result of my field note and analytical memo taking is a Word document detailing significant events and interactions during the career of each athlete laced with analytical memos and theoretical insights. This process thus results in another reduction of the data, a condensed and analytical version, which is different from the 'notes' version that contains full length articles and no analytical memos or field notes. It is from these documents, one for each athlete, that I developed the larger themes of my substantive chapters listed below. I created the chapter themes by pulling together similar and related patterns, we can call these codes in a loose sense, which emerged in

the representations of athletes and across my field note and memo documents.

Additionally, the inclusion of other data sources, such as videos, autobiographies and biographies, message boards, web sites, and other online content, aided in what Denzin (1970) calls 'data triangulation' (p. 297) and allows me to address aspects of the athletes I would not have access to via news media alone. Data triangulation refers to the use of multiple methodologies to study the same phenomena, but Denzin extends this definition to include different forms of data, investigators, and theories. Triangulation is important when doing research because it lends greater validity, reduces bias, and increases the theoretical relevance of a project. In going beyond what is found in the media representation of athletes in news outlets, I am able, in my later chapters, to give more depth to our understanding of these athletes and address issues such as immigrant reception, nationalism, identity and meaning in the African diaspora. As mentioned previously, these issues have significance for the field of sociology, as well as African and African American studies, sport sociology, and cultural studies. It is through data triangulation that I am able to explore the interactions and dependencies of the representation of the athletes in my study with other athletes and non-athletes, white and black athletes, non-African immigrant athletes, and sport and non-sport events, among others.

While the representation of each athlete is unique, I find that the emergent themes I discuss here are common and consistently appear in the representation of the athletes included in this study. Often, I find that these themes can also be readily observed in the representation of other black African immigrant athletes that intersect with or are completely separate from those in my study. The themes I have observed and will discuss here are the titles for the following chapters: 'Everyday Othering: Boundary Making and Maintenance', 'Model Minorities: Origin Stories, Hard Workers, and Humanitarians', 'Bad Blacks': Contingent Acceptance and Essentialized Blackness', 'Immigrant Reception: Nationalism, Identity, Politics and Resistance', and 'The Diasporic Athlete: Blackness and Meaning in the Black Diaspora'. My goal in conducting this qualitative inquiry is to construct a narrative that is an authentic, credible, and compelling representation of the 'observations' made (Denzin 1970; Mason, 2002; Schram, 2006; Shank, 2006).

CHAPTER FIVE TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 5.0: Athletes in the study and pertinent information

Name	Country of Origin	Country of Immigration/ Competition	Sport	Professional Career	Generation
Hakeem Olajuwon	Nigeria	USA	Basketball	1984-2002	1.0
Dikembe Mutombo	Democratic Republic of Congo	USA	Basketball	1991-2009	1.0
Tegla Loroupe	Kenya	International (Germany)	Distance Running	1994-present	1.0
Christian Okoye	Nigeria	USA	Football	1987-1993	1.0
Tamba Hali	Liberia	USA	Football	2006-present	1.5
Didier Drogba	Ivory Coast	France, England, China	Soccer	1998-present	1.5
Mario Balotelli	Italy	England, Italy	Soccer	2005-present	2.0
Catherine Ndereba	Kenya	International (USA/ Philadelphia)	Distance Running	1995-2008	1.0
Mwadi Mabika	Democratic Republic of Congo	USA	Basketball	1997-2008	1.0
Tirunesh Dibaba	Ethiopia	International	Distance Running	2001-present	1.0

Table 5.1: List of athletes and number of articles generated by LexisNexis

Athlete Name	Number of Articles Generated (approximate)
Hakeem Olajuwon	14000
Tegla Loroupe	1000
Dikembe Mutombo	8000
Tamba Hali	500
Mario Balotelli	22000
Catherine Ndereba	1500
Mwadi Mabika	250
Tirunesh Dibaba	1000
Didier Drogba	19000
Christian Okoye	500

Table 5.2: Names and terms pre-coded for Mario Balotelli

Mario Balotelli Pre-coding		
Names	Places	Words
Drogba	Africa	racism
Tevez	Ghana	racist
Shaarawy	Nigeria	racial
Seedorf	Ivory	black
Boateng	Italy	selfish
Toure	Italian	matur*
Selassie	Egypt	crazy
Sterling	Muslim	boy
Zaha	Islam	child
Barwuah	Jew	mental
Cantona	Bosnia	stupid
Adebayor	Serbia	idiot
Berlusconi	Jamaica	thug
Odemwingie	Cameroon	crime
Samba		criminal
		hooligan
		bizarre
		enigma
		monkey
		madcap
		lazy

Table 5.3: Names and terms pre-coded for Hakeem Olajuwon

Hakeem Olajuwon Pre-coding		
Names	Places	Words
Akeem	Africa	experience
Ewing	Ghana	matur*
Schrempf	Nigeria	black
Mutombo	Muslim	fight
Bol	Islam	arrest
Okoye	Jamaica	foreign
Divac	German	dream
Dare	Lagos	lawsuit
Abdul-Rauf	Sudan	greed
	Congo	white
	Yugo	lazy
	Zaire	selfish
	Moslem	crim*
	Europe	race
	Croatia	racism
	Senegal	racist
		Allah
		God
		faith
		hate
		arabic

Table 5.4: Names and terms pre-coded for Dikembe Mutombo

Dikembe Mutombo Pre-coding		
Names	Places	Words
Olajuwon	Africa	beast
Olowokandi	Nigeria	crime
Boumtje	Congo	criminal
Bol	Zaire	monster
Dare	Senegal	
Abdul-Rauf	Cameroon	
Abdur-Rahim	Mali	
Oyedji	China	
N'diaye	Sudan	
Samake		
Cisse		
Diop		
Fall		
Okafor		
Deng		
Thabeet		
Mbah Moute		

Table 5.5: Names and terms pre-coded for Tirunesh Dibaba

Tirunesh Dibaba Pre-coding		
Names	Places	Words
Derartu	Africa	mother
Tulu	Ethiopia	AIDS
O'Sullivan	Islam	husband
Gebrselassie	Muslim	wife
Abeylegesse	Turkey	
Masai	Kenya	
Tergat	Christian	
Defar	Orthodox	
Kiplagat		

CHAPTER SIX

EVERYDAY OTHERING: BOUNDARY MAKING AND MAINTENANCE

My mom can't feed me, my boyfriend beats me
I have sex for money, the hood don't love me
The cops wanna kill me, this nonsense built me
And I got no place to go
-Lupe Fiasco

Casual discourse and conversation can often tell us a great deal about the values of society and how that society views minorities and foreigners. Hence, I begin here with what can be called the mundane practices of othering in Western media. These everyday discursive practices rely on seemingly harmless descriptors yet serve to reinforce racial and national boundaries, including common sense understandings of black athleticism. Edward Said (1978b), in a theoretical engagement with Foucault, states that while all discourses are composed of signs, they do more with these signs than just designate things. This 'more' is what we must uncover and describe, and, in the discourse of Orientalism (for Said), refers to the power and institutional force to make statements and evaluative distinctions Orient (the Other). As I will argue, and my cases will demonstrate, the mundane is linked with the more explicit, often stereotypical, understandings of blackness, immigration, nationality, and the African continent. In keeping the foreign black other distinct and separate from their host countries and native black others, the experience and existence of foreign black communities is ignored and any resistive political potential with native black communities (or native Others) muted. It is this movement from the mundane to the specific with which I am concerned with in this chapter and my analysis.

I have divided this chapter into four parts. The first part focuses on the everyday labeling of black African athletes as 'African' in some way. Second, I examine the nicknames of some of the athletes in this study and discuss how they reflect Western opinion and attitudes towards black African immigrants. Third, I explore the role of gender in the representation of black African immigrants through mundane representations of black African female athletes (in chapter eight I touch briefly on men and gender). Fourth, I briefly discuss how issues of fan

racism become moments for Western media to decry Southern and Eastern European countries as 'racist'.

MUNDANE AND EVERYDAY LABELING PROCESSES

Beginning with the mundane, in taking a look at some of the athletes in this analysis we can discern some of these salient processes of Othering. For example, the athletes in my study were often innocently referenced, or labeled, by their point of origin, or nationality. This labeling process was a common feature in media throughout my study, regardless of origin and regardless of whether the athlete in question was white or black (or brown). Yet, we can also read these consistent tendencies as reproducing and maintaining hegemonic socio-political geographies. Iton (2008) explains that part of the struggle of native blacks, in the U.S., after the Civil Rights Movement has been trying to find the space within language to effectively go beyond the nation-state as an imposed limit to political imagination. The normalization of black politics in the U.S. and the coerced withdrawal from communist and anti-colonial movements during the Cold War still influence political discourse today. These same limitations on national political imagination are hurting black population in European countries as well (Small 2009). Perhaps if the geographies of Africa and African countries were not already defined in the negative things would be different, but as we will see below, these mundane references to nationality quickly link to more explicit kinds of othering, such as reference to names, languages spoken, poverty, number of siblings, and other stereotypes of Africa in general. These more explicit processes are similar yet different than the simpler forms of labeling but make a needed link to the broader representations of the African continent. Below we can see these othering processes at work.

Olajuwon, a Nigerian who helped the Cougars make the NCAA Final Four the past three seasons, is expected to be the No. 1 choice overall in the draft. He averaged 16.1 points, 14.3 rebounds and blocked 89 shots this past season, the second two figures the best in the nation. He also had 85 dunks and was a major factor in the Cougars' being dubbed the Phi Slama Jama fraternity for their dunking ability. (*The San Diego Union-Tribune* 1984)

Tegla Loroupe of Kenya, who set the women's world record at 2:20:47 in winning the Rotterdam Marathon in April and won the New York City Marathon in 1994 and 1995, will compete in the 29th running of the five-borough event on Nov. 1, it was announced yesterday by Marathon director Allan Steinfeld, president of the N.Y. Road Runners Club. (*The New York Post* 2000)

While Didier Drogba, the Ivory Coast forward, was at Stamford Bridge yesterday putting the finishing touches to his transfer from Marseilles to Chelsea on a three-year contract,

Jose Mourinho, his new manager, was in an hotel near Heathrow airport justifying the payment of a club-record fee of £24 million for a player who was largely unknown this time last year. What is more, the spending may not be over, but Mourinho hopes that, 12 months hence, he will be explaining why the club have made no new signings in the summer of 2005. (Szczepanik 2004)

Everything about Mutombo—beginning with the fact that he's come a long way to play in the league, from Kinshasa, Zaire—appears to be outstretched. His full name in itself is a *paragraph*, Dikembe Mutombo Mpolondo Mukamba Jean Jacque Wamutombo. He speaks the following languages: English, French, Italian, Portuguese plus *several tribal tongues* from his native land. He tells tall tales. (Araton 1991, emphasis mine)

On Sunday in Kansas City, the Jets will meet one of the more interesting new players in the National Football League, Christian Okoye of Enugu, Nigeria. Okoye is a 253-pound, 6-foot-1 1/2-inch running back who has been timed in 4.46 seconds over 40 yards and is the league's top rookie runner this season. He has gained 344 yards and is 11th in the N.F.L. in rushing, which is commendable for someone who first played football four years ago at the age of 22. (Wallace 1987)

The examples above demonstrate that references to nationality, foreign names, and 'tribal' languages or 'dialects' are extremely common in everyday reports about these athletes as well as the others in my study. In particular, the shortcut used by referring to African languages with millions of speakers, such as Swahili, as tribal or dialects is a salient feature across a number of the representations in this study. Salzmann (2007:175) explains that the term 'dialect', 'refers to a form of language or speech used by members of a regional, ethnic, or social group. Dialects that are mutually intelligible belong to the same language.' Though mutual intelligibility varies, clouding the distinction between language and dialect, Salzmann goes on to argue that, 'All languages spoken by more than one small homogeneous community are found to consist of two or more dialects' (175). Because of its large dispersal, English is actually one of the most dialectally diversified languages (Salzmann 2007), yet, in being analogous to the examples above, it would be nonsensical to say that an individual knows 'three American dialects' as if to opaquely refer to the Midwest, South, and Northeast regions. Hence, the use of the term 'dialect' used by Western media renders the languages of Africa as *extremely* local, 'tribal', insignificant and without name, unknown and unknowable.

Relatedly, the focus on accent or subtle surprise that these athletes can speak English, French, Italian, and Portuguese demonstrates the quickly forgotten history of Western colonialism and its role in spreading European language forms throughout Africa. Such repeated

references to national belonging are often seen even when such information is unnecessary or extraneous to the article, as we can see in the example of Drogba, and at times draws attention to or devalues certain aspects of their Otherness, as we can see with Mutombo's name being labeled a paragraph. Since discourse involves a certain way of thinking about and acting upon our social world (Hall 2007a; Phillips and Jørgensen 2002), these hegemonic discourses serve to promote our thinking in nationalist terms. These athletes are foreign, they belong elsewhere, their cultures do certain things differently (that may or may not amuse us), and their respective countries have properties (racialized geographies) different than 'ours' in the West.

However, for second generation athletes, like Mario Balotelli, his Italian birth and Ghanaian parentage presents itself as a unique situation. Though Balotelli is described as 'Italian' throughout most of his mentions in my analysis, early in his career there appear frequent explanations in order to establish his Ghanaian roots. We can interpret these media efforts as trying to reconcile Balotelli's national belonging with that of his racialized status as an African. The inconsistency and contradictory nature of the media attempts to 'fix' Balotelli to a certain location betray the importance of and persistent links between race and nation.¹

Balotelli has until now spent most of the season either on the Inter bench or with the junior team, being last in line behind international strikers Adriano, who has returned to his native Brazil, Sweden's Zlatan Ibrahimovic, Julio Riccardo Cruz and Hernan Crespo of Argentina and David Suazo of Honduras. However, the Palermo-born Ghanaian got his big chance thanks to Inter's full schedule of matches between the Serie A, Italian Cup and Champions League, with the Italian Cup considered the least important. (ANSA 2008)

Teenage Inter Milan star Mario Balotelli has paid for his poor attitude with coach Jose Mourinho excluding him from first team action until the end of the month. The 18-year-old son of Ghanaian immigrants is considered to be Italy's finest young talent and has already played for the Italy under-21 side four times, scoring three goals. (Chesterman 2009)

Inter ran no further risks and secured their win on 61 minutes through the young Balotelli, whose low drive from a tight angle rolled past Rubinho as Marco Rossi fumbled a goal-line clearance. The Italian-born with Ghanaian origins confirmed his great form after the brace that last weekend helped Inter salvage a 3-3 home draw with Roma. (*Deutsche Presse-Agentur* 2009)

Inter Milan have had to put the champagne on ice after Chievo ruined their chances of securing the Serie A title this weekend. Chievo gave their chances of avoiding relegation a boost by twice coming from behind. Argentina striker Hernan Crespo and Ghanaian

Mario Balotelli gave Jose Mourinho's men the lead twice but Michele Marcolini and Luciano leveled for Chievo. (*Daily Record* 2009)

The young talent, who was born in Italy to Ghana parents and adopted by an Italian family, has at times angered his coach by displaying lack of tactical discipline on the pitch. He has also overreacted to fouls from opponents and racial taunts from the stands. There were never, however, doubts about his class, which made him a mainstay in Italy's national youth team and a candidate to the senior squad. (Cagliano 2010)

The establishment of Balotelli's Otherness thus qualifies his being Italian, and it is worth noting the confusion in the media regarding what to call Balotelli. Early on he is called a Palermo-born Ghanaian, Ghanaian, Italian-born Ghanaian, Ghanaian-Italian, and Italo-Ghanaian before being more consistently called Italian. Though Balotelli being described through his Ghanaian parentage eventually declines, it is an aspect of his representation which reemerges in more substantial articles and when issues of racism in soccer are discussed. Because his background has been previously established, there is little need to keep repeating it unless it is somehow useful. In the examples below we can see how racism or any issue with Balotelli's behavior is cause to bring up his Otherness.²

Balotelli, 19, has been subjected to racist chants at several matches since he started playing for Inter's senior team two years ago. In June Italy coach Marcello Lippi advised him to ignore the 'imbeciles' who continued to bait him. Lippi said the under-21 striker was 'surrounded by warmth, respect and consideration' and must try to let any slurs 'go in one ear and out the other'. The coach spoke out after Balotelli was taunted by Roma fans at a Rome restaurant and reportedly had bananas thrown at him. The Italo-Ghanaian star, who had previously twice reacted to stadium abuse with highly publicised gestures, kept his cool and did not file a complaint with police. (ANSA 2009)

Since quitting the game, Pericard has set up Elite Welfare Management, a business aimed at helping foreign players settle within the English game. 'We want to stop players wasting their talent. We should support and understand what makes him behave the way he does, instead of judging him and saying he is a lunatic or he is not bothered', added Pericard, referring to Balotelli, who is of Ghanaian heritage and was born in Perugia and raised by an adoptive family in Brescia in northern Italy'. All the problems relate to the social side of being a human being and how you interact with other people and how you interact with a new culture and how you adapt to it'. (McGowan 2013)

Berlusconi himself brushed off any political intent behind the purchase of a player he had dismissed as 'a rotten apple' just a few weeks ago. Even so Balotelli's two goals against Germany in the Euro 2012 semi-final fit well with Berlusconi's pre-election anti-German rhetoric. 'Balotelli scored twice against Germany and made the Germans cry', Berlusconi said in one interview. Referring to Prime Minister Mario Monti, he said: 'The other

Mario... instead made Italians cry'. . . . Balotelli was born to Ghanaian immigrant parents in Sicily, then abandoned and adopted by an Italian couple. He grew up in the city of Brescia near Milan and became an Italian citizen at 18. Whether or not Berlusconi has benefited from a Balotelli bump, the former prime minister has definitely risen in voter surveys in recent weeks. (*Agence France Presse* 2013)

Balotelli's parentage is a contradiction that requires explanation, or establishment, only because he is not Italian in the common sense understandings of what it is to be Italian. Balotelli is quite obviously black, and blackness is not associated with being Italian so his parents serve as a way to discredit his Italian birth. In other words, he is Italian but he is really Ghanaian. Notably, his birth parents are also discredited through a discourse of abandonment, and the notion that they casually abandoned Balotelli in the street due to his early childhood health concerns. Such discourse reinscribes broad stereotypical notions of immigrants as it concerns responsibility, national burden, and reproduction. That Balotelli is 'rescued' by a white Italian family and essentially becomes Italian through them, the mother specifically, constructs Balotelli more as an acceptable exception than a welcomed insider or 'real' Italian.

Beyond the Labels. In terms of mundane or everyday issues of labeling, it is not necessarily the mentioning of nationality, as global media sport tends to include such information regardless of country of origin. Rather, it is how nations are represented through the athlete, and who then comes to represent those aspects Western media seeks to portray. Ivory Coast (Drogba), Nigeria (Olajuwon and Okoye), Democratic Republic of Congo (Mutombo and Mabika), Liberia (Hali), and Kenya (Loroupe) are consistently represented in stereotypical ways, through their respective celebrity athletes, as war-torn, steeped in poverty, diseased, and culturally backwards. Though the athletes themselves have 'escaped' Africa, they still embody or are linked with the stereotypical descriptors of Africa, the 'problems' of African countries and cultures, and the many peoples who live in Africa. As examples, we can begin with Olajuwon and the representation of Lagos as an urban African city.

Lagos . . . is urban Africa at its most horrendous. Three-fourths of the city's residents live in rooming houses in which the average occupancy is more than five people per room. Almost 40% of the work force is unemployed or underemployed. In the early 1970s Lagos became an oil-rich boomtown, but now, along with the world petroleum market, it has gone fairly bust. The place is a symbol of capitalism run amok. Skyscrapers hard by open sewers. Emaciated livestock pitifully nosing into a jam-up of cars, trucks, taxis and 'mammy wagons',—half-van, half-bus, all-rattletrap. Horrid junkyards, firetrap shantytowns, broken-down marketplaces and inactive construction sites dominate the

landscape. Smoke and grime and foul odors are staples of the atmosphere. Bribery and hyperinflation are staples of the economy, DO NOT URINATE HERE signs are plastered all over the exterior walls of the bus station. (Kirkpatrick 1983)

Discourses on urban Africa, or any specific African city, were rare in my data, as media tends to focus more on the African country as a whole (evidenced below). The above example, from a lengthy *Sports Illustrated* piece, tries to provide us some background on where Olajuwon came from but ultimately fails to provide us with anything we do not already know or could not guess about African squalor. Despite the author's culture shock, and his obvious fear, upon arriving in Lagos, he interviews a couple of people close to Olajuwon who confirm to us the decrepit nature of Lagos and assure us that Olajuwon is more a product of his family than of Nigeria (Kirkpatrick 1983). This discourse positions Olajuwon, then still a charming media novelty, as outside and above the 'normal' corrupting influences of even his home country and city. He is thus 'worthy' of his success in the U.S. because he is 'above' other Nigerians, their uncleanness and, ironically, their rampant capitalism. Elsewhere we will see examples where Lagos is described as a cosmopolitan city, but I have highlighted this article because it appears that the author actually went to Lagos and traveled to Olajuwon's home, because it is in *Sports Illustrated* (still a prominent sports magazine in the U.S.), and because, as we can see, it goes into quite a bit of detail and length about Olajuwon's background.

For many of the other athletes in my study, discourses of poverty, political conflict (war), and disease and death are consistently brought into their representations. Below I have a number of excerpts demonstrating these tendencies. At times, we can get a sense of the normalization of African conflict and misery as the descriptions used only casually discuss such problems. The following examples were found in the representations of Didier Drogba, Dikembe Mutombo, Mwadi Mabika, and Tamba Hali, respectively.

[Drogba] The Ivory Coast captain, who broke a bone in his arm during a World Cup warm-up match against Japan last Friday, has almost God-like status in this impoverished West African nation, which is still struggling to end a political crisis sparked by a failed coup d'état almost eight years ago. (Oved 2010)

[Mutombo] Straddling the Equator, Congo has a hot, humid climate that is ripe for disease. Life expectancy is 51 years, and one in five children dies before age 5. This is the land of Ebola outbreaks, rabies, polio, sleeping sickness and cholera. Malaria and HIV/AIDS are endemic . . . Public Health Minister Emile Bongeli insists Congo is

making strides. Yet he would not allow a foreign journalist to take photographs at Mama Yemo [hospital], saying they are weary of outsiders harping on their ramshackle facilities . . . 'We don't want to paint a negative picture of our country', he said. 'We can't lie; we have serious problems, but we're taking care of our problems. Help yourself and God will help you'. (Duff-Brown 2006)

[Mabika] Meanwhile Congo native Mabika, who scored the Sparks' final nine points, sat alone wrapping ice on her knees . . . This is a stark contrast to what her life could have been had the Sparks not taken her in tryouts in 1997. Her home, Congo (formerly Zaire), remains racked by economic and social problems. This season her mother, Helen, received a temporary visa to come to the USA at the request of the WNBA. This is similar to the visa countrymen Dikembe Mutombo of the NBA's Atlanta Hawks and his brother, Tshitinge, obtained for Mabika. The rest of Mabika's family remains in Congo. 'I call my family every day, and I'm always scared for their lives', Mabika says. 'Every day, they hear gunshots and they tell me that there is no food because it is in suppression. Each time they call me, it's usually bad news'. (Flores 2000)

[Hali] Tamba Hali was a child growing up in civil war torn Liberia when the rebel planes would suddenly come strafing overhead. Hali, now a destructive force of his own as a Penn State defensive end, would scramble for cover . . . His memories return to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, where Hali can remember being 5 or 6 and friends carrying AK-47 rifles. He was told of his younger half-brother, Joshua, who was thrown down a well to his death at the age of 6. (Robbins 2005)

The casual reporting of a child thrown down a well, the concern for one's friends and family members, not wanting to portray a negative picture of one's country, and the description of a star athlete as God-like in his country typifies the reification of African ineptitude, and the maintenance of Western supremacy not only through the designation of Africa as a dangerous place but also through the position of the West as a place these athletes were 'lucky' to have gotten. Western responsibility for post/neo-colonialism is absolved because it offers a 'safe' space for those able to immigrate. The very different experiences of non-sport and non-highly skilled (or credentialed) immigrants to the West are also ignored in these moments. Ironically, when Drogba left the English Premier League to play in China (for Shanghai Shenhua in the Chinese Super League [CSL]) we see not only an intense focus on the corruption of the CSL, but also a focus on the problems black African immigrants have in China.

Indeed, China and Africa have ever-deepening links—Chinese officials have signed natural resources and other business deals all over Africa, while tens of thousands of Africans have migrated to China for economic opportunities (in lieu of more traditional target destinations places like Western Europe and North America). However, these African migrants (many of whom are of Nigerian descent and concentrate in the southern

city of Guangzhou) have a life that is light years away from the glamour, adulation and affluence enjoyed by Drogba. Frequently abused and harassed by police and shunned by many Chinese who have never seen a black person before, the overwhelming majority of ordinary African traders in China struggle to survive, much less prosper. In some cases, they face brutal violence, as the case of the Nigerian who perished in police custody in Guangzhou. Yet, Drogba will never be treated like that his fame, wealth, talent make him beloved by China's masses. As with U.S. basketball superstars Kobe Bryant and Lebron James (who have massive followings in China) Drogba will never suffer the indignity of police brutality or routine racism among the Chinese that the humble traders in Guangzhou encounter daily. This is one of the bizarre end-products of globalization and migration some immigrants are better than others. Some people of the same race are adored and championed, while others are reviled and rejected. (*International Business Times News* 2012b)

The article from which the excerpt above is from ends by noting that, 'poor immigrants from a Third World country are generally viewed (in China and elsewhere) as an unwanted burden at best and a danger to life and property at worst'. Hence, Chinese society is hostile to poor immigrants while the West's often very same hostilities go unnamed as, presumably, 'elsewhere', but perhaps not. This is the only article of its kind in Drogba's dataset, but given the short amount of time Drogba was in China, he only made eleven appearances for Shenhua, it carries some extra weight because no such article exists in the entirety my data that is critical of Western Europe or the United States attitudes towards poor immigrants of color. As we will see later, however, there is a significant bias towards Eastern and Southern European countries and their perceived problems with race and racism.

Equally important, descriptions concerning the raw, immature, child-like, untapped, or unrefined, ability of the black African immigrant athletes reinforce the connection between Africa and (technological) underdevelopment. Discourses of 'raw' athletic ability tend to be used in general when discussing prospects that are perceived to lack certain (often normalizing and idealized) skills yet still have the 'natural' athletic ability to learn those skills given time. However, in the representations of black African migrant athletes, discourses of raw ability are intra/inter-textually related (Hall 2007b) to those which construct them as Others in the West. In focusing on former NFL player Christian Okoye we can see some of these practices and their salient normalizing gaze.³

Born and raised in Enugu, Nigeria, Okoye came to the United States late in 1982 to run track for Azuza Pacific, an NAIA school in Azuza, Calif. He speaks excellent English,

sometimes pausing to find the precise word. "I think, you know, I think I'm getting better and better . . . I'm really happy about that.'"Christian doesn't have any idea how good he can be,'" said Chiefs' tackle Irv Eastman. Okoye went out for football in 1984, a rank beginner competing against college athletes who had played the game most of their lives. After a slow beginning, he won NAIA all-America honors with 1,680 yards his senior year. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 1989)

Imagine how good Christian Okoye of the Kansas City Chiefs would be if he ran properly. If he lowered his shoulder instead of running so upright. If he followed his blockers better. If he tried running past defenders instead of through them. On second thought, don't imagine it. That, truly, would be an opponent's nightmare, a Nigerian Nightmare, as Okoye is so aptly nicknamed. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 1990)

Okoye is the star here, The Big Guy who led the NFL in rushing last season with 1,480 yards. Okoye is the cute story, the TV movie. By now, just about everyone has heard it: Okoye, who hails from Nigeria, came to this country to throw the discus and run track for tiny Asuza Pacific University in Southern California. Then one day, he saw a football and asked "What is this unusual object?" So a coach put him in football pads, and Okoye smashed school records, and he was drafted in the second round by the Chiefs in 1987, and he developed into a league-leading rusher. Charming. (Miklasz 1990)

I should note that there were some articles where Okoye was described as 'bright, not just smart, he's extremely bright' (Mucken, 1987), and having 'a concentration level and a work ethic that are exceptional even by pro football standards' (Gustkey, 1990). However, like most of the counter examples in my analysis, these are relatively rare compared to the dominant discourse in the sample, and often contradicted within the same article. In a later chapter I will also talk more about how discourses of hard work and intelligence concerning black African migrants can construct them as superior to native blacks. Otherwise, most of the emphasis was on how recently Okoye had started playing the game of football and how good he *could* become. We observe similar discourses in the representations of Olajuwon, Drogba, Balotelli, Hali, and Mutombo as well. Okoye was thus seen as raw in numerous ways, he was new to the sport and did not have experience, he was naturally talented but unrefined, and he was ignorant of the sport itself beyond never playing football.

This idea of the black African athlete being raw draws upon stereotypical representations of Africa(ns) as underdeveloped. The result is a self-confirming process. The black African immigrant athlete is linked to Africa, and its underdevelopment, through being consistently labeled as African. The black African immigrant athlete is raw because Africa is underdeveloped and lacks technical sophistication, and Africa is underdeveloped because its people are not fully

developed, not fully human, and hence raw (Gordon 1995; 1997). Yet Christian Okoye was already an Olympic caliber track and field athlete for Azusa Pacific before playing football. The athletic histories of black African migrants are thus neatly ignored or trivialized because they did not occur in the West. Ultimately, the problems of underdevelopment, poverty, disease, and conflict are no doubt real in many African countries but, as Mills (1998) explains, the one-dimensional presentation of these facts does little to dislodge anti-black notions of black cultural deviance or the incapability of blacks to self-govern and achieve.

Nicknames of Black African Athletes

Another aspect of mundane othering is the use of nicknames. Nicknames are not chosen, they are usually given or earned, so they represent a practice in naming and are therefore entwined in power relations and assertions of status. Nicknames may emerge in a range of different ways, but their adoption and frequent use in the media are most important here. Two athletes in this study, Hakeem Olajuwon and Christian Okoye, have nicknames that typify the focus of this chapter. Hakeem 'The Dream' Olajuwon and Christian Okoye the 'Nigerian Nightmare' both fit within established discourses of U.S. nationalism and African stereotypes. Olajuwon was also infrequently called the 'Nigerian Nightstalker' due to his ability to steal the ball, and, because of his nickname, and his contemporary status with Okoye, Olajuwon's 'dream' status was at times called a 'Nigerian Nightmare' for opponents. Two other athletes, Didier Drogba and Tamba Hali, were also nicknamed in questionable ways. Drogba was frequently called 'Drog', which shortens his last name and is often alliterated with dog, and during his brief time spent playing in China he was nicknamed 'Devil Beast', which reportedly has racial connotations but was used 'without malevolence' (Century 2012). For Hali, the nickname 'Liberian Nightmare' was briefly floated around on fan websites but has never gained mainstream attention. Lastly, it was reported that Mutombo was affectionately called 'Deekums' and 'African' by teammates, coaches, and classmates during his college career, while media, and others, most often called him 'Deke' during his time in college and the NBA.

Beginning with Okoye's nickname, 'Nigerian Nightmare', it is clear that there is a reliance on the imagery and exoticism of the African continent. It is the addition of the 'Nigerian' part which makes this nickname an interesting point of analysis. As I have argued, the dominant discourse regarding Africa, its countries, and peoples in Western media has often been uncomplicated and focused on the negatives. The 'Nigerian Nightmare' serves to further illustrate

this point with the pairing of the two words 'Nigerian' and 'Nightmare' which draw upon the one sided imagery that emerges off of the African continent from Western media sources. This imagery consists of the depiction of Africa primarily via warfare, disease, tribalism, poverty, famine, the 'Dark Continent', savages, etc. Okoye may very well be a big Nigerian who was a nightmare to tackle, but we always already know that Nigeria is a nightmare, and that is what makes the nickname compelling and impactful.

Olajuwon's nickname, however polar opposite to Okoye's it first appears, performs a similar function. 'The Dream' first emerged as a way to describe Olajuwon's style of play in that it was something you could only dream for, but it quickly and easily collapses into the more familiar notion of 'The American Dream'. The link between Olajuwon as The Dream and the American Dream became even more evident after Olajuwon naturalized to a United States citizen and was pictured with the American flag draped around his shoulders ahead of the Atlanta Olympics. Though Okoye's nickname explicitly links race, Africa, and negative emotions, while Olajuwon's links his black foreign otherness to hegemonic American values in a more positive manner, both remarginalize Africa, Nigeria specifically, and the respective backgrounds of the athletes.

This remarginalization process requires more explanation for Olajuwon's nickname. In part, this process occurs through Olajuwon's own words. Throughout his career Olajuwon and his words are positioned as pro-American, and fit into discourse of U.S. exceptionalism.

Ah, but Lagos, Nigeria, where his father owns a cement business and where his family's roots are firmly planted - that is where Olajuwon finds peace. "This is like my second home," he said of the United States. "I enjoy what I'm doing. I enjoy the city and the country. It's the best in the world. But, like they say, there is no place like home." Why, Olajuwon is asked, does he consider the United States to be the best. "You cannot compare this country with any other," he said, turning as emphatic as a blocked shot. "I've traveled a lot - all over Europe and to many other countries. But the freedoms, the opportunities, the people, the system - there are no others like them." (Martinez 1986).

At one point, Olajuwon also states that, 'Everyone in Nigeria dreams of going to school in America . . . 'Schools here are much more advanced. That is what I wanted to do' (Johnson 1983). Olajuwon's support of America's opportunities, people, and system as unlike any other and his endorsement of its educational system reify American nationalist rhetoric of exceptionalism. Here again we see the Western media asking self-serving questions. As

Reynolds (2013) explains, the concept for Nigerians after independence of having 'been to' America for education carried quite a bit of social capital. However, as with most African students after independence, the desire was to return home and help build the new country. The acquisition of an American education was in order to build a country that could inherently challenge and compete with the West. I do not mean to imply that there were hostilities towards the West, but that there was not the attempt by African immigrants to valorize the West that Western media would have us believe.

Of course, Olajuwon stays far from controversy on anything related to race, nation, or religion during his career. During the mid nineties, when Olajuwon won two NBA championships, the increased focus on Olajuwon gives us a rare example of counter-discourse where he contradicts his statements above.

Hakeem Olajuwon would like to clear up a few misconceptions about his past. When Olajuwon came to the United States, he was not Kunta Kinte with a spear in his hand. He realizes many people may have had that image of him, but it is far from accurate. Olajuwon's parents (father, Salaam, and mother, Akibe) owned a successful cement-making business in Lagos, Nigeria, before retiring. 'Lagos is a very cosmopolitan city,' Olajuwon said. 'There are many ethnic groups. I grew up in an environment at schools where there were all different types of people!' And those schools probably were tougher academically than many public schools here. Olajuwon didn't have to take a back seat to other students at the University of Houston. 'Nigeria had just gained independence, but our school system was still the British system,' he said, 'We had a very high educational standard. It's easier to get in universities abroad than at home. I left home to attend boarding school when I was 12'. (Blount 1994)

Olajuwon (eight years older) shows sensitivity to his image as an African, and that of Lagos as an African city, and draws attention to the colonial legacy of Nigeria and its impact on the education system. Yet, it is difficult to say that Olajuwon is truly being critical of the West, or even basketball fans for thinking he is Kunta Kinte. Of course, the tentative position of black immigrants in the West combined with their personal expectations means we probably should not expect heavy criticism of their host countries. In this study, only Drogba and his intersections with other one and one half and second generation immigrants, Assou-Ekotto and Frederic Kanoute, are explicitly critical in the media, perhaps because they are more comfortable given their more established lives, and births, in European countries. Even the very active Mutombo talks, or is quoted, in very general terms the about attitudes and politics towards African nations.

If he is directly critical of certain policies they are not evident in his representation or interviews I was able to find.

Combined with Olajuwon's words, his nickname remarginalizes Nigeria and other African countries to the superiority of the United States, at least for Western audiences. Because of his black foreignness, the dream Olajuwon fulfills is one of escaping Africa and its social ills. Despite Olajuwon's middle-class upbringing, sparsely mentioned in my sample, Africa is always already a place to escape from. The invocation of the American Dream in black immigrant representations of success is more provoking than native success because they presumably had more obstacles to overcome even before reaching the States. As Olajuwon put it above, the opportunities, the system, and the very people are unlike anything anywhere else. In the end, there is little attempt by Western media to find out more about Africa. The Western-centric form of questions, asking Olajuwon what he thinks of America, only confirms what common sense is already.

Along these lines we can also examine nicknames of white athletes that may seem derogatory at first glance. In a casual intersection with the representation of Okoye, the nickname of Al Hrabosky, the 'Mad Hungarian', is mentioned. Hrabosky was a Major League Baseball pitcher and, in an attempt to save his career, developed a warm-up routine that earned him the nickname of the Mad Hungarian. Hrabosky's nickname harkens back to when white ethnicity had an impact on the daily lives of some ethnic groups. However, while Hungarian immigrants to the United States likely faced many of the same forms of discrimination as other white ethnic groups, the gradual convergence of Hungarian-Americans into the white mainstream has left few residuals of the kinds of negative ethnic stereotypes of Hungarian immigrants that continue to beset Africa and Africans. Even when Hrabosky was playing (1970-1982), many of those stereotypes had lost any meaningful impact. Today, Hrabosky's nickname makes little sense outside of him as an individual. Western media has no preoccupation with Hungary or its apparently mad population, but continues to rely on common sense understandings of Africa and its peoples. Thus, for the Nigerian Nightmare there are different inherent meanings because the moniker is rooted, in part, in persistent stereotypes about Africa. Other nicknames of white athletes worth mentioning include: Toni Kukoc (The Croatian Sensation), Honus Wagner (The Flying Dutchman), Nikolai Khabibulin (The Bulin Wall), Steve Nash (Captain Canada), Ryan Braun/Al Rosen/Hank Greenberg (Hebrew Hammer), Steven Gerrard (British Bulldog), Danny

Woodhead/Jason Williams (White Chocolate), Marcin Gortat (Polish Hammer), Joel Przybilla (Vanilla Gorilla/White Kong), and, last but not least, Jim Jeffries (The Great White Hope). The latter three nicknames, of course, betray stereotypical understandings of blackness, black athletic ability, and concerns about white physical inferiority.

Ultimately these nicknames are biased towards those doing the naming. A further example of this naming process is the nickname of Ndereba, 'Catherine the Great'. Clearly, Ndereba's nickname, evidenced in later quotes, plays on her first name and an enlightenment era Russian empress. Perhaps more importantly, the name draws upon notions of the noble savage stereotype. In this way Western/European media gives itself away as Western/European through its own practices. We see similar notions of regality in the representations of Mutombo, Olajuwon, and in the way Africans, women especially, are discussed. Attention is drawn to their posture and appearance as somehow king/queen-like in an expression of dignity and mystical aura. In some ways, the use of these nicknames in African newspapers reflects just how penetrating European norms are in former colonial countries.

In a slightly different vein, Tirunesh Dibaba's nickname, the 'Baby-faced Assassin', appears disruptive, but only feminizes a stereotypically masculine 'occupation' that is itself problematic in the realm of sport and distance running. Female assassins on television and in movies tend to be beautiful, young, and athletic, or hyper-feminine, which are qualities Dibaba's nickname draws upon and attempts to fix upon her. Only one athlete, who intersects with Ndereba, was nicknamed in another language, and that is Robert Kipkoech Cheruiyot, who goes by 'Mwafrika', which translates into being of or pertaining to Africa. It is clear that until the institutional norms of representing African and black peoples change, that the ways in which black African immigrant athletes are labeled and (nick)named will be problematic.

African Women, Patriarchy and Motherhood

The mundane representations of black African female athletes tend to focus on different aspects of their lives and engage in different types of Othering from that of men. Aside from the persistent referencing through national origin and the construction of the African continent as primal, issues of gender and patriarchy are consistent in their representations. There are also aspects of their representations which are consistent with how women in sport are often stereotyped, as the participation of women in sport remains a contested terrain. Women tend to be stereotyped as physically frail, emotional, and through their status as mothers, yet at times

black women are racially stereotyped as being naturally strong because of racist notions of either slave legacies and/or primal African ancestors (Vertinsky and Captain 1998). Hence, there are a number of discursive strategies in which (black) women in sport can be remarginalized and their achievements devalued.

Beginning with Loroche, I have elsewhere (Mwaniki 2012) detailed the practices of representing black African migrant female athletic ability in contradicting ways. In that work, I discuss two emergent themes surrounding the athletic ability of Loroche, the 'Amazing Athlete' and the 'Untethered Mote'. The Amazing Athlete subtheme emerged through media references to Loroche's gender and sex as they pertained to her performance in races. The term comes from the general feeling of awe, surprise, and praise at what Loroche was able to accomplish during her career. Amazing Athlete represents the profuse praise she receives, much of which is presented as gender-less, while the Untethered Mote subtheme represents the more hegemonic framings of her body, sex, and capabilities as a woman.

The Amazing Athlete theme, which presents Loroche as an elite athlete, is more prevalent during the middle to late parts of Loroche's career, presumably once she was established as an elite runner. Because this theme exists within a sea of more stereotypical representations, sometimes even within the same news article, the genuine nature of such descriptors must be questioned. The following quotes, while not always completely separate from gender, display Loroche's 'Amazing Athlete' abilities. 'Tegla Loroche of Kenya, the hardest working woman or man in road racing, is back to normal. . . She's racing at a rate that astounds other runners . . .'. (Patrick 2000); 'In the end, she did not win a medal, but she did further the legend of her unbreakable will' (Roberts 2000); 'The Kenyan, who won the Flora London Marathon last Sunday, is one of the world's most amazing athletes' (Woods 2000); 'She also won the world half marathon title seven days after having won a marathon. Mortals normally ease off for weeks' (Gillon 2000).

These examples elevate Loroche above common gender assumptions, and even beyond what is believed capable for mortal humans. The focus on her overwhelming abilities and determination construct Loroche as a strong and dominant athlete, and would seem to indicate a positive progression regarding media portrayals of female athletes. Generally, such discourse usually frames men as the only athletes capable of such amazing feats of physical prowess. The presence of such feelings surrounding Loroche can be seen as disruptive to the discourses

surrounding the hegemonic male sporting body, however, the Amazing Athlete theme does not exist by itself, as it is complicated by and exists alongside the Untethered Mote theme.

The Untethered Mote theme emerges through stereotypical media representations of Loroupe's ability as a female athlete and a woman. Throughout Loroupe's career, there are many references made to her physical stature. Attention is drawn to her small frame and skinny build, as she measures around five feet tall and eighty-five pounds. Examples include, 'The tiny Kenyan . . .' (*Reuters News* 1995); '. . . having the frame of a sprite has its disadvantages, and Loroupe has learned to run through all manner of impairments . . .' (Royte 1996); '. . . the fast pace may have taken its toll on her 4-foot-11-inch, 85-pound frame' (Thomas 1996); '. . . with feet so tiny that even children's running shoes are too big' (Mackay 1999); and '. . . she needs her running shoes less for foot support than to anchor her to the earth. Without them, she might simply go sailing through the air, a mote untethered by gravity' (Mott 2001).

While the above discourses seek to pin Loroupe onto stereotypical notions of female athletic ability of frailty and toughness, other discourses simultaneously raise questions about her sex and sexuality. During the late 1990s Loroupe publicly dismissed allegations that she was not a woman, claiming after one race, 'I am pleased to show I am all woman. Some people have been suggesting otherwise, things like I am half man and half woman because I have been running with men' (Lewis 2000). Where these allegations exactly came from was unclear in the data gathered for this project, however, Lewis (2000) reported, 'The Kenyan was speaking out after cruel gossips questioned her gender after her impressive times in races against men'. Later in her career she would be framed along heteronormative lines, drawing attention to shopping sprees, 'three-inch glittery pumps', and the problem of, "'A man', she said. "I can't seem to find one"' (Gettleman 2006). That Loroupe felt the need to respond to the aforementioned allegations is indicative of the treatment female athletes have historically received, seen more recently in controversy surrounding South African runner Caster Semenya and accusations of being inter-sexed.

As mentioned previously, the role of gender in athletics is a contested terrain. While there are examples discourses which focus solely on athletic ability, such discourses could be seen as improvement or as back-handed compliments. Again, Tirunesh Dibaba's nickname, the 'Baby-faced Assassin', serves as such a contradictory example. Dibaba may be a great athlete and an 'assassin' on the track, but it is only through her physical appearance and fit within Western

aesthetic norms that she is 'allowed' to be an assassin through being 'baby-faced'. I argue that otherwise, without the understanding of her appearance, or aesthetic appeal in Western terms, the 'occupation' of assassin would be awkwardly masculine. Hence, the continued prevalence of stereotypical discourse makes it difficult to truly accept Lorupe, or other black African women, as a gender transcendent athlete, assuming they would even want to be. Given the examples regarding questions of Lorupe's sex and sexuality, we can see there is often a quick reach to stereotypes and assumptions about the potential and capabilities of women.

Another prevalent aspect of black African female athletic representation is that of African patriarchy and salient Western post-feminism. In this aspect of representation it is the African culture that the women in this analysis had to overcome in order to achieve their goals. Again beginning with Lorupe, her fight with patriarchy and ethnocentrism within the Kenyan Amateur Athletic Association is common throughout her career,

. . . she surged over the final 10 miles to become the first Black African woman to win a major marathon. Her victory became an affirming symbol of achievement for Kenyan women, whose lives are often lived in subservience, and a silencing rebuke for the Kenyan men who had told her she was wasting her time. (Longman 1995b)

Right now, we have a lot of women running, more than before . . . For me, I had to fight the federation [KAAA]. Still now, I have to and I don't know why. But at least now there are chances for other women. (Roberts 2000)

Elsewhere, Kenyan society was portrayed in media reports, by Lorupe, as a country where, 'The traditional system is, you listen to your father until your husband buys you [in exchange] for cattle, then you listen to him' (Noden 1998). Accounts of Lorupe's early training with African men were often described as exploitative, with the male runners asking her to wash clothes, cook, and do their chores, while Lorupe often felt compelled to oblige them because of her upbringing (Minshull 1998; Mott 2001). Indeed, the issue of men assuming that the women they train with will clean for them is something that Lornah Kiplagat experienced and has been trying to address by establishing her own 'High Altitude Training Centre' (HATC) in Iten, Kenya. Kiplagat, a contemporary of Lorupe and Ndereba, explains in an interview for *PBS Frontline* (Bloom and Herrman 2004) that she tries to instill a sense of confidence and a different way of thinking about relationships between men and women among the women who attend her camp. Kiplagat, who labels herself a social pioneer for Kenya women in the interview, is well aware of

the economic and familial roles women play in rural Kenya and has designed her camp to make sure the burdens of cleaning and cooking do not fall by default to the women who should need to be focused on training. She goes even further by explaining that her camp makes no concessions on this point and any man who asks a woman to do domestic work for them while at the camp runs the risk of being asked to leave (Bloom and Herrman 2004).

I do not argue that these representations are somehow inaccurate or outside of Lorupe's, or Kiplagat's, and many others' experience, however, there are some things that we must keep in mind. The media coverage of these issues often serve to portray a backwards or 'traditional' image of African men and a subservient, victim, image of African women. To the Western media and audience, Lorupe and others represent Kenya, or Africa. While I cannot speak as to whether Lorupe felt that she was personally representing all of Kenya, we must wonder, when she speaks of traditional systems, whether she is talking about a traditional Kenyan system in general, or for the Kalenjin, or even more specifically for the Pokot. There is a level of detail and complexity missing that could help us understand which system Lorupe is actually talking about, but Western media does not ask the appropriate questions and Lorupe does not offer the information. Hence, it is worth noting that Lorupe, Ndereba, Dibaba, Kiplagat, and other women who have succeeded in sport very often have strong examples of family support, including that of their fathers. The dominant discourses of Kenya and, often by association, Africa as being culturally backward and static are left unchallenged, with any deviance from the 'single story' treated as an exception.

Somewhat similarly, Ndereba's relationship with her husband is a point of interest for the media, in particular because she is the 'breadwinner' of the family. In the examples below, the way that her marriage and the raising of their child, as well as her winnings, are discussed betrays Western media's bias towards African culture and their expectations of how relationships work in Kenya.⁴

It is different in the States, where the sporting public knows all about Catherine the Great, as the Chicago Tribune hailed her on Monday: the 5ft 2in East African who each summer leaves her husband and four-year-old daughter in Nairobi to set up base in Norristown, Pennsylvania and earn a lucrative living on the U.S. road running circuit. Ndereba has won \$ 322,625 in prize money this year, a figure that is likely to be trebled by appearance fees, endorsements and bonuses. 'If you don't have anything to sacrifice, you don't have anything to gain', the new world record holder said last week when asked about the lengthy separations from her family, which have attracted criticism in Kenya. 'This is my

career. There is no way you can tell one of your kids not to go ahead with his or her career'. (Turnbull 2001)

She is unique among African female runners in having a husband who is happy to stay at home and raise the couple's daughter while she travels the world earning a living. This unprecedented combination has turned Ndereba and her husband, Anthony Maina, into role models in Kenya, where their relationship is seen as a whole new way for men and women to regard each other . . . Maina's willingness to care for their four-year-old daughter Jane when Ndereba is abroad enables her to ignore criticism in Kenya that she should stay home and be a 'proper' wife. She never asked her husband for his permission to carry on with her running career . . . He never considered trying to stop her. 'I said it in my heart, I should not discourage her', he said. 'I should let her go until she feels it is enough'. When Ndereba became pregnant in 1997 he agreed to stay home with the baby while she travelled. Since giving birth, her career has blossomed. (Mackay 2003)

. . . but what is so unusual about these two African families is that their fathers let their wives take the primary role. Where in African society it is traditional for men to bring home the bacon while the women bring up the children, professional running has been the catalyst for role reversal. For two decades the tide of East Africans that swamped the professional road circuits in Europe and North America were men. The odd woman who succeeded disappeared after marriage or certainly on the birth of a first child. Now the women athletes are leaving their men at home to play happy families . . . Anthony said simply: 'It is best for all of us. Yes, of course, there were some comments at home, some criticism that she wasn't being a proper wife. That is natural in our society. But the world is changing. Why cannot a man be the person at home? I enjoy it'. (Wilson 2003)

When her daughter was a year old, Ndereba left her in Nairobi with her husband, Anthony Maina, and spent three months away on the U.S. road-racing circuit. In doing so, she departed from the accepted tradition of female subservience in East African society and attracted a great deal of criticism. With her drive, her talent, and her ambition, though, she succeeded both in breaking through the social barriers and in becoming a world-beating professional runner. (Turnbull 2007)

In these examples, Ndereba and her husband are held up as examples of a 'new' progressive relationship in Kenya. That female subservience is the 'accepted' norm makes African cultures and societies historically static and ignores the various ways women have resisted and continue to resist male dominance. The histories of African women supporting and helping each other, themselves and their children are discursively marginalized in the West by the relatively recent success of the black African female athlete. At the same time, there are faint concerns over how Ndereba still manages to be a mother and how her husband deals with her absence and her salary. Ultimately those concerns are calmed by defining Ndereba through motherhood and framing her as loving mother who desperately misses her child.⁵

It was time. In 1996 Catherine Ndereba was at the top of the running world, universally recognized as the top female road runner in the world. But it was time. Time to start a family. She had married. She was home in Kenya. Her maternal instincts called. 'I just wanted to be a mother', she said, matter-of-factly. So, in her prime, she stopped running. A full year passed. She gave birth to daughter Jane in May of 1997. Seven months later she was training again . . . while she admits it was difficult, missing the competition, she has no regrets she took the time off. 'I considered it part of my life', she said. 'I was there to start a family'. (Lowe 1999)

Ndereba cranks out 75- to 100-mile weeks at Valley Forge National Park, measuring her runs in minutes rather than miles as she often is accompanied by her husband, Anthony Maina. When she isn't training, she's in her one-bedroom apartment reading the Bible, listening to gospel music or knitting. She's finishing a sweater for her daughter, Jane, 4, currently with relatives in Nairobi'. It is difficult sometimes because I get homesickness', says Ndereba, whose daughter attended the Boston Marathon. 'I try to survive with it. If you don't have something to sacrifice, you have nothing to gain'. (Patrick 2001)

Besides being runners, Tulu and Ndereba are both mothers. Ndereba has a 5-year-old daughter named Jane and Tulu has a 4-year-old daughter named Tsion. Drossin, who is planning to be married Sept. 14, marveled at how the two managed both careers. As all three women were doing interviews, Tulu and Ndereba were also taking care of their playful children. 'Seeing all the kiddies running around makes me want to have children', Drossin joked. (Wade 2003)

As is evident, Ndereba is cast as a 'working mom' who knits for her daughter, works away from home, gets homesick, and yet keeps it all together. Other great distance runners who are mothers and wives, such as Paula Radcliffe and Derartu Tulu, who intersect with (appear in the representation of) Ndereba, are similarly represented. Such a focus on fatherhood, along with the travel and time away from the family, among the male athletes in this study is almost non-existent. While wives and children may get mentioned, there is not the same casual labeling of 'fatherhood' or 'husband'. Further, the gendered political dynamics of Ndereba's husband ranking above her in the Kenya Prisons system go unexplored. That Ndereba's husband remains hierarchically above her in certain social aspects remains normal and natural even in this 'untraditional' relationship. The true nature of their relationship is actually unknown to us given the partial nature of the information. A similar discursive strategy occurs in the Ndereba's intersection with Derartu Tulu. Tulu's husband and their relationship are given to us as examples of progress out of traditional gender and relationship norms in Ethiopia. Ultimately the notion that 'African tradition' precludes women being primary wage earners freezes African cultures in

time, ignores the evolution of those societies as it regards relationships, and erases the continued misogyny and patriarchy of Western societies.

The Othering of Eastern and Southern Europe

Western media discourses on Balotelli, his Ghanaian roots and his efforts to become an Italian citizen, indeed his desire to be seen as Italian, are also problematic in other ways. While Italian news agencies, such as ANSA, were represented in my samples of Balotelli, the bulk of my sample comes from news outlets in the U.K., U.S., and France, the French Press Agency (*Agence France Presse*), with a smattering of articles from the German Press Agency (*Deutsche Presse-Agentur*). Depending on how you define Western Europe this bias might not be a surprise, however, within such a bias there emerged a tangible prejudice against Eastern and Southern Europe.

Through Balotelli, and even more significantly in the discussions around fan racism in Italy and the 2012 European Championships held in Poland and Ukraine, Southern and Eastern Europe are constructed as culturally backwards, or even racist. Balotelli is drawn into all of these moments as he becomes a central figure in the debates around (fan) racism in soccer and Italian citizenship. Yet what is important here is that media in the West uses the debates around Balotelli in order to criticize Southern and Eastern European countries while self-congratulating for the anti-racist progress they have made. Simultaneously, the accused countries become defensive and try to reject what they see as being labeled 'racist', which only further demonstrates the simplicity with which race and racism are approached throughout Europe and European soccer. The examples below demonstrate these tendencies, and often deploy discourses on Balotelli I discussed earlier.⁶

City may discover soon enough if the 19-year-old has been a victim or a perpetrator during his short and controversial career at Internazionale and, more significantly, whether manager Roberto Mancini can tame him. The history is a complicated one and bound up in the question of the Italian nation's seeming inability to embrace a multi-ethnic identity. At a casual glance, all that needs to be said is that Balotelli has been subjected to offensive terrace songs, of which at least one was openly racist. A particular favourite with supporters of Juventus is, 'If you jump up and down, Balotelli dies', though the really revelatory one is: 'A negro cannot be Italian'. (Herbert 2010)

Football ace Mario Balotelli hopes his move to Manchester has shaken off the racists who wanted his white girlfriends dead . . . On one occasion vicious fans called for Greek beauty Betty Kourakou to suffer 'Spartan law' - and be tossed off a cliff for dating the

ace. Venezuelan babe Keyla Espinoza also came in for stick with some sick supporters saying the 'Latino' girl would regret dating a black man. Others, like Italian beauties Constanza Caracciolo and model Carla Velli, were subjected to hateful internet gossip . . . A friend said: 'The racism Mario suffered in Italy was horrendous, really, really horrendous. And his girlfriends always got picked on for dating a black man. The U.K. doesn't seem to have the same prejudices as some people do in Italy and Mario really hopes it will all end now'. (Corke 2010)

There are times, undoubtedly, when he needs to quit the fooling around and get in control of that flash temper. But the biggest problem, perhaps, is that so few people understand Balotelli because his circumstances are so unique. Abandoned by his biological parents at the age of two, raised by a foster family as the only black boy in a white neighbourhood, discrimination has provided the backdrop to his life, long before Croatia's fans targeted him for monkey noises and threw a banana on the pitch in this tournament. It is one of the reasons he likes playing in the Premier League, where he does not feel skin-colour matters. (Taylor 2012)

Mario Balotelli has found himself at the centre of a new race row, this time sparked by a deeply offensive cartoon depicting him as King Kong in a leading Italian newspaper. On the morning of Italy's European Championship encounter with England, *Gazzetta dello Sport* published a drawing of a giant Balotelli atop Big Ben swatting away footballs in the same way King Kong did aircrafts atop New York's Empire State Building in the film. The Balotelli camp was understood to be outraged by the cartoon and *Gazzetta* have issued an apology. 'It wasn't our cartoonist's best product. In these times we need a bit more moderation, caution and good taste. But we have always fought against racism and condemned booing against Balotelli as unacceptable', said the Milan-based newspaper. (Lawton 2012a)

In the examples above, we first have Balotelli being at least partially to blame for the way fans treat him. Balotelli in some way needs to be 'tamed' or alter his behavior in order to end racist abuse from fans. We are also informed as to the 'normal' nature of his life being filled with discrimination because of his 'unique' situation, before being told that the English Premier League has no such issues with racism or skin color and that the U.K. has no problems with black men dating white women. What we are left with are a number of suppositions that are problematic: Racism in general is due to a combination of the victim's behavior and circumstance; Croatia's and Italy's fans are hostile racists; Italian society is peculiarly unable to accept black people; English society and soccer culture is post-racial/racist. In this study, when racist occurrences do happen in English soccer, they are treated as rare events and the actions misguided individuals, not an indication of larger social problems. This tendency in regards to English soccer is explicitly talked about by Back, Crabbe, and Solomos (2001).

The last quote is another example of Western media being critical of Southern and Eastern Europe, this time an Italian sports newspaper for a racist cartoon of Balotelli which related him to King Kong. While the paper itself seems to give a disingenuous apology, it is the attention on the 2012 European Championships (hosted in Ukraine and Poland) and Balotelli on the Italian team that drives media to actively search for 'racism' or racist incidents that link to Balotelli. As I show in the quotes below, a number of events around this time are found and used to talk about racism in Southern and Eastern Europe. Such events are treated as evidence of Italian or Eastern European deviance from Western post-racial norms, rather than structural symptoms of global anti-black racism and white supremacy. Lest we forget, *Vogue* magazine in the U.S. was similarly criticized for a cover in which LeBron James and Gisele Bündchen posed in way reminiscent of King Kong (Hill 2008).⁷

Last week an Italian regional councilor sparked outrage after he posted on his Facebook page a picture of Balotelli working in fields as an immigrant worker. Paolo Ciani, 51, of the right wing Future and Liberty party, mocked up the photograph which showed Balotelli wearing his Italian shirt and bent over collecting cabbages in a field . . . Ciani wrote: 'He comes commits a foul worthy of a red card, scores then unleashes a verbal onslaught against the bench forcing them to shut him up. 'This clown should go and work in the fields'. In Italy it is not uncommon to see immigrants from Africa or South America working in fields collecting vegetables in searing heat. There have been numerous complaints over conditions they have to endure. Ciani's comments immediately provoked controversy with many accusing him of blatant racism. (Lawton 2012b)

BBC television's current affairs show *Panorama* highlighted possible racism in Ukraine and Poland this week in a program entitled *Euro 2012: Stadiums of Hate* . . . Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk said on Tuesday that fears of racism at the tournament had been exaggerated. 'Nobody who comes to Poland will be in any danger because of his race', he told a news conference in Rome. 'This is not our custom, as is not pointing out similar incidents in other countries, although we know they take place. In Poland, they're a rarity'. In Kiev, Ukraine's foreign ministry went further, saying the allegations were a 'dreamed up and mythical problem'. 'You can criticize Ukrainian society for a lot of things ... but, in the practice of racism, European Union member countries are a long way ahead of Ukraine', said ministry spokesman Oleh Voloshyn in comments reported by Interfax news agency. (Herman 2012)

The media scrutiny of and around Balotelli certainly provides us insight into the operation of racism in Italy and other European countries. The examples above demonstrate some of the racism in Italian politics, a topic I will return to in later chapters, and the defensiveness of other politicians in deflecting charges that their country is 'racist'. The examples

below include some of the words of Balotelli on this topic. The latter quote in specific represents a noticeable shift in Balotelli's career where he seems to become more 'race conscious' and begins engaging with anti-racism efforts in a limited way. With our focus still on the othering of Eastern and Southern Europe, it is telling how the West continues to evade confrontation with its own racism.

The racist chanting that Balotelli, the Palermo-born son of Ghanaian immigrants, was subjected to in Italy contributed to his decision to move to England. Yet with Romania one of the eastern European nations still plagued by racist abuse of black footballers, Balotelli insists he is not concerned by the prospect of making his debut in the country tomorrow. He said: 'I just want to play. I'm not thinking about what might happen. 'It [racism] is something that has really bothered me but I've learned how to deal with it, by pretending that it doesn't hurt. *As far as I know there is no racism in English football.* There were two or three incidents in Italy. I hope I don't have them again'. (Ogden 2010, emphasis mine)

This follows news that families of Arsenal wingers Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain and Theo Walcott have decided not to go to Eastern Europe as they fear for their safety. However, the Italian striker feels racism is unacceptable in today's world. 'I will not accept racism at all. It's unacceptable. If someone throws a banana at me in the street, I will go to jail, because I will kill them', said Balotelli, according to ESPN. Balotelli's comments come after former Arsenal defender Sol Campbell warned everyone, especially England supporters of African and Asian descent, that travelling to Ukraine and Poland could be very dangerous . . . Former Chelsea player Andriy Shevchenko also spoke up, saying the fans had nothing to fear in Ukraine. 'We don't have a real problem here about racism. The country is very quiet and people are very friendly'. (*International Business Times News* 2012a)

In this section I wanted to bring attention to some of the ways Western media actively Others Southern and Eastern European countries when it comes to handling race and racism. Of course, there is no mention about the entrenched institutionalized racism that still runs rampant in soccer and Western sport generally. The lack of people of color in management and coaching positions rarely arises. Nor is there engagement with the concept of citizenship and its meanings in the West. Hence Italy's citizenship based on jus sanguinis (right of blood) is simplistically read as unfair and, because most new immigrants are either African or Roma, racist. There is only silence on the similar contemporary issues and histories of immigration and citizenship in the West. What is important to Western media is that the U.K., and to some degree France and Germany, has greatly curtailed the existence of the soccer hooligan at stadiums.

Further, as Back, Crabbe, and Solomos (2001) explain, the hooligan figure in English soccer embodies racism and becomes the target for removal in order to 'kick out' racism. The lack of nuance in the approach to racism means that other, institutionalized, forms of racism remain invisible. However, I feel it is also important to emphasize that the weight of racism falls on black athletes. Whenever racism occurs at a game the media interview black players about their response and feelings, not white players who are their supposed teammates. Putting a black face on racism absolves white players from any shared burden or responsibility to keep fans in order or advocate for more black coaches and managers. As Lilian Thuram, former French national player, explains, racism in the stands and other areas of the sport would change very quickly if white players refused to play in solidarity with their black teammates (*BBC* 2013; Jacobs and Ross 2013).

CONCLUSION

The representation of Africa and the peoples of Africa indeed have long and well documented histories. My focus in this chapter was to explain some of the more mundane and everyday ways in which black African athletes are Othered by Western media. Briefly, I can summarize my findings in the list below:

- The African athlete is kept foreign through casually labeling them as African. This finding generally holds true even if the athletes naturalizes to a Western country or is second-generation and chooses to represent an African country internationally.
- The African athlete serves as a conduit for the perpetuation of African stereotypes. Through the African athlete we will see discourses of African poverty, disease, death, corruption, and underdevelopment.
- The nicknames of African athletes are Western-centric. That is, Western media gives nicknames that make sense to the West. Often these nicknames involve shortening the athlete's name, drawing upon country of origin, and linking them with animals, violence, and/or aesthetic norms.
- African women are casually referenced by their escape from African patriarchy. Their individual success is highlighted while their support system, often including men, is marginalized or made to seem highly exceptional.
- African women athletes and women athletes in general are framed through their motherhood and ability to have a family while participating in elite athletics.
- Eastern and Southern European countries are saliently labeled as racist by Western media. This process allows the West to portray itself as post-racial while questioning why other countries have not yet ended racism.
- The face of racism in Western media is a black one. Black athletes are burdened by having to explain their thoughts and feelings on the racism directed at them while

white athletes and management bear little to no responsibility for helping end such actions.

The stereotypes I discuss here are not recent developments, but what has indeed changed is the level of exposure, through sport, Western societies have with peoples from African countries. In our neoliberal age, the opening up of the global South to exploitation by sport leagues in the global North has led to the formation of various types of migration and talent pipelines. This new and changing level of exposure creates new and complex forms of representation, a complexity I have begun to tease out in this chapter and later discuss as to its importance to the construction of globalized blackness.

The knack of sport to reify nationalist rhetoric and national boundaries in general is problematic for both whites and blacks if we are to get past issues of nationalism and ethnocentrism and focus on global citizenship, anti-racist humanism, and greater freedom and rights for labor (instead of just capital). This nationalist tendency is, of course, not only a problem for Western media, as African newspapers in this study tended to reinforce national boundaries and promote a kind of African supremacy. By this I mean the superiority, not just equality, of black Africans and black African styles of play in sport as compared to whites. I will discuss this more later, but this tendency is in large part to the interpretation of European criticism of African players and contests, such as the Cup of Nations, as a continued form of Western racism. While the interpretation is understandable, the promotion of black African superiority, the lack of recognition with blacks in the U.S. and Europe (as well as poor whites), is unfortunate because it creates an essentialized, or authentic, 'African' identity and styles of play. It is specifically this kind of boundary making of which I am critical because it fails to include much of the African diaspora and plethora of identities and experiences that exist both within and outside of the African continent. Again, inclusion and hybridity, not white racism and exclusion in reverse, is my philosophical end-point.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MODEL MINORITIES: ORIGIN STORIES, HARD WORKERS, AND HUMANITARIANS

They bomb my village, they call us killers
Took me off they welfare, can't afford they health care
My teacher won't teach me, my master beats me
And it hurts me soul
-Lupe Fiasco

In the previous chapter I discussed the mundane processes of boundary making and maintenance and how they link to more explicit, often stereotypical, forms of Othering. In this chapter I go further in examining specific discourses which elevate either the personality of the individual or the personal history of struggle black African migrant athletes have experienced. Many of these discourses seem to include or accept the black African migrant into (white) Western society, or the nation, and establish these athletes as exceptional individuals, model minorities. They also serve to fix the black African migrant to an immediately knowable 'Africa', while also teaching 'us' about that very same 'Africa' (Said 1978a). I use the term 'origin story' here purposively, as in popular culture it is often used to explain the mythic beginnings of heroes and villains. For my work, an athlete's origin story begins with the athlete's emergence, establishes a foundation (how we know the athlete), and is further developed through the athlete's continued success in sport. These media created origin stories and the later human interest and humanitarian pieces that accompany them, accomplish a great deal through their explicit discourses and silences.

I designed this chapter to address three interrelated themes which construct the black African migrant as an exception, or a model minority, to other forms of blackness. In the first theme, 'Origin Stories', I discuss the positioning of the black migrant athlete against their African 'origins' or backgrounds. Second, in 'Hard Workers and Friendly Faces' I draw attention to the self-presentation and representation of the black migrant athlete as hard working and extremely friendly individual. Finally, in the 'Humanitarian' theme I discuss the humanitarian narratives surrounding the athletes in my study. I find that such discourses often draw upon the same common sense understandings and rhetoric found in the origin stories, that of African

underdevelopment and hardship. What I argue in this chapter is that there are consistent processes making model minorities out of black African migrant athletes, the simultaneous remarginalization of native black communities, a reinscription of African underdevelopment, the valorization of hegemonic neoliberal notions of development and aid, and, at times, the use of African athletes as a background for white humanitarian action.

ORIGIN STORIES

As mentioned above, I use the concept of the origin story in order to evoke the mythic emergence of fictional characters in popular culture. The origin stories discussed here represent efforts by the media to make intelligible the backgrounds of black African immigrant athletes. Because they are created by and for Western audiences, they tend to be simplistic and rely on common sense understandings of African societies and politics. In reading through the careers of these athletes, I also find that their origin stories tend to be contradictory, inconsistent, and subject to revision over time. Often these stories are first pieced together by what the recently migrated athlete tells a reporter and the opinion of the people around the athlete, such as coaches and teammates. This initial impression is often what 'sticks' and gets repeated in different media outlets. It is usually quite some time before Western media seeks to clarify the origin story or even go to the athlete's home to ask questions. When the latter occurs, there are the predictable problems that emerge when the West covers Africa. As I move through the chapter many of these processes and tendencies will become clearer. Thus, to begin with, examples of these origin stories can be seen in the following series of excerpts, the first concerns Lroupe and her upbringing in Kenya.

One of seven children, Lroupe began running the way many Kenyans begin running, to and from school, barefoot, with a book bag strapped to her back. She grew up on a farm outside of Kapenguria on the Ugandan border. It was six miles each way to school, she said, and 'if you were late you were punished'. Her parents raised cattle and grew corn and potatoes, she said, and sometimes she chased the herd as far as 12 miles. 'I didn't know I was training', Lroupe said. (Longman 1995a)

In my study, the discourses surrounding the childhoods of Lroupe and Ndereba, and to varying degrees the other athletes in this study, draws on notions of backwardness and naiveté. For Lroupe and Ndereba (who has a similar origin story to Lroupe) specifically, this discourse temporally retards African societies. That 'we' in the West do not walk to school or that 'they' have not yet gotten cars in order to drive, positions readers as observers looking at societies that

are locked in the past. In other words, African societies are kept static in part through the representations of its athletes who migrate to the West. This retardation also provides a convenient explanation for the athletic success of these athletes, as a kind of cultural and environmental essentialism. Kenya and Ethiopia (in Dibaba's case) become places that simplistically, easily, produce elite athletes because of a convergence of culture and environment. Simultaneously, this discourse also explains the downfall of the white male distance runner, in that with greater technologies and busier lives (mind) comes a greater separation from nature and the capability for physical pursuits (body). Black African athletes, separated from technology, are thus reified as natural, achieving without effort or disciplined sophistication.

Common in the representation of Mutombo has been his rise from an inexperienced and 'ungainly' prospect speaking 'African dialects', while Olajuwon carries a similar origin story with a focus on education and raw athletic potential. Again we see the salient devaluation of their 'Africanness' in different ways. The first two quotes are from Mutombo's dataset, while the third is from Olajuwon's.

What's most remarkable is that Mutombo, 25 [age], has been playing basketball for just seven years. He grew up in Kinshasa, Zaire, and his first day of hoops turned into whoops. Mutombo fell during a routine drill and . . . suffered a gash in his chin . . . When he enrolled at Georgetown, Mutombo was a language wizard, fluent in French, Spanish, Portuguese and five African dialects. But initially there was a communication breakdown - he couldn't speak English . . . As a player, Mutombo was ungainly, a possessor of crude skills who rapidly refined them. He averaged just 9.9 points and 8.6 rebounds in his three-year Hoya career, but there were dominating moments that told of the possibilities. (Moore 1991)

Dikembe Mutombo can speak four African languages, English, French and Portuguese, and is picking up Spanish. After Wednesday night's NBA draft, he can learn another one - the language of money . . . Despite the riches to come, Mutombo doesn't expect to convert to a flashy lifestyle. 'I'm not going to buy 10 or 11 cars and wear gold; I just wasn't raised that way', said Mutombo, who moved to the United States from Africa five years ago. 'I've been reading the books they use to teach at Harvard Business School. I plan to put most of my money in the bank'. (Barnard 1991)

Then as now, an American college education appealed more to Akeem Olajuwon and to his parents than the idea of him playing basketball . . . "People in Nigeria dream of going to America to go to school,' he said. "I am lucky to have the opportunity. My parents don't know nothing about basketball. On the telephone, I talk to them only of education'. For three years, Akeem Olajuwon attended Moslem Teachers College in Lagos, the

equivalent of a United States high school. For two of those years he played for the Nigerian national basketball team, as he will again in next year's Olympics at Los Angeles. But when he arrived at Houston, he knew nothing about American basketball. "He didn't know how to post up," Guy Lewis recalls. "He had no power move to the basket, he had no turnaround shot. He could jump, but he didn't know when to jump or where to jump." (Anderson 1983)

For Mutombo, the devaluation of African languages is prominent. Only twice in Mutombo's dataset were the names of the languages he speaks mentioned, but even then the list is sometimes incomplete. Mutombo reportedly speaks Swahili, Lingala, Luba-Kasai, and Kikongo. Each of these languages is spoken by millions of people. In particular, Swahili, spoken by 140 million people, is the official language of four countries (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Democratic Republic of Congo), the African Union, and is taught in more than fifty universities in the U.S. That these languages are often hierarchically devalued to 'dialects' and 'tribal tongues' betrays the ethnocentrism of Western, English speaking, societies, but also the failure of Western media to ask a simple question in order to gather a little more information from Mutombo and his background. Also unquestioned is why he knows any European languages at all, a relic of colonialism and the establishment of European educational systems in African countries. As Said (1978b) notes, part of the discursive power of an institutionalized knowledge form like Orientalism is the ability to make authoritative and evaluative distinctions between different forms of language. In the quotes above we can also discern tropes of noble savagery, innocence and naiveté, and some of the casual Othering of foreign from native blacks that I will discuss in the next section.

In the case of Balotelli, as a second generation immigrant, his origin story is different in that it revolves around his adoption by a white family (against the backdrop of his black family abandoning him, see notes for a counter-example), his citizenship status, and race relations in Italy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, discourses of Balotelli's adoption not only keep him foreign, African/Ghanaian, in some ways, but also tend to label Italian (Southern and Eastern Europe) society as deviant from the West on the issue of race and racism.¹

The 17-year-old striker - who was born to Ghanaian parents - will celebrate his 18th birthday on August 12 and with it receive his first Italian passport that should signal the start of his international career. 'I've been waiting for years for this August 12 and becoming an Italian citizen because I am Italian', he told the paper. Despite being born in Sicily and adopted and brought up by Italian parents, the fact his blood parents were

Ghanaian has meant he has had to wait till turning 18 before he could become a full Italian national. Balotelli has long been seen as a future international and has turned down numerous requests by the Ghanaian FA to represent his birth-parents country, including the 2008 African Nations Cup in Ghana . . . 'Italy is where I was born, where I studied and where I play football', he said. 'My language is Italian and my family is Italian. It is only because of some absurd law that I have had to live for 18 years as a foreigner in my own country'. (*Agence France Presse* 2008)

Balotelli was born - and immediately abandoned by his Ghanaian parents - in the Sicilian capital, Palermo. He is an Italian passport holder and was brought up by adopted parents in Brescia from the age of two. He speaks with the accent of his region, but has received far more racist abuse than other black stars in Italian football because his Italian identity is seen by some as a provocation. 'The difference [from other black players] is Balotelli is totally black and totally Italian, and that has provoked a short circuit among fans', said Sandro Modeo, a correspondent for *Corriere della Sera*. As Italy's immigrant total reaches 7%, the treatment of many of the 'Balotelli generation' - the half-million children of immigrants born in Italy who qualify by law for Italian citizenship on their 18th birthday - is becoming an increasingly controversial issue in a country which still, overwhelmingly, considers itself white. (Kington 2009)

Balotelli's case is certainly interesting, mostly because early in his career he shuns his Ghanaian parents, declines requests to play for the Ghana national team, and seemingly spurns any notion of him being 'African' all together. His disruption of expectations through the rejection of national identity based on race and heritage has made (partially) visible throughout the West an entire generation now named after Balotelli. Still, the 'problem' is placed and kept in Italy, and any self-reflection by the West stops there. As mentioned in previous chapters, the second generation throughout the West confronts the everyday racism and discrimination of native black populations which, at least in part, gives rise to our current notions of diaspora (Gates 2010; Gilroy 1993, 2000; Waters 1999). Though we cannot escape the particular of the local, the consistent placing of the problems of race and racism elsewhere in Europe by Western media only reinforces the hegemonic narrative.

In the representations of both Tamba Hali and Christian Okoye we see examples of origin stories centered on violence and the civil wars in Liberia and Nigeria. The excerpts below, three for Okoye and three for Hali, demonstrate the fetishized nature of war and warfare in Western media. In the representation of Christian Okoye, those few articles which did seek to illuminate Okoye's life in Nigeria portrayed it as, 'vaulted straight out of post-civil war Nigeria' (Kreidler 1991) and that ultimately Okoye (then a discus thrower at Azusa-Pacific), '. . . was excluded

from the Nigerian Olympic track team in retribution for his tribe's participation in an attempted secession' (Kreidler 1991).²

[Okoye] He was 6 and living in a small village named Nri when insurgents from his native Ibo tribe seceded from Nigeria and formed the republic of Biafra. It started a 1967-1970 civil war that killed 500,000 to 2 million people, most of whom died of starvation . . . 'People carried machine guns in the streets', Okoye said. 'We hid in people's basements. I can remember the sound of guns and the explosions. We had to stay on the move all the time, to stay ahead of the fighting. When the shooting got too close, we'd move on to the next village' (Gustkey 1990).

[Hali] If anyone ever deserved to live in a place called Happy Valley, it's Penn State defensive end Tamba Hali. Born in Suacoco, Liberia, he was six years old at the outbreak of the 14-year civil war that ripped his country apart. He was eight the first time he fled gunfire, nine when his family abandoned its home in the village of Gbarnga to live in the wilderness, subsisting on cassava root and cabbage while hiding from brutal bands of soldiers who roamed the countryside. (Beech 2005)

[Hali] It is something of a miracle that Hali escaped Africa. He remembers his family being fired upon while riding in a truck when he was a youngster. 'I stood up in the truck and yelled, 'Don't shoot!', but my mother and my brother pulled me back down', he recalled. 'They probably saved my life'. Hali still has terrifying visions from his youth . . . 'Soldiers would come to the villages to destroy them. I would see planes coming in from overhead like birds and shooting at us', the 6-foot-4, 245-pounder remembers. 'It was very hectic. My stepfather, he's a pastor, hid us and he got my mom to the Ivory Coast'. (Fox 2001)

[Hali] Liberia's civil war ended in 2003, and a presidential election was scheduled for Nov. 8. Still, Hali fears for his mother's safety and wants to bring her to the U.S. as soon as possible. One year after he moved to Teaneck, Rachel found Joshua dead at the bottom of a well; last year she was hit by a stray bullet below the left knee. 'It's only by the grace of God that we're still alive', Rachel said last Thursday. 'Things are getting better here, but I'm still scared'. (Beech 2005)

The backgrounds of Christian Okoye and Tamba Hali differ from the other athletes in this study because theirs are linked directly to experiences of war. The repetitive narrative of Africa as a troubled and war-plagued continent reinforces well established and historical stereotypes which often lack context or understanding, despite their graphic detail. The intense media focus on Hali's experiences in war, as with Loroupe and patriarchy, Drogba and Ivory Coast, and Mutombo and the Democratic Republic of Congo, positions him as a mimetic object, as a representative for the whole of Liberia. Hence, Hali becomes *the* source to learn about war in Liberia, particularly as it concerns his childhood and immigration to the United States. Because

of Hali's mimetic status, we only receive answers from his perspective, and because he is a mimetic object, the questions are posed to him and not vice versa. Thus, there is a failure to probe into the causes of Liberia's problems and how or what Hali feels about such causes. Any insights Hali may have regarding the causes of or historical forces regarding the conflict in his country were left unrevealed. As startling as Hali's experiences are, they represent only a piece of a much larger picture in the context of Liberian history (the role of the U.S., slavery, religion, and colonialism) that is passively hidden from us. African wars are thus current, but the result of longstanding ethnic conflicts from time immemorial, and not the effect of historical or contemporary colonial practices.

It is also worth mentioning the ways in which the idea of war intersects with sport in this context. As Trujillo (1995) notes, football in America is often referred to in militaristic terms, with many parts of the game, including the players, being referred to as missiles, bombs, battlefields, tanks, soldiers, etc. This terminology all occurs within the rigid bureaucratic structure of football, at nearly every level but especially college and professional, that subjects players to brutal disciplinary training regimes (Montez de Oca 2013). Yet the lines between this war 'play' and actual war are often blurred, primarily in American football with jingoistic national displays of military might, national anthems, and the parading of active and veteran military service men and women. Hence, while those of us in the West celebrate our war making power, there is a dual context of (1) the near non-existence of athletes having military experience, reflecting changing military enrollment dynamics since the twentieth century, and (2) those who have experienced war in their home countries and could possibly have been its innocent victims, akin to the hundreds of thousands innocent lives lost in the recent Iraq and Afghanistan wars. Instead of learning from those who have experienced war, which would require critical self-reflection, Western media and professional sport instead push militaristic nationalism and jingoism.

Lastly, despite the overwhelming presence of the aforementioned discourses, counter-examples did exist within my samples, even though they were exceedingly rare. Taking Hakeem Olajuwon as an example, the quotations below represent the totality of articles which countered the oft assumed, or implicit, ignorance and poverty of a black man from Africa/Nigeria, as well as African cities (Lagos in this instance) themselves. Yet, out of the over ten thousand articles on

Olajuwon in my sample, only these three examples illustrate a version of Africa(ns) that goes against the norm.

Akeem Olajuwon—"The Dream", they call him—is a middle-class young man with skills so pure, so spontaneous he is frightening. Olajuwon did not walk barefooted around the continent and wear a leopard skin. He is from Lagos, principal city in Nigeria. His only material problems were his size. At 6-feet-11, he was so tall by Nigerian standards that it was difficult to find the proper clothes or shoes . . . His greatest trials as a boy were being accepted by friends his age but half his size. Six or seven at a time, they would taunt him. 'They call me dongo. It means freak. I would go away and sit under a tree on a hill and cry. I ask, why am I such a freak? Why can't I be like everyone else?' . . . He learned that because he is a black foreigner, he was assumed to be ignorant. 'People don't think I can count. They say, this is a quarter, 25 cents. It is four in a dollar. They don't think I can look on the coin and see for myself it is 25 cents'. (Denberg 1986)

He may be new to many American ways, but Olajuwon hardly came from the backwoods of Africa. He grew up in the cosmopolitan city of Lagos, Nigeria, one of six children in a middle-class family. His parents are cement dealers. One older brother studied at Oxford. His sister studied at American University in Cairo. Akeem speaks English, French and two Nigerian dialects. 'Akeem told me he was wearing \$500 suits in high school', Petersen said. (Barreiro 1986)

'That is Hollywood's Africa. It is not Hakeem's. He grew up in the city of Lagos, a crowded metropolis with skyscrapers and movie theaters and traffic jams and poverty . . . He does not own a spear' (MacMullen 1994).

Thus, there is a counter-discourse which seeks to dispel some of the stereotypes surrounding Olajuwon as an African. However, even these statements are imperfect and contradictory. If Olajuwon does not own a spear, walk barefoot, or wear leopard skin, apparently someone (most people?) in Africa/Nigeria/Lagos does. Also, being nearly seven feet tall is likely to pose issues of clothing and footwear even in the West. Olajuwon here is constructed more as an exception (and certainly in some ways he is), rather than the norm, as the focus is on him and his family. If the articles were to more fully explore Nigerian culture and society, even if just focusing on urban life, and the mere existence of a middle class, they may carry more progressive potential than singling out Olajuwon.

HARD WORKERS AND FRIENDLY FACES

Immigrants, particularly black immigrants, generally come to their host countries with economic goals to work towards and the desire to fit into society. While historically black immigrants have done better economically than native blacks, over time black African

immigrants to the United States have seen their wages fall below those of African Americans (Dodoo 1997). One of the explanations for this phenomenon is that black immigrants, without knowledge of the Western labor system, are employed for less and willing to work longer hours than African Americans. Black immigrants are lauded, by whites (Western societies), for their hard work ethic while they are actually being exploited through their lack of labor experience in the West (Logan 2007). Particularly as there is now greater immigration by Africans for domestic work, and despite racist fears of continued black/Muslim immigration, Western economies are increasingly reliant on workers with questionable legal status that are easily exploitable (de Haas 2008).

My focus in this section is on the representations of the work ethic of black African immigrant athletes and that of their 'front' or 'front stage', to use Goffman's (1959) terminology, when being questioned by the media. For my purposes here, front refers to the attitude and manner of the athletes while they are in public. As Goffman (1959) finds, individuals will attempt to portray a positive or favorable image of their selves, a tendency which is no doubt stronger when individuals face uncertain or novel social settings, such as adapting to a new country and culture. Hence we should not be surprised to find among migrant African athletes a very friendly, at least initially, disposition which is then picked up on by the media. These friendly face representations do not really tell us anything about the athlete in question besides the fact that they are trying to manage their impression. Additionally, Goffman (1959) notes, performances of the self are not solo acts. Western media is thus implicated in this process by encouraging certain behaviors and denouncing others in an attempt to frame the individual as a certain kind of athlete or celebrity. The media attempts to construct athletes in such a way as to make them easily accessible and knowable, a process that necessitates the reduction of individual complexity into what are essentially stereotypes. We must also remain cognizant of the fact that these athletes perform in a context dominated by native black athletes and are thus inherently compared to that population and the native black population in general.

The most provocative examples of this subtheme of hard workers and friendly faces can be found in the representations of Tamba Hali, Hakeem Olajuwon, and Dikembe Mutombo. Beginning with Hali, who receives a good deal of praise for his work effort on field, we begin to see Western media almost cheering for these athletes to succeed based on their highly favorable representations.³

'It's a way to pay him less. Anyone who watches Tamba Hali on videotape should know it doesn't matter if he runs a 4.5 or a 4.9', he said. 'Tamba has the 'it' factor'. It's the 'it' that's turned him into an NFL prospect after just eight years playing the game. It's the 'it' that'll have Hali graduating in May, after just four years and a major switch from information systems technology to a kinesiology and journalism double. (Kinkhabwala 2006)

Of course, Hali's never been interested in being just a little good. Teaneck defensive coordinator Ed Klimek, who first pulled the 6-foot-3 beanpole onto a gridiron, said there wasn't one practice in four high school years when Hali wasn't the first to show up. Corrado says today, on this Penn State team, Hali's work ethic is unsurpassed. (Kinkhabwala 2003)

Mutombo's representation repeatedly portrays him as a sympathetic figure, extremely likeable and endearing.⁴

He's as endearing as he is awe-inspiring, more likely to react with a pained look to a low-post elbow planted in his chest than with any sort of retaliation . . . The accent and the voice -- which rumbles at an octave that seems as low as any human possibly can produce -- are just part of the wealth of idiosyncracies that lead Thompson to call Mutombo his 'filling station', . . . 'He has come out of a different way of living, a different system of life', Thompson said. 'It's easier to communicate and to deal with him without him being fragile. He has a refreshing freshness about him . . . because he has not been Americanized since he was in elementary school, with somebody recruiting him or somebody trying to convince him that he's the best thing that's happened to the game since the tennis shoe was invented'. (Maske 1991)

'He's a wonderful person', Douglas said. 'He came in here a few weeks after he signed, and he introduced himself to the people in the office. He told the ticket sellers to work hard so he could play before big crowds. They had fun with him and he with them. It was very special'. A scholar with a double-major degree from Georgetown, a philanthropist who is a spokesman for CARE and whose passion is to raise funds to build a hospital in his native city of Kinshasa in Zaire, Mutombo rails against teen-age cigarette smokers and talks national politics. (Denberg 1996)

They wanted, that big, disarming laugh and that smile to relieve tension that could have ripped the team apart. 'One of the things I'm happiest with is the transformation that has happened inside our locker room', Mutombo told the Chronicle's Jonathan Feigen a few weeks ago. 'The joy, the peace, the smiling on the guys' faces are very rewarding to see. That is what made me happy, like I accomplished something'. He's funny, smart, gracious and absolutely committed to leaving the world a better place than he found it. In the end, that part of his legacy, more than the basketball, will be what made Mutombo so special. All the basketball did was give him millions of dollars and a large stage. (Justice 2009)

Similarly, we are informed that, 'Olajuwon is a delightfully innocent 20-year-old' (Denlinger 1983), and that,⁵

There is a precious innocence surrounding Akeem Abdul Olajuwon . . . On the floor, he is a picture of raw talent in bloom . . . he epitomizes a simple, sincere love for the game that other players only speak of having. That love, combined with the hard work at mastering a game he has played for only four years, has made the 20-year-old Olajuwon, who came to the United States from Africa, the spotlight of the Final Four this weekend in Albuquerque, N.M. . . . Speaking in a soft, low tone, he seemed almost shy as he stood towering above a group of reporters, trying to answer politely each question put to him. At times, he appeared to strain for the right answer, as if something had been lost in a translation. He speaks English well, having learned it many years ago in his hometown, Lagos, Nigeria, in a school that charged students a dime each time they spoke their native language in class. But sometimes, Olajuwon said, 'People go too fast for me'. (Johnson 1983)

Later Olajuwon would go through a period of representation as a problem athlete, a 'malcontent', as he was involved in numerous on-court fights, contract disputes, and off-court lawsuits.

However, he finished the latter part of his career being represented as a role model in the NBA against the backdrop of 'greedy' and 'selfish' (African American) players. The following excerpts are from that later time period.⁶

Pardon the gushing, but Hakeem Olajuwon stands for everything right with sports. He is a giant, towering above the muck and the mayhem of greed, ego and all the things we detest. Olajuwon has carried the Houston Rockets back to the NBA finals, and the timing is perfect. America needs him to remind us that there is virtue in these maddening games played by millionaires . . . Olajuwon's humility is charming. After he conquers his foe, Olajuwon is ready with a smile and a handshake. He deflects praise, redirecting it to teammates. Hakeem speaks English, French and four Nigerian dialects. But you won't hear him talking trash. That would violate his dignity . . . He became a U.S. citizen two years ago and has applied to compete for his adopted country in the 1996 Olympics. Hey, Team USA needs Hakeem. This noble Nigerian can remind the world that there's more to the NBA than self-absorbed Ugly Americans. This isn't a shining stretch for the NBA. There are too many young, unproven players cashing in for doing little, and that's created a selfish environment. Olajuwon's performance in the postseason has elevated the entire league. He's restored respect. He's back in the NBA finals. Scoot over, Michael Jordan. Hakeem is the man. (Miklasz 1995)

Never has it been more obvious why Hakeem Olajuwon is just beginning to receive the sort of attention he deserves. It's his attitude. Olajuwon has the wrong attitude for late 20th century America. Throughout an NBA playoffs dominated by his talent, grace and professionalism, Olajuwon has not once bothered to taunt the crowd, dye his hair or refer to himself in the third person. Is it any wonder his number is so rarely called when

advertisers want to make a commercial? Closer study of the Nigerian during the playoffs reveals the survival in Olajuwon of a quaint trait called dignity. This dignity reveals itself in many forms, most of them unfamiliar to any American sports fan under the age of 50. When approached by the media in recent days, Olajuwon explained his attitude this way: "Play hard, be humble." Play hard, be humble. Can somebody interpret that for America? Though he has lived in Houston for several years, Olajuwon obviously is still a foreigner to the ways of superstar behavior. American sports fans have been raised on bombast, after all. Conceited athletes have paraded before us for decades, primarily because egotists are drawn to the TV camera and vice versa. (Molinaro 1995)

I should note that many of these descriptors occur early in the career of these athletes and then dissipate or change over time. That for Olajuwon and Mutombo they have maintained consistency speaks to the length of their career, quality as players, and celebrity status. Tegla Loroupe was similarly received in the U.S. after winning the New York City Marathon in 1994 and 1995. Conversely, Didier Drogba and Balotelli were both represented early in their careers as friendly and likable in the U.K. media before later being represented in more negative ways. As I discussed in the literature review, black immigrants tend to have a more favorable reception in the West because they do not reflect the racial history of Western countries back at itself (Osirim 2008; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999). With the prestige that comes with being an athlete, it becomes understandable how black African migrant athletes, particularly those who succeed early in their careers, are seemingly welcomed with open arms. As some of my excerpts show, it is precisely the *foreign* Otherness, the lack of 'Americanization', which privileges the African athlete above other black athletes. This 'welcoming', however, is really a tendency to portray the foreign black other in a child-like, simple-minded, or innocent manner. These tendencies invoke a long history in the West of representing black men and women as children, with the adult alternative to frame them as physical or sexual threats to whiteness (Gordon 1995, 1997; Mills 1997, 1998; Pieterse 1992). For those who fail to continually validate this idealized media construction, such as Drogba and Balotelli, they are quickly subsumed into the more negative stereotypes of blackness that we often see of native blacks. Hence blackness remains marginalized, subhuman, and no black athlete transcends race. In the next chapter I will discuss in greater detail the contingent nature of foreign black acceptance and explore discourses which simultaneously link the black African immigrant athletes in my study with blackness as it regards criminality, ugliness, and the irrational.

HUMANITARIANS

A number of athletes in this study receive a great deal of attention for humanitarian activities in their home countries. As individuals who have left their respective African countries and found 'success' in the West, the humanitarian and charitable efforts of black African migrants are another way in which the individual is elevated and the problems of African countries are reinscribed. Despite similar charitable efforts performed in the West, usually in cities where they play and live, such activities and engagement by black athletes are often ignored. The growing problems of inequality and racism in the West go unnoticed in favor of a focus on the more remote problems of Africa, the individuals trying to solve the problems, and, at times, what 'we' can do to help. As Jonathon Glennie (2008) explains, aid, from both charitable efforts and from foreign governments, may hurt the development of democracy in African countries by making African political institutions less accountable to their constituents. With these representations being linked to the current culture of aid, we are enjoined to do nothing but lend our support to those trying to help in hopes that enough money will eventually be the solution. As I discuss the examples in this section, there are other trends which will gain prevalence and reveal themselves as well.

Most of the athletes I analyzed were involved in some kind of humanitarian or charitable activities. For example, Lorooupe organized and still runs the Tegla Lorooupe Peace Academy to help stem pastoral violence and help women and orphans in Kenya. Catherine Ndereba was involved in charitable races to help raise awareness of HIV/AIDS and corruption. Mario Balotelli gives his time and money to charitable causes for kids in Brazil, and Olajuwon was heavily involved in the Muslim communities in and around the Houston area.

However, it is in the representations of Didier Drogba and Dikembe Mutombo where we find significant attention placed on their humanitarian efforts in Ivory Coast and Democratic Republic of Congo, respectively. In their most crude form, we can say that Drogba 'stopped' civil war in Ivory Coast with a televised plea and, additionally, has created a foundation to build hospitals and schools. Comparably, Mutombo has spent his time and millions of his own dollars to make a hospital in the Congo, dedicated to his mother, a reality.

Didier Drogba. To begin with, descriptions of Drogba's charity efforts can be found below. It is important to focus not only on stereotypes of Africa and Ivory Coast, but also the positioning of Drogba by the media as a significant celebrity figure in Ivory Coast. Denison and

Markula (2005) explain that the process of posing questions to and writing about the African athlete is a self-serving exercise on behalf of a predominantly white Western media entity.⁷

Through all the turmoil, Drogba has returned his countrymen's loyalty by refusing to bail out . . . He has a home here and frequently returns, usually weighed down with cash. Every penny he earns in commercial endorsements, from sponsors such as Nike, Samsung and Pepsi, he donates to the Didier Drogba Foundation, a charity which provides medical services for a country where the average life expectancy is just 47. Drogba's latest goal is to build a clinic for child illnesses in Abidjan, the first of four, a project in which the foundation has so far invested £3 million. (White 2010)

Blessed are the peacemakers—which is why Didier Drogba enjoys the status of a saint in the Ivory Coast . . . After he inspired the Ivory Coast to qualify for the 2006 World Cup finals in Germany, television crews entered the dressing-room and Drogba seized the microphone. He said: 'Ivorians - in qualifying for the World Cup we've shown you the whole of the Ivory Coast can share the same goals. We promise the celebrations will bring everybody back together'. And then, after kneeling with his team-mates in supplication, Drogba announced: 'We beg you on our knees to lay down your arms and organise free elections'. And they did. The warlords agreed that the fighting had to stop. The years of killings and revenge attacks that had left thousands dead, wounded and mutilated came to an end . . . He is hailed as 'The King of Africa'. (Stammers 2007)

Many footballers have used their influence to great effect in recent years, whether by putting their name to an inner city project or sponsoring a charity, but none has ever stopped a country tearing itself apart. Truth be told, no other player could. Drogba is a god to the Ivorian people, not just because he is a famous footballer, but also because he is someone who speaks for the masses. He is in tune with the average Ivorian. 'Of course,' he said, 'because above all I am one of them'. (Hayes 2007)

'My status shields me from misery; I'm not blind to that. This responsibility raised up our national team into a symbol of reunification. But we're no politicians. All we can do is radiate positivism and give pacifist speeches'. This kind of reflection is beyond most of his peers, and even similarly influential athletes such as Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan. But then Drogba has the personal life to match. He is a UN Goodwill Ambassador and trained accountant . . . This is a footballer, after all, who castigated the European media for oversimplifying Ivory Coast's problems in their coverage. (Delaney 2009)

There is no exaggerating Drogba's fame in Ivory Coast. A few indicators: the popular one-litre bottle of Bock beer is big and strong, so is now known as a Drogba; a street in Abidjan has been renamed Rue Didier Drogba; an interview with Drogba in the local *Stades d'Afriques* newspaper led to a circulation increase of 87 per cent; and the most popular overseas club in Ivory Coast, which for years was Marseille, is now Chelsea - by a long way . . . Adam Khalil [says]: 'He is a key personality in the life of Ivorians, young Ivorians above all. He is a symbol of success in life, the first Ivorian pro footballer who

has been talked of like this. There is so much publicity around him and his performances that influences the life of young people. There are songs in which they sing his name. The way he dresses - the young copy it. The cut off T-shirts, the gelled hair. He is an example of social success. He came from nowhere and, with determination, succeeded'. (Oliver 2007)

Drogba's immense popularity in Ivory Coast does not appear to be a mirage or a solitary product of media filtering. He has a beer, a dance, a town named after him, and, we are told, he can call the President of Ivory Coast whenever he feels. Certainly, it is rare for any athlete to attain that kind of celebrity, even if more recently it may be in decline (Conn 2014). My primary concern is with the background upon which Drogba's celebrity is played out, or represented. That background consists of repeatedly reading that Ivory Coast has a life expectancy of forty-seven years, that he is in regular contact with the President of Ivory Coast, all while glossing over the fact that Drogba uses money from companies such as Nike, Samsung, and Pepsi to further his humanitarian efforts. Because we already know that the African state is often portrayed as undeveloped, diseased, and corrupt, the representations here of Drogba as close to God-like only feed in to what we already know, simplifying Ivorian politics and sport culture, and in some respects it seems reasonable. Perhaps the benevolent actor that is Drogba really can set things right by himself.

Of course, it is Drogba's success and wealth attainment in the West that allows him to become God-like in Ivory Coast. It is his status in the West that gives him a platform and drives this representation of him as a kind of savior for his homeland. Drogba and the West are linked in a way that celebrates the accomplishments of the black migrant in helping their homeland and celebrates the West for making that possible by simply 'being' the opposite of Africa. The status of the West as advanced, modern, civilized, and democratic is thus reinscribed via Drogba, and similar athletes, for those in the West as well as those in African countries, and other developing countries, who increasingly access sport through Western media (Kunzler and Poli 2012; Rowe 2011). As Kunzler and Poli (2012) argue further, Drogba's corporate sponsorship, along with that of other Ivory Coast players such as Kolo Touré and Aruna Dindane, often promotes neoliberal discourses of hard work and achievement within their Ivory Coast advertisements. These advertisements have been criticized by organizations that help unsuccessful migrant soccer players for relying solely and simplistically on the careers of those few who find success. The situation is further compounded by local Ivorian media that focuses overwhelmingly on

players like Drogba to the detriment of local leagues. The aura of ease, of soccer as a 'way out', that is created around these players and the sport itself is in complete contradiction to the circumstances of Drogba who was primarily raised in France, never played in a local Ivorian league, and, apparently, does not speak the Ivorian languages (Bété specifically) very well (Kunzler and Poli 2012). Again, this is not to discount Drogba's popularity or argue that he is somehow not 'Ivorian', merely to state that there are other, additional and problematic, forces involved which, in both Western and local African media, preserve the hegemony of Western neoliberal democracy.

Relatedly, we can turn and examine Drogba's participation with musician and activist Bono's RED campaign to fight HIV/AIDS. The campaign, which markets items colored red and then makes donations, for example, to The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria has received a lot of attention, popularity, and criticism over the years. The link between commerce and charity, development through consumerism, is uncritically embraced by media outlets in Drogba's representation. Nothing is said about the continued pressure put upon developing nations to adhere to neoliberal Western norms, the history of structural adjustment programs, and it is worth considering whether athletes caught in this system are unknowingly pawns or using their fame and wealth in the best possible way under constrained circumstances. As it regards the representation of Drogba, the intersection with Bono receives a great deal of media attention, at times even more so than the efforts of Drogba by himself.⁸

IN their single, U2 encouraged their fans to 'Get On Your Boots'. Yesterday, singer Bono helped Chelsea striker Didier Drogba to do just that as the pair teamed up to launch an initiative to fight HIV and AIDS. On the eve of World AIDS Day, sports manufacturer Nike announced a partnership with Bono's 'Red' brand and the global fund to fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, which is designed to coincide with the 2010 World Cup. Drogba said: 'It was important to be involved in the 'Red' campaign because I'm from Africa'. (*Irish Independent* 2009)

U2 frontman Bono has teamed up with Chelsea striker Didier Drogba to launch a new initiative to fight HIV and AIDS. To celebrate World AIDS Day on Tuesday, sports giant Nike has announced plans to team up with the (Red) brand and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Nike will sell special red laces with the proceeds being split between the Global Fund and other football-based community projects aimed at educating people about AIDS. Drogba and other Premier League stars including Joe Cole and Andrei Arshavin have promised to wear the laces in their boots. Bono was thrilled to have the players involved: 'To have these athletes at the peak of their physical fitness

thinking about people who are vulnerable and weak, is a very poetic thought for me, it's very moving'. (ITN 2009)

Similarly, the humanitarian efforts in Ivory Coast of then-teammate Frank Lampard and his partner Christine Bleakley are popularized and only intersect with Drogba because he is casually mentioned as someone who does humanitarian work.

TV's Christine Bleakley jumped at the chance to go to Uganda with Sport Relief to try to help thousands of children at risk of dying from something that to most of us seems a minor illness. Here the 33-year-old presenter - who with her fiancé, Chelsea star Frank Lampard, supports several charities - tells *The Sun* about her African mission. 'When Sport Relief told me I'd see work they fund to combat something which globally kills more children than Aids, malaria and measles combined, I was baffled. Was there a new epidemic I'd not heard of, a new disease that was leaving great swathes of tragedy in its wake? No. This child killer was something we're all well aware of, something we've even suffered from on occasion - diarrhoea. It's hard to believe that something so common, something which is seen as an irritation, even as a bit of a joke here at home, is responsible for the deaths of almost 2,000 children every single day. But it's true and I was heading to Uganda, a country where 28 per cent of people don't have access to safe drinking water and 66 per cent don't have access to proper sanitation, to see the simple measures that are all it takes to stop this appallingly preventable loss of life. I really wanted to help. Anyone who has earned any sort of money should be giving stuff back - which is what does happen, we just don't brag about it. Frank's former team-mate Didier Drogba is a great example. He has his own foundation which provides financial and material support in health and education to the African people'. (Smart 2012)

This focus on the activities of whites, and the explanation of black African humanitarian activities by whites, is another part of the industry of charitable donations and aid, which has been called the 'White-Savior Industrial Complex' by novelist and social critic Teju Cole (2012). The White-Savior Industrial Complex relies on simplistic portrayals of Africa's problems in order to make white donors and activists feel that they can make a difference by making a financial contribution, or directly intervening on the ground. Taking the popular Kone 2012 video and Uganda as an example, Cole (2012) explains that this approach ignores the political realities of African countries and the agency of African peoples to contribute and solve their own problems. As Cole has put forth, the White-Savior Industrial Complex is not about social justice that would result in the change of Western policies towards developing countries, but rather it is about donors and activists having strong emotional and sentimental experiences of giving which serve to justify their privilege. In this instance, the privileged white athlete and white activist represent the West and its 'efforts' to aid peoples in African countries. By focusing on the white

activist to a greater degree than the black African athlete or the actual politics of African countries, the West is absolved of further responsibility.

Dikembe Mutombo. Turning now to the representation of Mutombo and his humanitarian activities, we find a few different aspects than that of Didier Drogba. Though Mutombo was active in local charitable efforts in each city he played in, the majority of media focus is on his efforts to build a hospital in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Again, my emphasis here is on the elevation of Mutombo as an individual actor in Africa and a simplistic reinscription of the problems of Africa.⁹

. . . to the people of Kinshasa in the Congo, there's no bigger giver than 7-foot-2 Mutombo. He has been the driving, relentless force behind funding and building a \$29 million hospital due to open in July. It will be the first new hospital in Mutombo's native country in roughly 40 years. The towering center even kicked in \$10 million from his own pocket. The 300-bed facility will be named Biamba Marie Mutombo Hospital in honor of his mother . . . Fox Sports recently honored Mutombo as one of the 10 most generous and charitable professional athletes in the world. (Hoffman 2006)

'Africa is dying', Mutombo said in an interview this week. 'Whole villages are being destroyed. Whole cultures are being diminished. Some peoples' histories are gone'. In the face of the epidemics, famines and wars that are ravaging his native Africa, Mutombo poses the question: 'What is the world doing about it?' Mutombo . . . has been doing something about the dire conditions for years. In 1997, he established the Dikembe Mutombo Foundation, which works to prevent childhood diseases in African poverty zones. His foundation also is building the first new hospital in more than 40 years in his homeland, the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). He has contributed more than one third of the projected \$29 million cost of the hospital, which is scheduled to open next year. (Osinski 2006)

Mutombo remains a statesman, working mightily to help his homeland, the Republic of Congo. He was acknowledged by President Bush during the State of the Union address Jan. 23, applauded for his work in support of African causes. He is in the process of opening a 300-bed hospital and research center in the capital city of Kinshasa, named in honor of his late mother. (Jasner 2007)

Who is this guy, and why can't we have more folks like him in sports to replace all of these knuckleheads? 'What Dikembe stands for, especially coming from [the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire], it could have been easy for him to leave that situation and come to America and be as successful as he's been and forget where he came from', said Steve Smith (Moore 2007)

Mutombo has very clearly decided to do something to help the people of the Congo and his efforts should be acknowledged. However, as I discuss in a later chapter, even Mutombo seems

to be aware that he needs to engage in stereotypical discourse, and disengage in others, in order to get funding to build his hospital. Therefore we learn little more about the root causes of suffering in African countries than what is provided above.

Important to my discussion here is a concurrent and parallel discourse concerning Mutombo's disappointment with the level of charity from his fellow NBA players. This discourse develops after Mutombo first decided to build a hospital and demonstrates how Mutombo is represented differently than those who make up a majority of the NBA.¹⁰

[Patrick Ewing and Alonzo Mourning] saved Friday night's kick-off dinner for the Dikembe Mutombo Foundation: They showed up. The foundation—created last year by Atlanta Hawks center Mutombo to direct attention and funds to health care concerns in his native home in Congo (formerly Zaire)—had hoped to attract support from more of the NBA big guns, like Michael Jordan, Scottie Pippen and Karl Malone. But, even if you're 7 feet 2 and 255 pounds like Mutombo, it's tough to attract attention in Washington. 'I'm just so glad to have [Ewing and Mourning] here', Mutombo said of his former Georgetown teammates. 'They're good friends—like my brothers—and by being here they are helping to attract so much attention to this cause'. (Warren 1998)

Knowing that the average NBA salary is somewhere around \$ 2.5 million, and that so many stars are earning \$ 9-14 million a year, Mutombo made a personal appeal to his fellow players. He wrote letters and spoke to many personally. He did two fund-raisers last year. But the response has been poor. 'I haven't been very successful as I should', he said, 'There's been a slow response. I thought (that) being an African and playing in the NBA and trying to do something big for my continent, I thought the response would be overwhelming from my colleagues'. (Fine 1999)

'. . . I thought about a clinic, maybe 30 to 100 beds. My cousin said that would mean nothing in terms of really helping. He said 300 beds. He said, 'Don't worry, you can do it. You have power. People will respond'. . . . That is a difficult subject for Mutombo. At last season's All-Star Game in Washington, Alonzo Mourning, his old Georgetown teammate, was soliciting funds for kidney disease research. Mourning recently had been diagnosed with a kidney disease that was threatening his career, if not his life. Mutombo, on the spot, wrote out a check for \$50,000. But when Mutombo asked players in the league to help him with his project, he says he got little meaningful response. (Jasner 2002)

As we can see, the discourses above draw upon a familiar background, the lazy and selfish (black) athlete, with which to contrast the efforts of Mutombo. Certainly, there is some nuance as is evident, but we have here a process by which the recognition of the attitudes and efforts of black African migrant athletes can serve as a vehicle for whites to praise certain black (migrant) athletes while simultaneously denouncing and remarginalizing others, primarily native

blacks, in a moment of colorblindness. As in society at large, as long as black African migrants conform to how white society wants or expects them to behave they gain contingent acceptance, which, of course, means suppressing any questionable form of cultural or ethnic expression. As long as black African immigrants present themselves in such a way that does not remind whites about the racial histories of the U.S., or France, Germany, and Britain (among other former colonial powers) that 'acceptance' remains in place. That black immigrants are often willing to suppress, yet at certain times stress, their cultural distinction is indicative of the kind of differences they have with native blacks in political and economic outlook and goal attainment, which sometimes causes friction between the groups (Arthur, 2000; 2008; Waters 1999).

And yet, the representations of black African humanitarian efforts have their own place within the White-Savior Industrial Complex. Black African migrant athletes are seen as benefitting from migrating to and living in Western communities. Because their experiences with racism are marginalized or go unnoticed, black African athletes can be positioned as having benefitted from Western society and can thus help the communities from which they came. Here again, the West is thus elevated and self-congratulates itself for having given the opportunity to the black African immigrant to help others. The humanitarian activities of the black African athlete should not pass our critique either because they often are linked to corporate concerns and frequently intervene without consulting local communities or politics. In the end, the best thing potential donors and activists could do to help peoples in African countries would be to convince their Western governments to stop the oppressive neoliberal economic controls that have been forced upon African nations (Cole 2012).

The last point I want to make here is that the elevation of black African athletes and their relatively privileged immigration status hides the everyday realities and experiences of immigrant life in Western countries. This tendency is perhaps no better demonstrated than when President Bush made an example of Mutombo in the 2007 State of the Union Address,

'When America serves others', Bush said, 'we show the strength and generosity of our country . . . The greatest strength we have is the heroic kindness, courage and self-sacrifice of the American people. You see this spirit often if you know where to look - and tonight we need only look above to the gallery . . . Dikembe Mutombo grew up in Africa, amid great poverty and disease. He came to Georgetown University on a scholarship to study medicine, but coach John Thompson took a look at Dikembe and had a different idea. Dikembe became a star in the NBA and a citizen of the United States. But he never forgot the land of his birth - or the duty to share his blessings with others.'

He built a brand-new hospital in his old hometown . . . A friend has said of this good-hearted man: 'Mutombo believes that God has given him this opportunity to do great things'. And we're proud to call this son of the Congo a citizen of the United States of America'. (Feigen 2007a)

Needless to say, Bush fits Mutombo nicely into the rhetoric of American values. Yet while Mutombo is lauded as the kind of immigrant the West wants, this notion of 'he never forgot the land of his birth' suggests a problematic temporality. It suggests that there may be a time when Mutombo will 'go back', that he belongs somewhere else, and that other (unwanted) immigrants either casually forget their homelands, claiming a belonging that is not theirs, or intrusively stay. Most immigrants, both within and outside of sport, cannot afford the truly cosmopolitan lifestyles of the athletes in this study. For some time, black African immigrants in the U.S. have seen their wages falling below those of African Americans, while those across Europe are increasingly finding themselves marginalized and discriminated against in terms of jobs and housing, not to mention the resurgence of racial violence (Blakely 2009; Doodoo 1997; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007). These immigrants cannot live up to Bush's idealism, and are often labeled as national threats despite a good deal of their income flowing back to their home countries in the form of remittances.

CONCLUSION

There is a great deal of work being done within these origin stories, discourses of hard work, and humanitarian narratives. Before elaborating further, we can summarize my findings into four main points.

- Black African immigrant athletes are initially represented in favorable terms, with attention often being drawn to their novel immigrant experiences and lack of proper athletic training.
- These athletes are casually understood as being fortunate to have emigrated from Africa, and certain aspects (languages, naming rituals) of their African identities are marginalized.
- As celebrities these athletes are imbued with neoliberal understandings of individual achievement and, with Africa as their origin, they stand in relief to a sports background predominantly populated by native blacks.
- Descriptions of their humanitarian efforts often artificially elevate their importance, are used as opportunities for the West to self-congratulate, and hide the everyday experiences of immigrant life in the West.

The representations of black African immigrant athletes as humble, hardworking, humanitarians, or from extremely tough backgrounds are recurrent and thematic within a globalized Western sports media. The obstacles they are said to face are Africa itself or their particular African cultures, never the result of a continuing colonial legacy. That the 'history' of African countries seemingly begins after independence is another silent tendency in the representation of black African athletes. There is hence a reinscription of the backwardness of the African continent and peoples through their representation in media discourse (Denison and Markula 2005; Mwaniki 2011). This tendency also makes alternative readings difficult. For example, that Mutombo knows multiple languages could be a point where we think about the necessity to communicate in order to understand other peoples. Instead, Mutombo's knowledge base is at times defined in terms of the one language he had not learned yet, English. As Denison and Markula (2005) explain, the fact that athletes from different countries have had to learn English is often lost to those in the West and reflects a bias towards learning the languages of others.

As celebrities, black African athletes are discursively made to stand for and reaffirm a political system, neoliberal democracy, built on notions of individual achievement (Marshall 1997). Though their life stories sit alongside the often similar life stories of native blacks, the life stories of black immigrants are somehow *more* primal and *more* terrific. Africa, always already the Dark Continent, produces athletes with unimaginable backgrounds yet they emerge humble and honorable. That these athletes have overcome their brutal situations is a lesson for all, men and women, but even more so for native black populations in the West. In sports such as American football, basketball, or European soccer, we frequently see discourses of laziness, 'diva' complexes, or of being spoiled undeserving brats when it comes to black athletes, who are grossly overrepresented. In an excerpt earlier in the chapter, Tamba Hali is described as deserving to live in Happy Valley (Penn State University). The horrors and experiences of a civil war are no doubt clear and terrible. Yet, by positioning Hali as deserving of living in Happy Valley a hierarchy is established by which the valid presence of others, in a context within which native blacks are overrepresented, can be questioned.

What I want to stress are the different modes of alterity that are placed on the black African migrants in this study and how that alterity is used to reinforce Western understandings of race and Africa. Through the descriptions of their background and the empty valorization of

their work ethic, the athletes in this study are privileged in the media against a backdrop that often consists of stigmatized native black athletes. Similarly, the simplistic elevation of the importance of the black African athlete to their country via humanitarian work contributes to the self-aggrandizement of the West. A focus on the activities of Africans who find wealth in the West and give back to Africa allows Western societies to continue ignoring their native black communities and similar efforts of native black athletes. It also positions black Africans as 'good blacks' who might succeed if only their own governments would get out of the way. Of course, we also know that most black African immigrants to the West do not receive the welcome of the superstar athlete, and that they are increasingly treated with hostility and disdain, something which also remains hidden in these representations. The next chapter explores the contingent nature of these processes of making 'model minorities' out of black African migrant athletes. It becomes ever more apparent that a majority of these representations are made by the West and reinforce Western hegemony.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'BAD' BLACKS:

CONTINGENT ACCEPTANCE AND ESSENTIALIZED BLACKNESS

They took my daughter, we ain't got no water
I can't get hired, they cross on fire
We all got suspended, I just got sentenced
So I got no place to go
-Lupe Fiasco

As Paul Gilroy (2000:173) tells us, 'In this world of overdetermined racial signs, an outstandingly good but temperamental natural athlete is exactly what we would expect a savage African to become'. The praise and acceptance in Western society that I documented in the previous chapter is only viable as long as the black migrant athlete remains silent to their racial position in the West. It is also only viable while the athlete is able to manage to succeed athletically, maintain acceptable behaviors, and remain out of negative news coverage. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the exploitation involved in the recruitment of black Africans to European soccer clubs results far too often in athletes being cast aside with no place to live, no way to get back home, and no kind of quality education. When this happens the black African immigrant certainly falls into highly stigmatized modes of representation as they are both black and immigrant. In essence, they become just like any other black immigrant. This exploitation demonstrates the tentative position occupied by black migrant athletes to Western countries and correlates with the exploitation faced by black immigrants in the job market in general (Arthur 2000; 2008; Darby 2011; Kunzler and Poli 2012; Logan 2007).

As Shaw-Taylor and Tuch (2007) point out, despite being considered a kind of model minority, black African immigrants in the U.S. are experiencing lower levels of household income and are more often living in poorer neighborhoods. Similarly, in Europe, African immigrants can increasingly be found in the *banlieues* of France, shanty-towns of Portugal, and poorer areas of London (Blakely 2009). The economic success of immigrants, their ability to utilize their human capital, is dependent on the reception into their host countries. In brief, Western countries have been making immigration more difficult, and putting immigrants under greater surveillance, while simultaneously dismantling social welfare programs (Portes and

Rumbaut 2001). Concurrently, black African immigrants are arriving with less education and a devalued education in the West due to the harm done to institutions of higher education by various dictators and the strictures of neoliberal development programs. Thus, black immigrants, both men and women, often have to take poorly paid jobs and, because they are initially unaware of the (racialized) labor structure, are often exploited for more work with less pay and little chance for upward mobility (Dodoo 1997; Logan 2007; Mazrui 2005; Shaw-Taylor and Tuch 2007).

ANTI-BLACK DISCOURSES

In this chapter I continue to interrogate the representations of athletes who, for all intents, have 'succeeded' and, as I have shown, are often lauded for doing so. Yet this success does not mean that their representations escape the stigma of blackness or are immune to immigration fears. I have divided the rest of this chapter into three sections, or subthemes. The first section focuses on discourses of 'Anger, Greed, and Selfishness'. I begin by talking about Hakeem Olajuwon and a time in his career when he struggled with physical violence, a contract dispute, and lawsuits, and then make links with similar aspects in the representation of Dikembe Mutombo. The second section focuses on discourses alluding to the 'Intelligence, Ignorance, and Mental States' of the black African athlete. This time beginning with the representation of Mutombo, I look at the contradictory ways in which, while often described as intelligent and sophisticated, he is simultaneously represented as simple and unintelligent. Later in the section I analyze Didier Drogba and Mario Balotelli for the ways in which they are represented as mentally unstable, irrational, and even crazy. In the final section I look more closely at 'Black African Women in Sport', particularly the representations of Tegla Loroupe and Catherine Ndereba, in order to talk about the stereotypes black women are often forced to confront.

Anger, Greed, and Selfishness

Although Olajuwon was favorably constructed early and late in his career, a set of events in the 1980s and early 1990s began to turn his representation in the opposite manner. Numerous fights on the court, harsh words for teammates and management, and a personal life reportedly going out of control started to turn the discourse around Olajuwon towards being critical of and questioning his demeanor and temperament. In reading this period of Olajuwon's career, I find that he begins to be portrayed as just another selfish and arrogant player at time when some felt the NBA was becoming 'too black' (Boyd 2003). In the excerpts below, Olajuwon's demeanor

and behavior are questioned and increasingly criticized as we move chronologically through his early career.

To begin with, one of the first of many publicized 'outbursts' of Olajuwon was in the wake of an NCAA finals loss in Olajuwon's senior year of college. After the University of Houston's loss to Georgetown, Olajuwon criticized his teammates and the officiating. 'What will they think when they read this? I don't care what they think', said *Akeem the Steam*. 'This game was very important and we blew it. They just didn't get me the ball' (Wilbon 1984, emphasis mine). In addition, he said, 'When some of our players drove to the basket, Georgetown went for the block and I was wide open. But we blew it. We didn't play as a team. We were selfish' (Alfano 1984). For the media, and those around the game, Olajuwon's criticism of his teammates went against the accepted 'team first' way to discuss defeat. Of the officials he said, 'Before the game the referee says, 'I'll let you play',' said Olajuwon. 'But he didn't. Sometimes he did. Then he came down on me. Nobody would have called me for those third and fourth fouls' (Center 1984). In response, Olajuwon's comments drew criticism from his own coach (Guy Lewis). 'Bing, bing, bing, fouls every time', Lewis said. 'He had one silly foul, where the guy takes one pump fake and goes up. He knows everybody's gonna do that' (Wilbon 1984).

Following this game, Olajuwon declared for the NBA draft, and early on in his career he had a number of encounters of physical violence on the court. In one instance he was fined \$1,500 for punching the Utah Jazz's Billy Paultz, who had been frustrating him during a game. 'He was pushing me', Olajuwon said. 'And every time I would push him back, they would call a foul on me. I was just trying to get the ref's attention. I was trying for the referee to make it equal. I am satisfied I did it' (Blinebury 1985a). Scotty Sterling (then NBA Vice President of Operations) wrote, 'He (Paultz) was in no way prepared for the punch and totally defenseless . . . While the flagrant act was undetected by the officials working the game, it nonetheless violates all of the NBA's principles of fair play and sportsmanship' (Blinebury 1985b). With the fight being Olajuwon's second time receiving a league fine, the first was for an earlier fight with the Dallas Mavericks' Kurt Nimphius, some were surprised that there was no suspension. Olajuwon was also criticized for showing no remorse for his actions which was interpreted as a display of smugness.

Yet while still considered to be a well-tempered individual for the most part, an accumulation of incidents through the rest of the 1980s would eventually begin to sway opinions

of him the other way. In the 1986 NBA playoffs, Olajuwon was ejected once for shoving one player and grabbing a referee during a series with the Denver Nuggets. Against the Los Angeles Lakers, Olajuwon threw punches at a player who had been frustrating him, much like Billy Paultz, and in the NBA Championships Olajuwon was again fined \$1,500 after yet another fight. 'His Achilles' heel is a habit of fouling excessively in his still-reckless, undisciplined style and a temper that has raged out of control' (Denberg 1986). Teams suddenly realized they could get Olajuwon in foul trouble or even ejected if they sparked his temper, and the media became more critical of him. Even for the referees, it was thought that Olajuwon's constant criticism made them less sympathetic to his pleas for fouls in-game.

Olajuwon's off-court troubles were also of media interest and contributed to his growing perception as a malcontent. In the summer of 1986 Olajuwon was ordered to pay \$150 after pleading no contest to an assault by contact charge for allegedly striking a convenience store clerk who called him a name. The following January (1987), it was reported that Olajuwon and his brother fought outside of The Summit (the Houston Rockets' home arena) after a game. Near the end of that year, Olajuwon would fight then teammate Robert Reid over comments made by Reid regarding rumors of cocaine use by Olajuwon. Such rumors surrounded Olajuwon that winter and prompted him to make a public denial. 'Olajuwon had said he would submit to a drug test any time someone wants to put up \$1,000. If he passes the test, he would donate that money to a drug treatment center. If he were to fail the test, he had promised to give \$50,000 to the challenger' (Truex 1987). The accusations were sufficiently deemed to be nothing more than rumor, but soon after Olajuwon gained critical attention again by voicing his unhappiness with Coach Bill Fitch and teammate Sleepy Floyd. 'All I know is that the players say they are afraid to make mistakes', Olajuwon said. 'If they make mistakes, he (Fitch) takes them out'. As for Floyd, the team's point guard, Olajuwon declared. 'We don't have a playmaker on this team', he said. 'A point guard is a guard who makes something happen, who creates things' (Johnson 1988). Fitch would eventually be fired during the 1988 off-season, something he would blame on Olajuwon.

For all intents and purposes, Olajuwon's representation as a malcontent would come to a head in the summer of 1988. The following excerpt sums the events.

For as long as we've known him, Akeem has been a Dream. But lately he's beginning to look like Freddy Krueger. It's a real 'Nightmare on Elm Street' over at The Summit. It

seems like every time the Rockets try to close their eyes and relax, Akeem Olajuwon has been there to give them a rude awakening in this summer of his discontent. If Olajuwon isn't assuming the role of coach and making demands about the Rockets' offense, then he's playing personnel director and suggesting wholesale changes. If he isn't swapping lawsuits with former companion Lita Spencer, then he's got his hand out looking for more money or his fist raised to deck a TV cameraman. Then there are the veiled threats to pack up his slam dunks and go to Italy. (Blinebury 1988)

Olajuwon goes from being a 'Dream', in terms of personality, to a nightmare akin to Freddy Krueger. Aside from what could be taken from the Krueger reference (Darkness? Horror? Psychopath? Murder?), the excerpt describes Olajuwon as a discontent who is power hungry, looking for more money, personally irresponsible, and threatens to leave America all-together. In short, Olajuwon is recast as the embodiment of instability, hostility, and, with his hand out like an obstinate beggar, blackness. I make this link between Olajuwon's blackness and increasingly negative representation because of the larger historical context of the NBA and Reagan-era politics. As mentioned previously, this contextual period in the NBA was one in which there were fears of 'losing' the white audience because the league was 'too black'. Physical play leading to fights on the court and in the stands, increasingly baggy shorts, and the emergence of hip-hop 'culture', was becoming problematic for the image of the league and its white ownership. These fears, of course, resonate with the larger Reagan-era political and penal crackdown on black communities and economic social welfare programs that (re)stigmatized blacks as inherently lazy and criminal (Boyd 2003). Hence we see the representation of Olajuwon begin to gain similarity with some of his more 'problematic' African American contemporaries.

The events of the late 1980s would label Olajuwon as a kind of malcontent early in his career and going into the 1990s. In his autobiography (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996) he recalls this period as one in which he simply did not have patience as an individual. It does not seem that the representation of this 'bad behavior' was linked to Olajuwon's immigrant status in the same ways that his immigrant status was used to frame him early and late in his career as a role model. However, during a contract dispute in 1992 Olajuwon was often described as selfish or greedy, and attention was brought to his nature as a shrewd businessperson, a stereotype of Nigerians (yet, no evidence emerged to suggest such a specific link was made in the media). As it regards the fan base, however, sportswriter Jackie MacMullan later recalled the hostility towards Olajuwon and his contract dispute in 1992, writing of the fans and people of Houston,

There was a time when he did complain—loudly. Two years ago, Olajuwon wanted a new contract, and the people of Houston began wondering if he'd ever be happy. They said he was greedy, and some said he should go back to the jungle and see how much money he'd make there. Ugly? Yes, it got very ugly. Olajuwon said he was injured, and the team said he was faking it to punish them for not extending his deal. Olajuwon, a man who wishes nothing more than to be called a gentleman, called the team owner, Charlie Thomas, a coward, and the general manager, Steve Patterson, a fool. It took a long plane flight to Yokohama, Japan, for the owner and his unhappy star to finally make peace. (MacMullan 1994)

MacMullan gives us a fleeting glimpse into how people were making sense of Olajuwon and his attempts to get a new contract. Throughout this study, athletes in general were treated derisively when it came to their social exploits and multimillion dollar/euro/pound contract demands. Yet here we are given acknowledgement that Olajuwon's status as a black African immigrant is far from forgotten. The notion that he should 'go back' demonstrates a white racist sentiment towards immigrants that makes them disposable, that they only exist in the West because 'we' allow them to. Additionally, immigrants should feel 'lucky' that they are in the West and take what is given to them, or else they are free to go back to their 'jungles', spaces discursively denigrated to the point pure wilderness and savagery. In a previous chapter I discussed the case of Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson who, similarly, was (re)labeled as a Jamaican immigrant after losing his gold medal because of doping (Jackson 1998). As Jackson points out, the moment of reinscription of Johnson explicitly as a Jamaican immigrant was not only done in a racist fashion, but with a white ethnocentric zest that sought to punish both Johnson and the Jamaican community more broadly. That members of the Jamaican community felt the need to distance themselves from Johnson speaks both to the aggression of the backlash and the community's awareness of the tenuous position they occupy in Canadian society as black foreigners (Jackson 1998).

At various points in his career, Mutombo, similar to Olajuwon, was described in a variety of ways as angry, selfish and greedy. If these representations existed in isolation they perhaps would be more innocent. However, in leagues that are or are becoming predominantly populated by people of color, native and foreign, the discourses of selfishness, greediness, and anger are tied to what is already known about the black athletes of the day. The example below is interesting in that it demonstrates some of the complexity of Mutombo's foreignness while playing in a league dominated by African Americans,

The easy excuse is to suggest Mutombo's effrontery is the product of a foreign culture we don't understand. That's a cop-out, not to mention an insult to Mutombo's family and his native Zaire . . . If he's a product of any strange culture, it's pro sports in the 1990s. Mutombo came to America in '87, but he's a quick study. The Nuggets center knows NBA success is defined by your shoe contract and your TV time. All Deke really wants is to be like Mike, Grandmama [Larry Johnson] or Shaq. Why does the honesty of Mutombo's ambition make folks so nervous? Maybe it's because his obsession with celebrity says as much about us as Mutombo . . . Mutombo owns a big ego and a bigger heart. You can neither shut him up nor dampen his spirit. The big man talks his mind, ignoring what's politically correct. While many pro athletes define charity as a celebrity golf tournament, Mutombo volunteers for duty in war-torn or starvation-plagued African countries. (Kiszla 1995)

Here, we have Mutombo's unwanted behavior being blamed on the sports culture of the time, which is represented by predominantly black athletes, here specifically Michael Jordan, Larry Johnson, and Shaquille O'Neal. There is an unstated fear that Mutombo is already or is becoming like one of 'them', which of course would be a reason to be 'nervous'. Through the description of his personality we are told that we should not expect Mutombo to be predictable or pleasing all the time, 'Mutombo being Mutombo' if you will. Simultaneously, he remains different, better than, other professional athletes because, while he still may want a shoe contract and time of television, he at least helps out in war-torn and starvation-plagued African countries. While this example is rather provocative, it speaks to the ease with which the alterity, the blackness, of the foreign Other is made similar, intelligible, to that of native blacks.

Intelligence, Ignorance, and Mental States

Throughout his career, the representation of Mutombo also contained subtle, underlying assertions that he was mentally slow, stupid, and child-like. Despite attention often being drawn to how many languages Mutombo speaks, that he wanted to be a doctor before switching majors to diplomacy, the effort that he puts towards his foundation, or that he is intelligent in general terms, there is enough evidence to suggest that some of the plaudits Mutombo receives mask another reality. In the excerpts below, not only is Mutombo's intelligence questioned (sometimes in the form of a joke), but also his age, and his voice is compared to the *Sesame Street* children's character Cookie Monster. It is also worth noting how Mutombo attempts to push back against such characterizations, but most articles are not designed to validate Mutombo's views.¹

Some have suggested the Nets, 4-1 without Mutombo, have played better in his absence. Mutombo scoffed at the notion that he was a detriment or that the offense was too complicated. 'I read every day and I listen on TV and I just laugh. When you go to a new place you learn how to adjust, you learn how to play with the people. It's just the chemistry. I felt the critics, about knowing the offense, had kind of crossed the line', Mutombo said. 'I've been playing [NBA] basketball for 12 years and I've played for so many coaches and I did so well on all the teams. Why would I struggle here? It's not complicated. It took maybe a week but it's not complicated . . . Because we lost two, three games on the west coast, everybody was saying the offense was not working because Mutombo does not understand . . . I have a great career. If I didn't know offense what the hell was going through the mind of all the coaches I played for? Even Larry Brown, to play me all the way through to the NBA Finals? That means I was doing something right'. (Kerber 2002)

[Shaquille] O'Neal has been comedy relief the past week, busting up the news media with his humor. On Tuesday, he smiled as only a 5-year-old trying to impress his relatives at a summer cookout could. 'You guys like my quotations', he said. 'I'm very quotatious'. Quotatious could hardly compare to Mutombo's gem, which won the interview title the same day. In referring to the Lakers' first three playoff opponents as easy, Mutombo said they were 'like a walk in the cake'. From the man who speaks five languages, it was a well thought-out malapropism. And if it was not, we can hardly wait for, 'You can't have your park and eat it too'. (Wise 2001)

Mutombo rightly gets upset when his intelligence is questioned, and the infantilizing of O'Neal should not go unnoticed either. The situation with the Nets changed Mutombo's representation up to that point by making it acceptable to discuss his intelligence, even if just on the basketball court. Although the latter quote more innocently, and jokingly, links Mutombo's linguistic ability with a metaphoric gaffe, as we will see later there appear to have been broader questions about his intelligence as well. Before that, however, questions about Mutombo's age also arise in the late stages of his career. This is another discourse that arises suddenly and is evoked repeatedly. It is a discourse that emerges in stereotypical ways common to athletes migrating from the global South based on the assumption of poor or nonexistent record keeping.

Mutombo might be 36, as he says. Or he might be pushing 40 the way Michael Jordan is. No one knows for sure. But in last year's playoffs, the Celtics destroyed him with simple pick-and-rolls. Now he is with the Nets. Everybody said he'd eventually fit in just fine with that beautiful passing offense the Nets ran last year, all the way until they got swept in the Finals. Maybe he will. There is still plenty of time, even if Mutombo is already complaining about his playing time. (Lupica 2002)

How old is Mutombo, really? Not even John Thompson knows for sure. According to the official NBA register, Mutombo celebrated his 36th birthday in June. While still productive last season (10.8 rpg, 2.4 block pg), there were times he looked old. (Lawrence 2002)

In one corner, you have O'Neal, who was born in Newark. In the other corner, you have Mutombo, who was born in the Congo. O'Neal, we know, is 29. Mutombo, we are told, is 34. Some feel he has underwear older than that. O'Neal spent one summer working on a rap record. Mutombo spent one summer in Africa, getting malaria. O'Neal is barely audible. Mutombo talks like he's calling audibles. O'Neal's middle name is Rashaun. Mutombo's middle name is one or all of the following: Mpolondo Mukamba Jean Jacques WaMutombo. (Personally, I don't understand why Dikembe, who obviously chose to go with just two of his names, didn't pick 'Jean Jacques'. He could play basketball and design hair products.) (Albom 2001)

Aside from questioning Mutombo's age, we can see concurrent discourses critical of him concerning his request for playing time, a question on his 'choice' of name, and comments on the way both he and Shaquille O'Neal speak. While both O'Neal and Mutombo have received jokes on the way they talk, the ones regarding Mutombo are problematic in that they relate him to the Cookie Monster character on the children's show *Sesame Street*.

The coarse voice is unmistakable, seemingly rising from the depths of his 7-2 frame, a cross between a hoarse whisper and the rhythmic joy of Sesame Street's Cookie monster. He is being told by friends around the NBA, by his own coaches and teammates that his voice is being heard too often in too many arenas, that he needs to be more selective, less demonstrative with the referees. (Jasner 2002b)

Freed from Atlanta, freed from a routine of watching the NBA Finals on TV each June, free at last to shoot the ball, Mutombo couldn't have been happier in the down time before the Sixers' final home game even if his knees did ache, his right shoulder was encased in ice, and his title dream was just about dead. 'I'm very excited to play this game', said Mutombo, his Cookie Monster voice as deep as the music's baseline. (Fitzpatrick 2001)

The Cookie Monster is a character on the children's show *Sesame Street* who talks in a gruff manner, has a lazy eye, is comically obsessed with cookies, and regularly drops prepositions and articles out of his speech. The reduction of Mutombo into a comical children's character devalues his discourse and him as a human being. Again, the lack of appreciation as it regards Mutombo speaking English, a secondary language, betrays a certain arrogance and ethnocentrism. As we will also see in the representation of Mario Balotelli, if we approach Mutombo with the expectation of amusement and entertainment, then we are approaching him as a fetishized object,

not a full human being. Anything he may have to say is irrelevant because we are only interested in being entertained. Thus there are links with the long histories of black populations being infantilized and seen derisively as objects of entertainment, while there are also ties with the difficulties many black immigrants face with being treated poorly because of their accents (Arthur 2008).

It is interesting that he, Mutombo, often jokes about things such as his age and talking like the Cookie Monster, but at other, more infrequent, times he appears to tell us how he actually feels. Below is a rare example of when Mutombo confronts some of the criticisms that have been leveled at him.

Despite his prodigious talent, Mutombo has found respect elusive. The Denver sportswriters used to say that Mutombo spoke nine languages, but English wasn't one of them. His voice is incredibly hoarse: Radio personality Howard Stern calls him the Cookie monster because he sounds like the Sesame Street character. He declared himself a role model, setting himself apart from the flamboyant athletes of the 1990s. But there were occasional scraps with teammates and opponents on the court. He jettisoned a fiancée the night before the wedding over a prenuptial agreement - he later married a Congolese woman, Rose, with whom he had two children and adopted four nieces and nephews. He says he is underappreciated, though he is one of the top vote-getters in the NBA all-star voting this year. 'Everywhere I've gone in the NBA I've left a nice legacy', he said. 'When I went to Philly, people said bad things about me. They said I was too old, I only play defense, I didn't know how to shoot the basket'. He remembers each affront. The questions about his age provoke particular scorn. 'Some people say I'm not 35 years old, I'm something like 40. I don't know why they say that. It hurts my feelings. It's like they're insulting my parents for not being smart enough to know when I was born'. But he has matured from the early years when he once told the NBA 'go to hell' when he wasn't picked for the all-star game. He is now more concerned about his legacy than ever. (Maykuth 2002)

There is no doubt that Mutombo is a gregarious, outgoing, and likeable individual. Throughout his career, there are plenty of examples of him joking with reporters and teammates. It also seems as though he was perfectly willing to make a joke of himself, which is evident in his television commercials for the insurance company GEICO. However, the examples give us insight into an underlying feeling and discourse that Mutombo is not a very smart individual. As mentioned previously, this feeling comes to a head and is seen more often in his representation when questions arise as to whether Mutombo will be able to 'learn' the system they are playing when he joins the New Jersey Nets.

Shifting slightly within this theme of temperament and we can draw some parallels between the representation of Mutombo with those of Didier Drogba and Mario Balotelli. Beginning with Drogba, his initial acceptance when he first migrated to England to play for Chelsea as a 'grounded' individual was specifically attributed to his upbringing in and migration from Ivory Coast as a tough but 'character building' experience (Tongue 2004). Over time, however, that discourse eventually turns into one about his 'mercurial' or 'enigmatic' (Chadband 2008) nature.

The Drog . . . has become so irredeemably pathetic, he's bringing the Premier League into disrepute . . . He was a preening, prancing, diving, moaning, whingeing waste of time . . . The highlight of his histrionics was his hyperactive child impression when he pursued Michael Ballack across the pitch because he was upset Ballack had tried to take a free-kick off him . . . Ballack may not have excelled himself since he joined Chelsea but the way he ignored Drogba's raving as if he was a lunatic let out for the weekend was beautiful . . . What a shame that Drogba should be the opposite of a courageous centre-forward like Alan Shearer or a brave dribbler who rolls with the punches, like Cristiano Ronaldo . . . What a pity Drogba lets down teammates who are men of character like John Terry, Michael Essien, Frank Lampard, Joe Cole and Claude Makelele. (Holt 2008)

Here we have Drogba's sanity and character questioned and infantilized at all points. Additionally, though Michael Essien, Joe Cole, and Claude Makelele are mentioned as men of character, their inclusion in this type of article is less likely to be seen elsewhere than that of the relatively constant presence of the white English Frank Lampard and John Terry. Indeed, along with Steven Gerrard, Terry and Lampard (and others, see below) often serve as 'examples' for how soccer should be played in reference not only to Drogba, but to the foreign player in general. We will see similar tendencies in the representation of Balotelli, discussed next, as well.

So far I have analyzed the representations of Olajuwon, Mutombo, and Drogba and demonstrated the very similar constructions of black emotional statuses and personalities as it regards different athletes, in different places, and at different times. When the foreign black athlete goes against established norms, their Otherness is often used to marginalize them. Moving forward, while the three athletes mentioned so far are generally represented in similar ways, the construction of Balotelli is a special case. Whereas the representation of Mutombo contained certain points where he was compared to the Cookie Monster and became an object of comedic entertainment, Balotelli's representation is heavily devoted to his existence as a fetishized object of entertainment. This representation is primarily due to the fascination of

British tabloids on the life of Balotelli. From his personal life, who he was dating or thought to be having sex with, where he went out to at night, what he was wearing, his hair styles, what cars he bought, where he was living, or what he does with his free time were all issues of popular concern with their importance greatly exaggerated. In many ways Balotelli became a symbol for any 'crazy' or unbelievable act, as many things he reportedly did turned out to be false.

There are two aspects of Balotelli's representation that are important to explore. The first, and most explicit, is the constant representation of Balotelli as 'crazy' or a close variant, and the second is the focus on Balotelli's personal life. Both aspects are routinely presented to us in a dramatic fashion and relate to stereotypical notions of blackness. The examples below from Balotelli's representation portray some of the different ways media focused upon Balotelli's life and mental states.²

When I look at Mario Balotelli, I feel nothing but sadness and regret. Not just for the Italian, but for a large portion of modern footballers in general. Roberto Mancini, David Platt and dozens of other people at Manchester City did everything they could to help the striker settle in; to help him fulfill his potential. But they were facing a losing battle from the start. 'Why always me?' he once asked. Well, Mario, it was probably because of all the stupid, misguided and crazy decisions you made along the way . . . I love people like Gary Neville, Frank Lampard, Paul Scholes, Ryan Giggs and even John Terry. Because they all have a real passion for the game. (Birtles 2013)

So how DO you solve a problem like Mario? . . . When he sets foot on to the pitch he has no idea what he's doing. I genuinely believe that Balotelli hasn't got a vicious bone in his body. What he's got is stupid bones and he's got a lot of them. His nickname is Super Mario. It should be changed to Barmy Balo. Because as a footballer he's as daft as a brush. He doesn't think. He just does it and then regrets it. The only thing wrong with Balotelli is his age. He's a child wearing a man's body. And like animals, children do the daftest things. (*Manchester Evening News* 2011)

The life and crimes of Mario. Last week he was seen at a Liverpool strip club, breaking a pre-match curfew. In January, he parked his Bentley outside Xaverian College, Manchester, and went into use the toilet before talking to students and walking into a teachers' staff room. In December last year team-mates had to pull him and Micah Richards apart in a training pitch bust-up. They made up and posed as boxers in a Twitter pic. In October, a friend let off fireworks in a bathroom of his EUR4.5million home. A DAY later, after scoring in City's 6-1 defeat of rivals United he was booked for revealing a 'Why Always Me?' T-shirt. In April last year he won EUR30,000 in a casino - and gave EUR1,200 to a tramp outside. He threw darts at City's youth team players last March, but no one was hurt. That month, footage of him trying to put on a training bib became an internet hit. Days after arriving in the UK from Italy, in August 2010, he crashed his customised EUR144,000 Audi R8 car in Cheshire. (Byrne 2012, emphasis mine)

Reading Balotelli, what we see is his construction as an unpredictable, problematic, crazy and temperamental, individual, if gifted athlete, who does all sorts of wild things in his social life. He is made into the embodiment of the quote by Gilroy at the beginning of this chapter. That his list of activities are casually labeled as 'crimes' by the media occurs often and betrays a lack of perspective in the activities of celebrities generally, but of black athletes in particular given the assumptions of black male criminality both in Europe and the U.S. Balotelli, like Drogba, is compared to white, primarily English, soccer players and constructed not only as crazy and stupid, but along the familiar trope of the black man-child. The historical construction of the black men as children is rooted in colonial ideology as a way to emasculate and dehumanize blackness (Gordon 1995; Fanon 1967).

Through Balotelli's representation is overwhelmingly negative, there are moments of counter discourse and Balotelli's own words regarding his media presence. Many of these instances use Balotelli's words to try to find out what he thinks about all of the attention, while also at times providing critiques of the coverage he has so far received. Still, there is often either some blame placed on Balotelli for his representation or a casual approach to the subject which blunts the counter-hegemonic potential of such articles.³

'I am young and it is normal that I make mistakes. But with regards to the psychological aspect, I don't pay attention because I am fed up with what everyone says. I just have to improve tactically, mature and score always. In England they tend to exaggerate regarding what I do off the pitch. But those that love me know what I am really like. I'm just sorry for my mother because certain (media) stories might upset her'.
(*BreakingNews.ie* 2012)

It also is true that Balotelli's mistakes often seem to garner a disproportionate amount of attention. Other players make clumsy tackles. Other players are shown yellow and red cards. But they are not all described in newspaper reports as 'volatile', 'unhinged', 'mad', or variations on the theme that Balotelli is something of a fruit cake. Balotelli shares some blame for that. Anyone who allows friends to set off fireworks in a bathroom and start a fire in their rented mansion or who pulls stunts like throwing a dart at a colleague is going to get bad publicity. Deservedly so. (Leicester 2011)

Balotelli admitted that being racially abused could see him turn to violence in response . . . 'If someone throws a banana at me in the street I will go to prison because I will kill him'. Balotelli added: 'I'm black and proud to have African roots. I think I'm lucky to be black. People say about me that I'm a black boy who has fun, earns money and has girls. It's not like that. It's too easy to judge people through what you see'. (Ogden 2012)

Balotelli has become Baloo-telli, the dancing bear - prodded and tormented until he roars, then whipped and sent to his cage for roaring. There's a vicious circle here, in which we're all culpable. And by the way, I'm sure I should include myself in that. Anyway. So long now, Mario Balotelli. It was fun winding you up, then pretending to be offended by you. May you thrive in Italy, score a silly hatful of goals every season and stick it to English clubs in the Champions League until the day of your retirement. Let's give this story a happy ending. (Jones 2013)

As shown in the excerpts above, Balotelli is obviously aware of his portrayal in the media. In Balotelli's relatively short career, he has also displayed increasing awareness of the role that race plays in his representation, which is partly shown in the third quote. Further, that Balotelli rarely gives interviews and does not offer much information when he is interviewed, makes it difficult to figure out what exactly is true about what the media reports. Regardless, the construction of Balotelli ensures that we never know Balotelli in even the most remote sense. Within all of the 'craziness' that embodies the representation of Balotelli, and the psychological analysis that comes with trying to 'solve' Balotelli, he, more than any other athlete in this study, is a media created abstraction, celebrity, divorced from the actual human being. Balotelli thus becomes another object in our meme culture (his stern pose after scoring a goal in the 2012 European Championships was a highly popular internet meme) where anyone can put words to 'him', his representation, and it 'makes sense', however ridiculous. The article excerpt below speaks to this peculiar aspect of Balotelli.

Mario Balotelli's night began less than 30 seconds in with an innocuous volley from 40 yards out. Italy kick off, some tidy if unadventurous passing and then Mario just whacks it to nowhere, a bit like Peter Kay in that old lager advert. Was he trying to catch Joe Hart off guard? Was it just a way of steadying the nerves? Had the switch in his brain been flicked to 'mental'? Nobody knows, but we can all speculate. That's the nice thing about Balotelli. He's a big, blank canvas on which anyone can project anything they like. (Marcotti 2012)

What is interesting about the representation of Balotelli is that there is a sympathetic aspect which continually draws on his personal history growing up in Italy, being raised by a white family in a white community, and his experiences of racism playing in Italy, where crowds once chanted, 'a black Italian does not exist' (Little 2013). Worth noting is that racist chants have been shouted against Balotelli in Italian stadiums where neither he nor his team was playing. It is that Balotelli is so thoroughly tied to blackness, Italy, and racism in soccer that we cannot

disassociate his blackness from his representation as crazy or temperamental. The discursive work was done very early to cast him as the first 'great' black Italian soccer player so that the seemingly unfulfilled star potential is disappointing and thus invites and makes acceptable this racist backlash we so often see.

Black African Women in Sport

This contingent acceptance into Western societies is, of course, not solely a fine line for black men to walk. Black women, particularly African Americans, have historically been constructed outside established white notions of aesthetic femininity. The body of the black female athlete is put under the normalizing gaze of whiteness which finds it deviant both physically and sexually. Especially in sports traditionally popular with higher socioeconomic classes, such as tennis, figure skating, and gymnastics, we often see black women being labeled as masculine and subjected to critiques on their personal style and body type, Serena and Venus Williams being prime examples (Douglas 2005; Shultz 2005). The black African migrant women in my study were often represented in the same ways as native black women, but also women in general. Below, I draw attention to some of the stereotypes black African women face in sport.

Beginning with the issue of masculinity and heteronormativity, in chapter six I explained how distance runner Tegla Loroupe was moved to publicly defend herself from speculation that she was not a woman and that she was somehow a man or had male sex organs. It is worth digressing a little here as such representations carry extra weight given the more recent controversy of track athlete Caster Semenya, who was coerced to undergo a process of gender verification and was temporarily banned from competition. After winning the 800m at the Track and Field World Championships in 2009, South African sprinter Caster Semenya, then eighteen years old, was publicly accused of being a man, and it was increasingly suggested that she should be barred from competing with women and undergo gender testing. Ultimately, it took almost a year for Semenya to be cleared again for competition. Reportedly, Semenya is, along with a number of other black South African women, now currently undergoing a form of 'therapy' to help whatever apparently unnatural 'condition' she has (Findlay 2012). Perhaps it is no coincidence then that her performances after such treatment have suffered greatly compared to earlier results.

Accusations of elite female athletes being men are nothing new, as there is a long and unfortunate history of such accusations. Often they have ended careers and publicly embarrassed

the accused, as, also recently, that of Santhi Soundarajan (Shapiro, 2012). There are two intersecting issues transpiring here that have important links to my work. The first is the desperation by the track and field governing body, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), to make a clear demarcation between the sexes. While previous gender testing relied on 'nude parades' (physical exams) and then chromosomes, currently the IAAF and IOC use 'natural' male testosterone levels as a threshold that women cannot pass and still compete. If that threshold is passed then a woman must undergo hormone therapy to reach a lower level of testosterone (Ellison, 2012). This method is, of course, flawed in its own right as there remains a great deal of ambiguity between what is natural and normal for men and women, or even that higher natural testosterone levels consistently produces better results (Shultz 2011).

The second issue is a more nuanced public conversation of the socially created definition of the category of 'woman'. What is different here is that our increasing knowledge of these biological markers has made simple divisions between what is male or female more difficult (ESPN, 2010). Thus, in media discourse, Semenya was often referred to as 'intersexed', or having a combination of 'male' and 'female' sex organs and hormones, of which there can be a multitude of possibilities and combinations (Lewis, 2010). Whereas a chromosomal test sufficed in the recent past, 'greater understanding' of sex and bodily processes necessitates a more varied and nuanced knowledge base in order to maintain some semblance of two genders. Yet while there is greater recognition and nuance in the debate, the inability to move beyond sex dichotomized sport also points to the fact that society is not quite ready to dissolve the sex/gender binary, and indeed still often makes such judgments based on sight. That Semenya's performance at the World Championships did not even break the top ten all-time (as of this writing her time of 1:55.45 sits at thirteenth all-time, it was the fastest time in 2009 and fastest at a world championship [www.iaaf.org]) seems to confirm the visual aspect of suspicion (Shultz, 2011). Even recent IAAF policies regarding transgender athletes require their strict conformity to established sex norms as it regards genitalia and hormone levels (IAAF, 2006).

Thus, despite recent movement and continued contestation of the sex/gender threshold, the dominant ideology concerning women and intersexuality in sport persists. It remains important to 'know' or determine the 'truth' about athletes, whether it be about doping or a socially constructed category such as gender. As Shultz (2011) explains, though recent efforts by

the IOC or IAAF may seem progressive, elite female athletes remain stigmatized and intersexuality remains pathologized. Ethical and health questions regarding testing, and subsequent (hormone therapy) 'treatment', remain silenced, while questions of fairness in sports as it concerns genetic or autosomal advantages are of issue only to women. Through highlighting the complexity and interdisciplinary nature of these issues, Shultz (2011) implores us to stop trying to define 'woman' and instead ask different questions, specifically, what conditions, natural or unnatural, create unfair advantages in sport.

Returning now to my primary focus, a final concern to raise here is the salience of race in many of the most recent popular sex accusations of female athletes. Through gross mishandling of their cases, as for Semenya and Soundarajan, and in popular discourse, as for Serena Williams and Brittney Griner, women of color have become the primary object of suspicion in the public debate. Certainly, there is a long history of the racist masculinization of black femininity within sport, and, as alluded to previously, it relies heavily on appearance and sound (voice), correlating with a deviance from (white Western) social norms (Shultz, 2011; Vertinsky and Captain, 1998). In this era of colorblind racism, it has become easy to publicly question, often via social media (Floyd, 2011), and talk about the sex of black female athletes with no explicit reference to race and its ongoing relevance in sport. For example, the article by Findlay (2012) comments on Semenya's intricate circumstances (the actual results of her 'gender verification' were never released to the public, which only fueled speculation) and then proceeds to explain how issues of intersexuality, in various forms, are prevalent in South Africa, making the country 'ground zero' in the debate over intersexed women in sport. Findlay (2012) goes on to cite an interview with a 'scientist' who claims that some African women soccer teams are essentially made up of men, Nigeria's specifically. Though a sympathetic article, the specter of race goes unaddressed in a debate increasingly focused upon the black body. With little exploration or explanation on how or why such a propensity for intersexuality might exist among the (black) South African population, we are left with the salient formulation that blackness equates to abnormality and pathology, and is in need of correction.

While Loroupe was never coerced into gender verification, the partial acceptance of black African female athletes means that high-level performance and physical appearance can quickly bring their femininity into question. The role of gender in athletics is already a contested terrain, regardless of race. That hegemonic femininity remains equated with a lack, or a

minimum, of athletic ability and heteronormativity remains problematic in sport broadly. Given the questions of Loroche's and Semenya's sex and sexuality, among many others, we can see there is often a quick reach to stereotypes and assumptions about the physical capabilities of black women both native and foreign to the West. That recently such accusations appear to be almost solely located on the black African female body, especially in South Africa, is particularly concerning. Again, historic Western notions of the savagery and sub-humanity of Africa and the African are brought to mind, as well as the hegemony of Western aesthetic standards. With little explanation on how or why such a propensity for having some combination of both sexes might exist among women in South Africa we are left with the salient formulation that blackness equates to abnormality and ugliness in the West, both physical and sexual.

Great White Hopes. In a different manner, black African athletes, both men and women, can sometimes find their successes turned against them. For example, Loroche's accomplishments were at first very highly heralded yet became less newsworthy as her career progressed. While part of this is due to the media focusing more on Loroche's competition, fellow Kenyans Joyce Chepchumba and Catherine Ndereba, there is a more noteworthy and intense focus on white Western runners. More specifically, the media positioned White runners as 'Great White Hopes' in relation to Loroche and Ndereba. At times, Ndereba fell out of the conversation of top women runners completely as the media tried to construct 'dream' races of, for example, (U.K.) Paula Radcliffe versus (U.S.) Deena Kastor. Western media outlets also tended to support their own runners. Hence, British media tended to focus on Paula Radcliffe while Irish media focused on Sonia O'Sullivan. However, the media focus on nationality may not be as important as race in this context. Walton and Butryn (2006) found that in who counted as a 'true' American runner, the conversation excluded naturalized Africans and African Americans. I argue that this logic translates fairly well to most Western nations. Thus, the favoritism shown to 'home grown' talent by Western nations is inherently raced and nationalistic. The most provocative evidence of a Great White Hope is the issue of Loroche's world marathon record. In 1998 Loroche set the women's marathon world record at Rotterdam with a time of 2:20:47. The controversy started when the London Marathon race organizers claimed Loroche had unfairly used male pacesetters to set the record. However, as Loroche remarks,

I felt a little bit upset at what people were saying. I was the one who ran the race, not the men running alongside me, and I ran most of it on my own. No one has bothered mentioning that Kristiansen also ran in London with men. (Martin, 1998)

Kristiansen, from Norway, was the record's previous holder the record, a record that was never brought into question despite her use of male pace runners. Eventually London Marathon organizers decreed all women's times set in mixed marathons ineligible for world record consideration. Then, in 2003, London organizers slackened this regulation in London for British runner Paula Radcliffe. At this point, Radcliffe owned the official women's world marathon record of 2:17:18, set in Chicago, and wanted to improve on that time. Though that time was faster than Lorooupe ever ran, the hypocrisy of London race organizers was evident,

Radcliffe, who wants to break the record of 2hr 17min 18sec she set in Chicago, will be paced by men in what will be called a separate mixed race. Lorooupe said: 'When I ran my record, the London people started to complain. They were pointing the finger and now they're doing it themselves'. (Knight, 2003)

When Lorooupe owned the world record, or when Naoko Takahashi (Japan) broke the 2:20:00 barrier, race organizers never felt the need to give them pacemakers to possibly improve their time. It was only when Radcliffe, a white woman racing in her home country, was in position to further her legacy that London organizers dropped their protests and provided male pacemakers. Previously, London race organizers had claimed, 'We believe that to maintain the integrity of women's marathon running it is essential to recognise times set in women's only races. We are putting our money where our mouth is' (Mackay, 1998).

Stereotypical discourses surrounding the athletic ability of women are inherent within this issue. The previous quote speaks of integrity in women's races, but how exactly do male pace makers hurt the integrity of women's races? Historically men have used pacemakers to, at first, win races and split the money and, later, to set records. Most famously, Roger Bannister's first successful attempt at a sub four minute mile was disallowed because the pacing was *too* blatant. As sport has professionalized, it appears that most of the debate around men using pacemakers has subsided. In the era of endorsement deals and speaking engagements, where winning triggers payments or the ability to charge more money, pacemakers are often paid (and paid well, as they themselves have to be elite runners) to help secure favorable outcomes (Campbell 2002). To help Radcliffe in Chicago, Campbell (2002) tells us that she was paced by

Weldon Johnson, who was hired, along with others, by the Chicago race organizers in order to protect her from wind and other runners. Though his fee was not divulged, Campbell's same article mentions an incident with Ben Kimondiu, who was hired by Chicago marathon organizers for the legendary Paul Tergat in 2001. Set to be paid \$7,500 for his efforts, Kimondiu would end up holding off Tergat at the end and win the race, instead receiving the winner's purse of \$90,000. Hence, with pacemaking being a common practice, the idea that men and women are different in a way that any form of interaction in sport destroys the 'purity' of a woman's accomplishments is problematic in this circumstance. What is actually happening is the continued stunting of the athletic development of women. It could be argued that women would not be able to set a fast enough pace to keep up with Loroupe (Radcliffe or Ndereba), but perhaps it is more likely that no women in her class would be willing to potentially give up a marathon victory to help her set a world record.

In closing this section, it is clear that, as with black men, the assumed physical advantages of black women remarginalize blackness as a whole. Though often an object of interest, perhaps adoration, early in their careers, the black female athlete is always in danger of becoming just another dehumanized and undifferentiated part of the black masses. Particularly in distance running, as more women from Kenya and Ethiopia began to compete at an elite level they become, to an extent, a nameless and faceless mob, 'the Kenyans are coming'. In other words, we are given the feeling that there will always be another Kenyan, or Ethiopian, to replace the one who just won or just left. The construction and elevation of the Great White Hope is a distinct response to a feeling of racial inadequacy among whites in Western countries. It is also a set of discourses that inherently devalues the accomplishments of Loroupe, Chepchumba, Ndereba, Kiplagat, and others.

CONCLUSION

My argument in this chapter was that the favorable representations, at least initially, of the athletes in this study are contingent on their perceived 'good' behavior. When their behaviors, or level of play, fail to match expectations, there is a turn towards derisively stereotypical representations of their mental states, physical capability, intelligence, greed, work ethic, and violence. Of course, as the previous chapter explored, even the seemingly 'positive' representations were stereotypical and essentializing. This is a part of the contradictory nature of representing the foreign Other in the West, as different modes of alterity can be placed on Others

at different times and achieve similar racializing or discriminatory effects. Below, a brief list summarizes my findings in this chapter.

- Favorable representations of foreign black African athletes depend on their adherence to acceptable forms of behavior and their continued success in sport. Failure to do so will see their representation become familiar to those of native blacks, blackness generally, although their foreignness is never forgotten.
- The stereotypes they face are those of black violence, greed, selfishness, stupidity, irrationality, and mental instability. Black African women face stereotypes, or suspicions, of masculinity, homosexuality, as well as natural athleticism and a general condescension of the athletic potential of women.
- When they fail, foreign black athletes in sports with relatively large black populations become just another 'black athlete', while in sports where black Africans have achieved great success (distance running) they are similarly made faceless and nameless. In both circumstances the 'Great White Hope' theme remains.

Another aspect I want to comment on is the salient heteronormativity and misogyny in the representations of the men, their masculinity, in this study. Hegemonic masculinity and its normative influence often evade critical engagement in Western media due to its own paternalistic tendencies, however there are a few examples I would like to mention. First, Mutombo, along with Patrick Ewing and Dennis Rodman, was called to testify before a grand jury in 2001 for allegedly receiving sexual favors at strip club in Atlanta as part of a larger crime investigation. Second, Mutombo, again, has a story, more of an urban legend, told about him where he walks into a party when he was at Georgetown, shouts 'Who wants to sex Mutombo', and then leaves with two women. Not only is the story still being repeated, despite Mutombo's denial of it, but it is often told humorously. Third, the intense focus on Balotelli's love life consistently details his involvement with numerous women. Not only are we led to think he has sex with all of these women, but the tabloids eventually find a former lover who testifies to the size of Balotelli's penis. Again, these are usually humorous tabloid stories. Lastly, Olajuwon is generally mentioned as having frequented night clubs (dance clubs) during his college years, and we get some sense of this from Drogba's representation as well.

None of these activities or the reporting about them disturbs the current form of hegemonic masculinity, namely, its aspects of heteronormativity and misogyny. If anything, the reporting of them reinforces the notion that athletes in general have a lot of sex, with women. With Balotelli, those understandings, linked as they are with black male virility, shames the women he is 'with' because they should have known better. That many of Balotelli's reported

love interests have been white only exaggerates the racial undertones of this discourse. Though these examples are brief, and the number of articles covering them few, the discourse of hegemonic masculinity is one which makes no difference with respect to foreignness. Men are men and blackness remains hypersexualized.

To conclude, the athletes in my study are privileged in Western societies due to their success and wealth attainment through sport. As is evident in some of the counter-examples I found in the representations of Mutombo, Drogba, and Balotelli, they can to some extent speak out and against their treatment in the media with little fear of negative consequences. That is certainly not the case with most black African athletes, black immigrants, or blacks in general. The hegemonic discourses of Western societies also contain a normalizing element which seeks to circumscribe black political actions and identities by stigmatizing activities that could be resistive or contrary to white neoliberal norms (Iton 2008). Such pressures are to the detriment of native and foreign black populations, within and between each other, both politically and culturally. In the West, though foreign black immigrants are conceptually black before they immigrate, a reification of their blackness is necessary because of the immediacy of the black immigrant. In my study this process happens through their inconspicuous comparison to native blacks. This comparison makes the black immigrant knowable, but this knowledge is derived from blackness always already being at the bottom of the social order. The black immigrant is no longer 'outside', in some other country, but 'inside' and their place in the dominant social order, where they are overdetermined as black, requires confirmation (Wright 2004).

Lastly, the representations in this chapter draw to mind the works of Fanon (1967) and Gordon (1995; 1997). Both of these authors critique colonial and anti-black racist discourse for essentializing and exoticizing blackness, equating blackness with an absence of morality, rationality, and humanity. The discourses of black African athletes I have explored in these pages resonate with the supposed missing human qualities of blackness. The contingent nature of black migrant acceptance in the West rests on the migrant's ability to avoid behaviors that are not conciliatory to white society. Though unknown to the athletes in my study, at least at first, the pressure to adhere to forms of blackness that whiteness can accept is dehumanizing in that it sets a standard that is impossible to attain. It requires the self-denunciation of humanity to an unnatural robot-like existence in exchange for having a social presence that is often

unacknowledged and under constant threat of expulsion. In essence, blacks are required to perform a higher level of humanity than whites (Gordon 1995).

CHAPTER NINE

IMMIGRANT RECEPTION: NATIONALISM, IDENTITY, POLITICS AND RESISTANCE

They threw down my gang sign, I ain't got no hang time
They talk about my sneakers, poisoned our leader
My father ain't seen me, turn off my TV
'Cause it hurts me soul
-Lupe Fiasco

In order to better understand the full complexity of the immigrant experience it becomes necessary to examine the issues and politics of identity, and the dynamics surrounding immigrant identity construction. Identity construction among black immigrant populations is an attempt to negotiate their position in the anti-black Western racial order. Though black immigrants often arrive in their host countries eager to meld with the host society and work towards success, they find racial barriers to full integration difficult to ignore. Hence, despite initially shying away from issues of race that often concern native black communities, black immigrants and their children become increasingly aware of their marginalization. How black immigrants are received into their host countries and how their experiences with race and racism shape their identities is my concern in this chapter (Arthur 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waters 1999).

The athletes in this study represent highly skilled labor and are often privileged, meaning that their reception to the United States and European countries is different, but no less important, than unskilled migrants. By looking at materials such as interviews, autobiographies, and news articles, we are able to piece together the context in which athletes arrived. This chapter uses Dikembe Mutombo, Hakeem Olajuwon, Didier Drogba, Tegla Loroupe, and Mario Balotelli as entry points into different aspects of the immigrant reception process. By exploring the contexts and backgrounds of these athletes while drawing links with some of their contemporaries, we can begin to make differentiations between the person and the representation. If we also keep in mind that representations are an interpretation based on an event, something that actually happened, then we can offer a re-reading, or a reinterpretation, of that event. Thus, this chapter is primarily concerned with offering a reinterpretation of the representations of immigration, nationalism, and patriarchy that concern the athletes in this

study. I begin by focusing specifically on 'The Utility of Citizenship' for black African migrant athletes. By taking into account the circumstances surrounding their reception and experiences in the West, we can read against the nationalist Western narrative regarding the decision to naturalize. Next, in the section entitled 'Generation and National Belonging', I take Drogba and Balotelli, 1.5 and 2nd generation respectively, and their intersections with athletes of the same generation in order to further discuss issues of racial identity, racism, and national belonging. My third section, 'Religious Identity', looks more closely at Olajuwon and his refusal of a racial identity in favor of a religious one in the form of Islam. Olajuwon's efforts towards embracing Islam and distancing himself from issues of race provide us an example of an alternative way immigrants may construct identity within the West. Lastly, in 'Post-Feminism and the African Athlete', I examine in depth the representation of African patriarchy and whether the women in my research can be seen as truly resistive feminist figures, or are only positioned as such for Western consumption.

THE UTILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

In order to demonstrate the intersection between immigrants, their host society and the state, it is informative to look at the acquisition of citizenship. While the taking of citizenship in Western countries is often presented to us in nationalist terms and understandings, the transnational nature of athletic migration blurs the lines between nation-states. This nationalist discourse, among both fans and media, ignores the contemporary realities of globalized sport and the destruction of local sports leagues. Despite an increasingly foreign workforce, players are still being 'asked' to fit themselves unproblematically within local particularities and sport lore (Backe, Crabbe, and Solomos 2001; Gilroy 2005; Markovits and Rensmann 2010). Upon further examination, we find that the media's nationalist discourse can be interrupted by what the athletes in this study say and do. I begin here with Mutombo before moving on to athletes with similar activities and motivations regarding citizenship.

What the case of Mutombo demonstrates, while keeping in mind individual histories and motivations, is that immigrant reception is vitally important in the formation of identity and experiences in the West for black African immigrants. This fact, of course, has been born out in the literature but is worth taking a look at here because it is possible to examine how athletes with similar celebrity status end up forming very different identities, attitudes and concerns as it regards where they grew up or immigrated to. Mutombo grew up in a household where education

was stressed, a number of his siblings attended college, and his father was educated in France and involved in the school system. He attended Georgetown University on scholarship, and chose the school so he could be close to a family member, a cousin working as a doctor, in Washington D.C. (Telander 1994). His sophomore year he joined the Hoya basketball team with head coach John Thompson and future Hall of Fame basketball player Patrick Ewing.

John Thompson is well known for being one of the first prominent, and successful, African American head coaches at the Division I collegiate level. Aside from his own status as a black coach at a wealthy and predominantly white university, Thompson was very involved with recruiting black players, helping them graduate, and preparing them for life after basketball. Thompson was also heavily involved with the black community at the university and in the surrounding neighborhoods in Washington, D.C. Suffice to say, Thompson was well aware of the racial attitudes of the time and the challenges that young black men faced. Patrick Ewing, on the other hand, was another child of the black diaspora who emigrated to the U.S. with his parents from Jamaica early in life and was a few years ahead of Mutombo at Georgetown. He too played the center position. While his immigrant experiences were likely very different from Mutombo's, who immigrated much later in life, it would seem rather likely that they discussed matters such as dealing with racism and being black in the U.S. This notion is reinforced by reports that Ewing, Mutombo, and Thompson often spent time together off the court and discussed political issues of the day, especially as it concerned then Zaire.

'We were sitting at dinner before we played Villanova', said Georgetown coach John Thompson. 'It was myself and Alonzo, one of the managers and Dikembe. We were talking about some recent developments in Africa. Now, there's no way we would have been talking about that if Dikembe hadn't been sitting there'. (*St. Louis Dispatch* 1990)

For most of his days at Georgetown, Mutombo was constantly reminded of Ewing's success, and even though their games are nothing alike, their journey to the NBA is similar. 'He was a great footstep to follow because he almost came from the same path that I came from', says Mutombo, who played at Georgetown from 1988-1991. 'He came from a poor country in Jamaica. He came here to look for a livelihood with his parents. He didn't play basketball that much'. (Youngmisuk 2002)

Such reporting is a part of the trend of representing Mutombo as an intellectual individual. This time spent would extend throughout the NBA careers of Mutombo and Ewing, and develop into a kind of brotherhood, eventually including Alonzo Mourning, who followed Mutombo at

Georgetown, as well. Mourning and Ewing would later be some of the first players to contribute significant amounts of money to Mutombo's humanitarian causes when he was having trouble finding other NBA players to do so. It is also worth mentioning that Mutombo and Ewing were very involved in the NBA collective bargaining sessions between players and owners in the 1990s. This means that, at a time when international players were still rare, black immigrants, and Georgetown alumni, were overrepresented on the players' side of the negotiating table.

As previously mentioned, Mutombo often drew praise, and indeed continues to give speeches and collect donations, for his foundation and his work in building a hospital in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Perhaps his highest honor to date is being explicitly mentioned by President George Bush during the State of the Union Address in 2007.

'When America serves others', Bush said, 'we show the strength and generosity of our country . . . The greatest strength we have is the heroic kindness, courage and self-sacrifice of the American people. You see this spirit often if you know where to look - and tonight we need only look above to the gallery . . . Dikembe Mutombo grew up in Africa, amid great poverty and disease. He came to Georgetown University on a scholarship to study medicine, but coach John Thompson took a look at Dikembe and had a different idea. Dikembe became a star in the NBA and a citizen of the United States. But he never forgot the land of his birth - or the duty to share his blessings with others. He built a brand-new hospital in his old hometown . . . 'A friend has said of this good-hearted man: 'Mutombo believes that God has given him this opportunity to do great things'. And we're proud to call this son of the Congo a citizen of the United States of America'. (Feigen 2007a)

As a brief digression, it is telling that the Bush administration took pains to make sure Mutombo was truly a United States citizen. The excerpt below is a compelling insight into how Mutombo gets used as a positive model of immigration for a President who was often criticized on his immigration policies.

The same goes for a flight from Houston to Washington D.C. It takes three hours, but Mutombo couldn't care less after he accepted a last-minute invitation from the Big Guy. This was after Mutombo took the first of three calls from the White House on his cellphone. The first call was short, vague and scary. 'They asked me how the hospital was coming along, and I said, 'It's coming along very well. Hopefully, the opening will be July 15', 'Mutombo said. 'Then they asked me if I'm an American citizen, and I said, 'Yes'. Then it was like, 'Oh, well. We'll talk to you later'. I'm like, 'What's going on? What did I do? I don't have any problem with the IRS'. (Moore 2007)

The single minded focus Mutombo has demonstrated throughout his career and into retirement as it regards his foundation is certainly an incredible achievement. However, there is a story behind how Mutombo came to be an American citizen that receives virtually no attention. This begins with Mutombo's assertions that he would not naturalize. Throughout most of his career in the NBA and life in the States, Mutombo was consistent in his declaration that he is and always would be a citizen of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The examples below demonstrate as much.¹

[Hakeem] Olajuwon is delighted to be playing basketball for his adopted home country in the Olympics. Mutombo, meanwhile, doesn't get it. Mutombo, who says he will never apply for American citizenship, paid a visit to the Rockets' locker room following a late-season game and chided Olajuwon by pulling his Zairean passport out of his pocket. He waved it, telling Olajuwon that instead of playing for America, the two of them should be banding together to lead an African squad. (*The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* 1996)

And unlike fellow NBA big man Hakeem Olajuwon, who hails from Nigeria, Mutombo has no plans to become a U.S. citizen. His wife is as good example as any of the depth of Mutombo's roots. Having called off an engagement to an American woman after she refused to sign a pre-nuptial agreement, Mutombo bumped into Rose, a student, during a visit to the U.S. ambassador to Zaire in the summer of 1995. (Keeler 1996)

Mutombo could lay into the United States government for its lack of African action, but, the fact is, he's not a U.S. citizen and has no intention of becoming one. 'No, I will not. Not for this country', he said. 'I will live here and work here, and when I retire I will go home. I think I represent my culture, where I come from. It means a lot to me to be from another country'. Dual citizenship doesn't make any sense, he says. 'For which purpose?' he said. 'If Uncle Sam would say I could pay 25 percent in taxes, I would. It (not being a citizen) really doesn't affect me . . . It has something to do with the soul. Africa has been abandoned by the West, not just the United States'. (Fine 1999)

In these examples, Mutombo is certainly direct. He displays an attachment to a pan-African identity form which strongly values African and Congolese culture and unity. These kinds of discourses are problematic in that Mutombo leans upon an essentialized African subject, a creation which tends to make static the concept of race and its fusion with culture and nation (Gilroy 2005). He also talks about his desire to work in the U.S. and then return to the Congo, a tendency that typifies the outlook of many first generation immigrants, often called the 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979). Though Mutombo is never criticized for his racialized identity in my data, the second excerpt above does take his pan-African outlook as necessarily exclusionary concerning relationships. As we will later see more clearly, the media tends to use national, or

continental, boundaries as rigid determinants when discussing identity. It remains possible that Mutombo felt the need to marry a Congolese woman because of his 'roots', but I was unable to find any evidence to support that claim. Mutombo reportedly broke off the marriage because he wanted to make sure his extended family was taken care of by keeping his estate in their hands should anything happen to him or the marriage. It was a situation which saw Mutombo enter therapy and embitter families on both sides (Heath 1995).

I will return to some of the topics above later, however, in 2006, Mutombo changes his mind and naturalizes to United States citizenship. Different reports on why Mutombo became a citizen emerged and most were fairly consistent in their questioning of Mutombo and his responses. There is not much fanfare in the media around his decision, and Mutombo seems to have reconciled taking U.S. citizenship while remaining Congolese. As with many first generation immigrants, Mutombo appears to have realized that, despite having the material resources to return (which differs from most other immigrants), his life and that of his family is now intricately tied to the United States.²

Houston Rockets center Dikembe Mutombo will soon be sworn in as an American citizen. He was told by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security on Wednesday that his paperwork had been approved. 'It's more joy and more happiness', Mutombo, who was born in Congo, told Houston television station KRIV. 'My blood is still going to be Congolese. This is where we are going to call home, so it's good to be an American'. (*San Jose Mercury News* 2006)

'Mutombo's foundation has funded a large portion of a \$27 million hospital opening in Kinshasa, which will be the first new hospital in the Congo in 40 years', the White House said. Mutombo recently became a naturalized U.S. citizen. In an interview with the Houston Chronicle last year, he said, 'We all are here for a purpose. My purpose is to make a difference to society, not just by being a good human being, but to contribute to lives'. (Hedges 2007)

Former President Bush has met with Mutombo on several occasions and spoke at the Rockets' 2005 Tux & Tennessees dinner to help raise \$500,000 for the hospital. 'I've had the chance to meet with a lot of members of Congress, a few cabinet members as well', Mutombo said. 'I didn't know this message was going to reach the president. To me, to be a citizen of this country ... to be praised for my work in Africa, I'm very happy'. (Feigen 2007b)

However, there was one news article which received a slightly different answer from Mutombo.

Houston Rockets center Dikembe Mutombo is expected to be sworn in as an American citizen on Thursday . . . The NBA star said he hopes becoming an American will help his cause of building a hospital in his hometown of Kinshasa. 'I think it will open up the door more to the government assistance in this country', he said. (*The Associated Press* 2006)

This last example gives a glimpse of Mutombo using United States citizenship as a vehicle in which to secure further funding for his projects in the Congo. As with many cracks, inconsistencies, in the representations of the athletes I have analyzed, the above quote appears only once in my sample of Mutombo news articles. This use of citizenship to accomplish certain goals is a conscious effort on Mutombo's part and resonates strongly with a later (2011) presentation he gives at the University of Georgia's Terry College of Business. In that presentation, Mutombo is asked by an audience member about his foundation and what was the hardest part in building his hospital. Mutombo chooses to focus primarily on the fund raising process and he explains to the audience that,

You have to be articulate, how you talk to people, 'cause sometimes you can turn somebody off right away as soon as you start your speech. You've got to know how you are approaching somebody to make sure he opens his wallet by the time you finish speaking. You know, I don't walk in a room and say, 'Hey give me money, my name is Dikembe Mutombo, hey can I have two hundred dollars from you'. No, I'm not going to give it to you even though I have it. First you've gotta tell me some story, you gotta give me some numbers, some statistics, you know. When you're telling somebody that I'm from the place where the life expectancy is 45 and 47 for women, and the way my people have perished because of this pandemic of HIV/AIDS, which has destroyed the fabric of our society, and has killed more than 30 million people so far and left more than 20 some plus million people living with the virus in Africa. You tell people, I mean the children in Africa today, more than half a billion [sic] of children in Africa under the age of 15 are orphans, they don't have no parents and they don't know where their future holds for them. And you tell people, how's the continent itself, you know, there are more than almost 800,000 children under the age of 15 years old, which is the youngest population in the world today as we live in. And you talk about all of those diseases that killing them. If you're not doing, my sister [audience member], you're not going to get no money from nobody. Those are some of my lessons, they may not teach you that at graduate school but, uh, those are the lessons you learn in life. (Terry College of Business 2011)

Mutombo seems very well aware of his position and the necessity to play upon the single story of Africa in order to secure funding. The statistics Mutombo recalls in his example do exist and are terrible, but are seemingly deployed by Mutombo in stereotypical and uncomplicated ways. For the purposes of my analysis, what Mutombo does or does not know is irrelevant, if not impossible to determine. My emphasis is that there is an industry of charitable giving that forces

Mutombo into certain modes of discourse and action. That discourse and action prohibits Mutombo from engaging in criticism of the United States and its policies towards Africa. Earlier in his career, we are given a glimpse of how Mutombo may struggle with being silent towards the political actions of the US and its international military interventions.

Mutombo has been particularly frustrated with the response of the international community. 'It's been tough', he said before his 16-point, 17-rebound performance led the Hawks to a 77-70 victory over the Celtics last night. 'It's tough the way the American government has responded to Kosovo that quick. We have had the same ethnic cleansing going on in our country for the past year. Our next-door neighbors in Rwanda and Uganda have been fighting. You see that the rest of the world didn't respond to that. It's tough, especially for someone like me who lost his mom. People are getting killed every day'. Mutombo feels the reason Kosovo has become such a cause and Africa has not is a racial thing, although he'll never verbalize it. 'Y'know, I'm a student of diplomacy', he said. 'That's what I studied at Georgetown University, so I can see the answer, but I'm not going to give it to you. It's been hard for me, not just losing family members but losing my mom in the war. I lost a couple of other family members. I just felt that no action has been taken. In the U.N. they're trying to do something right now, but it's too late'. (Fine 1999)

What the quote demonstrates is Mutombo's awareness, indeed anger, that race and racism impact the military interventions of the West and that, as an athlete, he is not in the position to be overly critical. Thus, the need for Mutombo, as a black African, to reflect back to primarily wealthy white audiences their preconceived notions of African poverty, disease, and helplessness, is an exercise in self-confirmation. The aspect of helplessness specifically, relies more on the current state of governments in African countries rather than the lingering and contemporary legacies of colonialism. Because African governance has 'failed', the inability of blacks to self-govern is discursively confirmed in the West and African peoples are suffering through no fault of their own. This construction of African peoples is in distinct contradiction to the situations of black populations in Western countries, who, presumably, could benefit, if they wanted, from the opportunities available to 'everyone' in Western societies through meritocratic effort and state support.

Mutombo, as a black foreign Other telling stories that are already known about Africa, gives legitimacy to those stereotypes and the industry of charitable giving. As a mimetic figure, Mutombo stands in for and represents the entire society and culture of the Democratic Republic of Congo, at best, or all of Africa, at worst. That Mutombo seems to accept and welcome this

role while maintaining a singular discourse on Africa should be problematic for us because he does little to explode the myths of Africa. Yet, with the explanations from Mutombo above, we can see that Mutombo is negotiating an industry from which he has learned that in order to accomplish his goals there are certain discourses he needs to engage in. This industry of charitable donations and aid, which has been called the White-Savior Industrial Complex by novelist Teju Cole (2012), relies on simplistic portrayals of Africa's problems (and those of developing countries in general) in order to make donors feel that they can make a difference by making a financial contribution. This approach ignores the political realities of African countries and the agency of African peoples to solve their own problems. As Cole (2012) has put forth, the White-Savior Industrial Complex is not about social justice that would result in the change of Western policies towards developing countries, but rather it is about donors having strong emotional and sentimental experiences of giving which serve to justify their privilege. Mutombo's discourse seems purposefully constructed to accomplish such a goal. The best thing potential donors could do to help peoples in African countries would be to convince their governments to stop the oppressive neoliberal economic controls that have been forced upon African nations (Cole 2012).

I have focused on Mutombo because he represents the most provocative example in my study. However, if we look at Tamba Hali and Hakeem Olajuwon, the only other athletes to undergo the naturalization process, we can discern comparable reasons for pursuing citizenship in the West. For example, Tamba Hali attained citizenship as a way to be able to have his mother join him in the U.S. from Liberia.⁴

Once he cashes in on the healthy signing bonus he will receive as a first-round or early second-round pick and completes the application process to become a U.S. citizen, he can be reunited with the mother he hasn't seen in 12 years. (LeGere 2006)

In August he overcame another when he flew to his home state of New Jersey and successfully took the test to become a U.S. citizen. He hopes citizenship, along with his stature in the NFL, could make his mother's stay in the United States permanent. (Skretta 2006)

Hali finally was reunited with his mother, Rachel Keita. You may recall that the former Penn State star hadn't seen his mother since escaping war torn Liberia as a 10-year-old in 1994. Hali became a U.S. citizen this summer and immediately set the wheels in motion to obtain a visa for his mother. (*Calgary Herald* 2006)

In other quotes (see notes), attention is drawn to the ability to fulfill dreams, vote, and have equal rights once Hali becomes a citizen. Coming from the situation in Liberia as Hali did, this congratulatory note is appropriate and sympathetic to Hali's reunion with his mother. Questions remain, however, regarding United States policies on family unification and, potentially, asylum. Because Hali's parents were not married, before immigrating Hali grew up with his mother, stepfather and (step)siblings, his father could only petition for his children to come to the States. Why U.S. immigration law is so inflexible to complex family situations, which we may expect in situations such as Liberia's, goes unquestioned. A clear path towards getting Hali's mother out of Liberia is also unclear, with citizenship seen as another tool in the process.

'Getting anyone from one country to another is never easy, and I'm sure a lot of other people are having the same problems', he said. 'They say to do it this way, but that doesn't work. We try it a different way, and that doesn't work, either. We think that when we become citizens (Hali is completing work on his naturalization) it will become easier. Our other way is through humanitarian reasons, showing that her life is in danger'.
(*Topeka Capital-Journal* 2006)

Hali has genuinely made the U.S. his home and does not appear to have any lingering desire to be 'Liberian'. It is his use of citizenship and how the attainment of citizenship is necessary to live a certain way or have family with you that draw into question the boundaries and morality of the nation-state. Citizenship becomes a way to value and protect some lives over others, thus creating hierarchies of human value.

In a somewhat contradictory manner, Olajuwon rationalizes American citizenship into his worldview and its associated lifestyle. His naturalization was also just in time for the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics and, despite some bureaucratic snags, his inclusion into the gold medal winning Dream Team III. While the dominant discourse focuses on his participation in the Olympics, it also comes at a time when Olajuwon, often noted as a shrewd businessperson, was actively seeking mass-market advertising opportunities, something his presence on Dream Team III helps him finally achieve.

As for the Houston Rockets' Olajuwon, who may be the best player in the post-Michael Jordan NBA, he considers himself 'more global' and avoids political involvement. 'We're here representing our country. We are being good examples. Wherever we can help, we stand tall', said Olajuwon, who recently became a U.S. citizen. 'I just don't want to get caught in the politics. I believe in equal rights, justice, fairness and being a good example'. Consequently, Olajuwon's focus is wider than small corners of Africa or Texas

. . . 'In the United States, we don't know how lucky we are with peace', he said. 'Everybody is supposed to live in peace and take care of each other—without color issue. You have to look beyond and look into the soul of people and for the good and fight against evil, greed, power struggles. When that comes into play, then there is selfishness. Everybody is living for today and there are moral (problems) and we lose focus of the quality of life'. (Patton 1993)

I wanted to become an American citizen because I wanted to be able to travel and to have the honor that any individual deserves, if they live in a way that is honorable. Being an American citizen, if you are a good American citizen, gives you respect. (Blaine 1996)

Olajuwon has been featured in ad campaigns for Taco Bell and M&M Mars and, of course, the Visa commercial with Pippen where he became the butt of a joke that played on his imprecise command of the English language rather than shying away from it. 'It is my favorite of all the ads I have ever done', Olajuwon said. 'Somebody was finally not afraid to have fun with the way I talk. They used the accent as a positive, not a negative, and played to it. It made me feel finally like I was being accepted as one of the members of the American Dream Team, not an outsider from someplace else'. (*The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* 1996)

In some ways Olajuwon's words and actions go against more nationalist discourses of loving one's country solely and unconditionally. Yet in other ways the inherent individualism of the acts, and the lack of effort towards political transformation, aligns with hegemonic neoliberal ideology. Olajuwon's discourse of being a good citizen by ignoring politics and race is more of the consumer-citizen variety, which in his case further extends to the freedom to promote consumption by advertising for name brand products, the most controversial of which was Uncle Ben's Rice. Similarly, Didier Drogba signed on to questionable ads for the cocoa industry ahead of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa (Kunzler and Poli 2012). These athletes may be transnational and challenge national borders, but as highly skilled and valuable labor their actions are more indicative of the declining importance of the nation-state and the increasing importance of capital. Put another way, though they may appear to transcend the state in some respects, they still belong to and reaffirm the dominance of neoliberalism, which is currently centered in the West. Western countries are (re)valorized because individuals must attain Western citizenship in order to conduct their affairs 'freely'.

The situations I have discussed here are thus very different from the more straightforward concerns in the media that migrant athletes naturalize in order to 'unfairly' compete for the host country. Such a discourse often reinforces authentic notions of national community and refuses

to see immigrants as true citizens. Some evidence of this issue arose in this study concerning distance runners that intersected with Loroupe and Ndereba, such as Lornah Kiplagat who married a Dutch citizen and began running professionally for that country. Yet what is most important is that the concept of immigration and naturalization for the sake of competing nationally for another country reinforces national boundaries and creates hierarchies of citizenship within the state. Conversely, the action of the aforementioned athletes uses the nation-state, its citizenship, to further their more transnational goals, even if those goals are 'simply' family unification. The media representations of the naturalization of black African immigrant athletes, often using their own words through interviews, put a nationalist gloss on what could otherwise be considered a transnational act hampered by the Western state.

GENERATION AND NATIONAL BELONGING

Second generation immigrants and those who immigrate as children or teenagers face a different set of experiences in their host societies than adults who immigrate later. Because of their experiences in youth culture and the educational system, we can think of the second generation as being more integrated into society than their parents (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway 2008; Vickerman 1999). The second generation in Europe and the U.S. display signs of political integration and citizenship that refute fears of national decline because of immigration and integration. In many ways they feel, and are, entitled to the full citizenship denied their parents and refuse to be relegated to the marginal category of 'second generation' (Gilroy 2010). Of course, they still face a number of barriers to full participation (citizenship), chief among them being continued discrimination in education and the job market (Schneider, Chavez, DeSipio and Waters 2012).

I begin this section with Didier Drogba, the example he presents is slightly different from the athletes I have analyzed in this chapter so far because he spent most of his childhood growing up in France. As Kunzler and Poli (2012) note, Drogba does not even speak the Ivorian languages, Bété specifically, very well. We can look at Didier Drogba's experiences with racism growing up in France and his later attachment to Ivory Coast. Throughout his playing career, Drogba intersects with a plethora of African and European-born black soccer players. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, many of the players he seems to spend time with socially tend to be in some combination of African, Afro-French, and Ivorian. Drogba, in his autobiography (Drogba and Penot 2008), makes clear that such a division does indeed take place, particularly in

England. He explains that his teammates at Chelsea made clear to him that the (white) English socialize with the (white) English, Brazilians with Brazilians, and Africans with Africans. Such divisions appear to make Drogba uncomfortable as it regards being a member of a soccer team, but he also makes links between such self-segregation and his childhood experiences as a black African immigrant in France.

Drogba recollects being the only black child in his school classes, people closing their window shutters when he walked by, being called racist names while playing youth soccer, and later living in cramped quarters with his parents and siblings in a Parisian *banlieu*. He tells us that he saw family members struggle to find jobs despite being overqualified and how he saw soccer as a way to succeed. These experiences stand in stark contrast to the freedom and joy he experienced, and *remembers*, when he would make trips back to Ivory Coast. It is the stinging experiences of racism contrasted with the euphoric, if at times idealized, feelings of belonging which push Drogba towards identifying and playing for Ivory Coast, despite having spent most of his youth in France (Drogba and Penot 2008).

Drogba, of course, is still privileged as an athlete. He is able to identify with Ivory Coast without complication because he started to become popular in the country, fantastically so, as his playing career began to develop. However, if we look at players who intersect with Drogba, we can see that great celebrity within an African country is not necessary to develop an affinity towards playing for that country. For example, the lesser known Benoit Assou-Ekotto chose to play for Cameroon instead of France because of what he describes as a certain feeling he gets while in Cameroon. In a CNN interview, Assou-Ekotto, when asked why he decided to play for Cameroon instead of France, replied,

'... because I have more feeling with, uh, Cameroon or Africa, '... [when asked why he says] 'I don't know you know ... for example ... when I go to Spain and there is not a ... there is not a lot of black people in Spain ... and when we see each other they give you a sign, you know, means you're cool ... I'm cool ... but when I go to France I don't see ... I don't see a ... a white person who do that to me. So it's just only about the feeling and the spirit'. (Thomas, 2013)

Assou-Ekotto would later explain how he had been visiting Cameroon since he was five years old and made numerous trips when his father was still alive. It is these experiences in their respective countries and Africa in the lives of individuals like Drogba and Assou-Ekotto which play an important role in their decisions to represent those countries in international competition.

Their experiences and travels on the African continent give them a lens through which to look back at their lives in Europe and see the contradictions in treatment from Western society.

However, direct experiences within Africa are not a prerequisite or a determining factor of whether or not soccer players choose to represent an African country. In the media, there is a conservative discourse that questions why, or is confused as to how, players with African backgrounds yet born in Europe, and having never been to Africa, can choose to play for African countries. Doubtless, some players may take advantage of their African backgrounds just to be able to play internationally, because their path to playing time is blocked in their European country. However, the question and confusion over how a person who had never been to Africa could choose to play for an African team shows a lack of understanding of the black diaspora and how black immigrant communities and families construct identity.

Here is where we enter into a complex maze of possibilities and outcomes, none of which are easily predetermined, which speaks to the postmodern politics of identity creation, however forced and constrained they may be. Some athletes of African background and born in Africa immigrate to Europe and eventually compete internationally for their host countries, while others do not, and some athletes of African backgrounds born in Europe play for their African country, while others do not. The decision often rests on where the athlete feels most at home, or where they *imagine* (Anderson 1991) their home to be, if such issues of identity are indeed ever so simple. For athletes who choose to represent African countries, even without ever having been there, Africa, in some respects, acts a place from which to draw meaning and belonging while living in societies which are hostile to black life. For athletes like Drogba and Assou-Ekotto, their choices appear to be driven by feelings of belonging combined with positive personal experiences.

There are times, however, where we can see the pressure put upon black African immigrant athletes by the media and sport institutions to choose their national team loyalties. The cases of Mario Balotelli and Wilfried Zaha are particularly instructive. Balotelli, as one of the primary athletes of my analysis, often defended his choice of the Italian national team over Ghana by claiming he was, contrary to the opinion of some, Italian.⁵

'I've been waiting for years for this August 12 and becoming an Italian citizen because I am Italian', he told the paper. Despite being born in Sicily and adopted and brought up by Italian parents, the fact his blood parents were Ghanaian has meant he has had to wait till

turning 18 before he could become a full Italian national . . . 'Italy is where I was born, where I studied and where I play football', he said. 'My language is Italian and my family is Italian. It is only because of some absurd law that I have had to live for 18 years as a foreigner in my own country'. (*Agence France Presse* 2008b)

Balotetti was born in Palermo of Ghanaian parents and at the age of two was given to foster parents, the Balotelli family, in Concesio. Because they never formally adopted him he had to wait until his 18th birthday, when he officially became an adult, to be granted citizenship. 'It's an absurd law which needs to be changed. He was born and raised in Italy but had to suffer the humiliation and hardships of being considered a foreigner', said his foster mother Silvia Balotelli. (*ANSA* 2008)

Due to his Ghanaian heritage, Ghana have tried to convince him to join their national team set-up but Balotelli is determined to play for Italy instead. He is only 17 years old but has already scored four goals in three cup appearances this season and has twice come off the bench in the league. 'I refused the call-up from Ghana because I don't feel Ghanaian', he said. 'I was born here, I'm Italian, I don't know anything about Africa, I've never been there'. (*Agence France Presse* 2008a)

Balotelli had spent his whole life in Italy and had never been to Ghana or any other African country. What the quirks were in the legal system or with the way Balotelli was fostered that prevented his adoption was unclear for this study. His case is further complicated by his rift with his birth parents and his subsequent, almost hostile, denial of being Ghanaian in his youth. This denial was only fueled by his early experiences with racism during youth football and his desire to take the name of his adoptive family, which he legally could not until he was eighteen. However, once Balotelli cemented his choice by finally playing with the senior Italian team, much of the debate eventually subsided in the media.

Wilfried Zaha's choice, on the other hand, received much more attention, in part because it played out in the English press which was over-privileged in my data. Zaha, whose representation intersected with Drogba's in my analysis, was eligible to play for either Ivory Coast or England before accepting a call-up to the senior England team in 2012. Despite being born in Abidjan, Zaha and his family immigrated to England when he was around four years old and he never returned to Ivory Coast. Zaha eventually chooses to join England, but because most of his life was spent in England, the notion that he had any kind of choice to make was sometimes met with confusion.⁶

[English manager] Hodgson finds the whole debate slightly odd. Given the chance to play for England, he does not feel there should be any choice to be made. 'It is very simple',

he said. "England, for me, is very important. To be asked to play for England is a major honour and a major feather in people's caps. I am not interested in people who are deciding whether England is where they want to be. When people are called up I expect them to come running, get on a bicycle and cycle to the training session if they have to, then shake hands with everyone and tell them how happy they are to be there. All this nonsense about players receiving phone calls and being enticed away, if they are going to be enticed away, they are not the right player for us'. (Stone 2012)

He has been the subject of a concerted effort by the Ivory Coast football federation (FIF) to persuade him to play for his country of birth. He has been visited at home in south London by the president of the federation, Sidy Diallo, and been contacted by manager Sabri Lamouchi as well as Didier Drogba, who is currently in London ahead of the team's friendly against Austria in Linz tomorrow . . . 'It's 50:50 because I was born in Ivory Coast but all I know is England', Zaha said . . . The former Palace manager Neil Warnock told The Independent yesterday the FA should do everything in its power to make sure that Zaha does not slip away from them as Chelsea's Victor Moses, another Palace academy graduate, did when he opted to play for Nigeria this year despite representing England at several junior levels after first arriving in the UK at the age of 11. Now at Leeds, Warnock said: '[Zaha] should have been courted by England, I spoke to the FA about it at the time. We're complaining about the amount of foreign players in the Premier League and we are losing ones who could play for England'. (Wallace and Moore 2012)

He was born in the west African country and lived there until he was four but despite feeling proud of his parents' heritage, the importance of England in giving him a chance in professional football proved crucial. A source said: 'Wilfried wants to play for England. It's been difficult for him because he knows what Ivory Coast means to his family and he even had Didier Drogba calling to ask him to play for them. 'But England has been a massive part of his life. It's what he knows, the country has been his home for nearly all his life and they're who he wants to play for'. (Bernstein 2013)

When another migrant athlete Guy Demel, was asked about Zaha's choice we get a more nuanced response.

Demel believes only Zaha can make the decision as to which nation he wants to represent permanently. He said: "I think Wilfried is a very good player now and has lots of potential to get even better as he is still very young. Of course, as an Ivory Coast player myself it would be great for him to play for our country, but it is his decision and no one else's . . . I think he is an intelligent boy who will know what the right decision is and if he feels he is more English - as he has been growing up here - then choosing England will be right, but if he feels he wants to represent his birth heritage, then playing for Ivory Coast will be his decision. No one else can choose for him, it has to be Wilfried'. (Bryans 2012)

Despite Zaha's choice being a 'simple' one from the perspective of the English national team manager, the question is never asked how English, or British, Zaha feels, or if he feels he belongs in that society. In the Assou-Ekotto interview mentioned above, the interviewer, before asking Assou-Ekotto why he chose to play for Cameroon, makes the statement that many players who play internationally for African countries have never been to the continent. The statement assumes that these players are just taking advantage of the ability to play internationally, almost defrauding African national teams, and, because they have never been to the continent, could not possibly know anything about Africa or 'be' African. It is such sentiments that take for granted the black African immigrant communities in the West, their transnational activities, and the transmission of culture and values to their children (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Vickerman 1999). The influence of Zaha's family and their expectations also go unexplored. In one of the excerpts above Zaha briefly mentions what playing for Ivory Coast would mean to his family, but the conversation ends there. Instead, the influence of Drogba and his efforts to get Zaha to join the Ivory Coast team is what pulls Zaha into my analysis. The interference of Drogba and other Ivory Coast officials is treated almost as an intrusion upon English property. We are not privy to the conversations between Drogba and Zaha, but it would seem unlikely, given Drogba's own choices and experiences with race and racism in France, that they were simple conversations about playing time.

Athletes like Wilfried Zaha, Benoit Assou-Ekotto, and Drogba, among many others, who have choices to make about which country they represent internationally, challenge hegemonic notions of race and nationalism, and national coherence. Western European national soccer teams have been slow to realize that immigrants to their countries and their children are not automatically going to choose to play for their host country, or country of birth. African countries and their national soccer teams for some time now have been active in courting youth players in the diaspora to play for their teams. The lack of such courting of black immigrant youth players by European national teams can be interpreted as a continuation of the salient exclusion of immigrants from mainstream Western society, and is thus indicative of how racialized the processes of claiming nationality are. Concurrently, the expectation that an athlete could get 'lured' away or play for another country without having been there speaks to the fears of immigrants not wanting to be a part of the Western nation-state. As Gilroy (2005) might put it, there is a certain melancholia and longing for the colonial subject that would do as told. It is a

discourse that, again, reifies the link between race and nation. Choosing to play for a national team is a very public declaration, or form, of nationality that actually means very little. It is an act given exaggerated importance because it happens in sport, but the discourse around it is compelling because it already expects these athletes to choose 'Africa'. Hence, such a high-visibility discourse obscures the important ways in which the second generation tries to engage and integrate into Western societies.

Conversely, coverage of black African immigrant athletes and their choice of national representation by African news outlets can be equally problematic. African newspapers were not a focal point of my analysis, yet, particularly with Drogba, a number of articles from African news services appeared in my data. The African news services carried articles from newspapers in major African cities, such as Abidjan, Nairobi, Accra, Abuja, etc. These articles demonstrate the tension that exists between Africa and Europe, but often deploy discursive strategies that construct an essentialized African being. African papers were also very aware of the continent's marginalization, particularly as it concerned European attitudes towards the Africa Cup of Nations tournament, which is held during the European season. While attempting to validate black Africa and reject European dominance and white supremacy, these articles sometimes tread towards black supremacy and stereotypical understandings of athletic ability. At times such sentiments were voiced by African players and officials in Western articles as well. The following examples come from my analysis of Didier Drogba.⁷

Charlton's Souleymane Diawara was born in Senegal and, like Chimbonda, schooled at Le Havre and later Sochaux in eastern France. 'When you come from Africa you do have to succeed for your family, for yourself and for your country. You know that if you don't make it as a player, you have no alternative. I would not want to go back to my country and work in a factory'. Anthropologists may regard as taboo the dominance theory of West African genes requiring speed and strength, yet the athletes themselves are less reticent. 'I do believe African players have a great impact on football because of what they come with, such as strength, both physical and mental', says Diawara. 'They are stronger and quicker on the ground, never tired. We are made like winners'. (Draper and Channel 2007)

The African tournament, which comes in the middle of the European season, often leads to a tug-of-war for the players between the African teams and the wealthy European clubs. But CAF president Issa Hayatou felt strongly enough to put his foot down. 'We are not going to bow to their whims and caprices', Hayatou said. 'As long as I remain the president of CAF, the date scheduled for Africa's biggest soccer fiesta will remain unchanged'. The French first division will lose 43 players during the tournament, and the

English Premier League has 37 players away. Chelsea, Newcastle and Marseille each lose four players for the tournament, while three will be missing from Arsenal and Everton. (Pugmire 2008)

As Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992) explains, movements and discourses of Afro-centricity, Pan-Africanism, Garveyism, or Negritude, often put forth notions of black supremacy in order to fight white supremacy. Appiah, as well as others throughout my work here, discredit such approaches by explaining that Afro-centricity and similar modes of thought too often rely on exclusion and recreate social hierarchies of gender, race, and sexuality. Edward Said (1989), invoking Frantz Fanon and Aime Césaire, explains that what those two intellectuals required was an abandonment of culturally fixed and authorized notions of identity in order to be, live, and have a different future as (post)colonial peoples; hence despite the necessity of nationalism, it is also the enemy. Perhaps more innocently, Gilroy (2005) explains that race is often taken up as a form of identity by individuals in order to calm their anxieties over identity, and where they belong, in our post-modern times. As mentioned previously with regards to Mutombo, race as identity is an attempt to find a fixed point with which to anchor, yet remains problematic because it assumes that race, and by extension nationality and culture, is itself unchanging.

Despite the problematic discourses of news articles from different African cities, there is validity to some of the assertions of different treatment and lack of respect towards African tournaments and African players. African news articles and the concerns of African nations as it regards sports certainly do not feature in Western media. This lack of presence makes the actions and words of celebrity black African immigrant athletes important. Of course, black athletes in Europe have been active for some time in speaking out against racism in the stadiums and the lack of opportunities in the front offices of soccer clubs. In addition to the focus on racism in general, black African athletes are increasingly speaking out against treatment they see as unfair because of the migrant status and the fact that they play for African teams. Examples from Drogba and his intersection with other black athletes demonstrate this awareness.⁸

'To be an African player is not an advantage. A French international or an Ivory Coast international have totally different status. 'An African of equal value will earn less than a European. We don't start on a level footing. When you talk to a sponsor about a contract or with a club, they say to you: 'That is the way it is'. 'If you were in the France team, the negotiation would be pushed further and in the end you would earn a lot more money. Let's stop the lie'. Drogba also rapped 'a lack of respect' for the Africa Cup of Nations in the Premier League. He said: 'When I see a player like Fredi Kanoute was stopped by

Tottenham from going to the 2004 CAN for Mali, it lacked respect - not only for the player but for the whole of Africa'. (McLeman 2008)

Didier Drogba has claimed that black African footballers are subject to racism and unequal treatment during their commercial negotiations with clubs and sponsors. The controversial Chelsea striker revealed he has fought against such disadvantages all his career and has only overcome them now as he is successful and famous . . . Chelsea, who have not only Drogba but John Obi Mikel, Salomon Kalou and Michael Essien on their books, will be disappointed not to be excluded by name from the striker's accusations, especially as they now pay him £100,000 a week. (Hunter 2008)

Athletes like Drogba are at times given a platform by major news outlets in the West enabling them to make their views heard. It is unfortunate, however, that the causes and blame for the continued devaluation and mistreatment of black and African players is treated abstractly by the media. Drogba's accusations are loosely aimed at soccer clubs and the advertising industry, but there is nothing to make us think that something will change anytime soon. Similarly, in the CNN interview with Assou-Ekotto, the problem of tense race relations is something France has to solve. There are no actors and no institutions with which to lay blame, and so there is also no way forward. Racism is something France, or soccer clubs, or advertisers, have to deal with but we are given no indication of how such as transformation may happen.

Additionally, the discourse of Drogba on racism and discrimination is given token treatment by the media. As a highly paid athlete, which is made reference to above, Drogba is deemed to be making too much money to complain about his treatment by fans, media, and society at large. That his words are often truncated and articles quickly move to other, generally trivial, news is evidence of his devaluation. That race and racism are treated in the abstract or contained within the stereotypical soccer 'hooligan' requires no action from readers and remains a problem for blacks only. Every incident of racism in soccer receives a short yet overwhelming burst of media attention and should make us wonder if, because of the simplistic nature of the reporting, audiences do not get fatigued by the predictable story lines.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

In beginning this look at the role of religion in the representation of Hakeem Olajuwon, it may help to begin with a brief critical engagement of Olajuwon's autobiography (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996). As has been noted elsewhere, more recently in the work of Ben Carrington (2010), autobiographies are themselves a representation, or re-presentation, of events concerning the life of an individual. Thus individuals often use the genre in order to present themselves and

the facts of their lives in the best possible light. This tendency means that we cannot haphazardly take the contents of autobiographies as objective fact, because they are essentially one-sided conversations. However, such texts remain useful because they do give us insight into the experiences of an individual and how they justify or make sense of their experiences. Olajuwon's autobiography remains of great interest despite its significant limitations and biases.

As with many sport autobiographies, Olajuwon's is a journey through his career, yet ends (capitalizes) somewhat prematurely with his second straight NBA championship with the Houston Rockets in 1995. At this point in his life Olajuwon is ten years into his NBA career, rededicated himself to Islam, and has attained United States citizenship. Throughout the book Olajuwon weaves personal information and thoughts with events both on and off the basketball court, which gives us some context regarding Olajuwon's life. Of course, Olajuwon's narrative has significant drawbacks and biases. Without digressing too much, the account Olajuwon provides is often unapologetic, absolves him of any shortcomings or blame, and is often absolute and moralizing. Throughout the book, as well as his representation during the time of its release, Olajuwon also decries the 'trash talking' in the NBA and the lifestyles of basketball players as it regards women, money, night-life, and drugs. Though never stated directly, these intentional acts, combined with his downplaying of racism in the U.S., demonstrates Olajuwon's awareness of race and racism in the U.S. and the social position of African Americans which he actively tries to differentiate himself from. In rereading articles from his representation after the autobiography, it becomes clear that this shifting of blame is something Olajuwon does throughout his career.

From a more academic perspective, the text touches too briefly on Olajuwon's relationships, upbringing in Nigeria, and thoughts on Islam, but this is perhaps too demanding, given the intended audience is not an academic one. Given these shortcomings and biases, what we are left with is, again, a *glimpse* into how Olajuwon perceives and acts upon his life in America. This glimpse begins with Olajuwon's upbringing and eventual migration to the United States. Throughout the book, Olajuwon's experiences resonate with the literature regarding black immigrants to the U.S. and Western Europe, which explains how black immigrants enter their host countries with different experiences and expectations than native black populations (Reid 1969; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999).

Early in his autobiography Olajuwon explicitly recalls activities that distanced him from his African American teammates. For example, he writes about how he purposefully wore traditional Nigerian clothes and bowed when greeting (white) Houston alumni boosters in order to create his own identity. Being different, being distinctly 'Nigerian' or 'African' was thus very important for Olajuwon during his time at the University of Houston. He also recalls wanting to engage with African Americans but being rebuffed at times because of his clothing and behavior around white alumni. He also had difficulty understanding African American slang and disliked their stereotypes of Africa, as he tells us that he was sometimes called 'the big African' and heard comments (jokes) about 'living in huts' (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996:95).

Because of these issues, Olajuwon states that he spent a lot of social time in college with a Bahamian basketball player (Lynden Rose) and his friends because they understood him the most, had a culture similar to 'Africans', and clued him in to issues of racial prejudice. Olajuwon would also spend time with a fellow Nigerian national team member who immigrated to the U.S. soon after him. Clearly, Olajuwon attempts to navigate U.S. society in different ways during his college and early professional years due to his experiences with race and racism and his outsider status. Even in his representation it is notable that teammates at times comment on how they do not really know him. Overall, however, Olajuwon's autobiography only briefly touches on such topics, so we are left in the dark on many of his motivations and, additionally, where he stood in relation to the relatively large Nigerian population in the Houston area.

Olajuwon's relationship and experience with Islam in the U.S. features prominently throughout his autobiography. He recalls his early experiences and conversations with African Americans about Islam and, more importantly, the Nation of Islam (NOI) early on in his immigrant experience. He explains that once he learned what Nation of Islam was and stood for that he stopped having conversations with its members, who had initially approached him. Without acknowledging the role of the Nation of Islam in its historical context of the mid 1980s, or its place in the black community, Olajuwon denounces the Nation of Islam as not practicing proper Islam. He never tells us what this 'proper' Islam is, however he does discuss his parents' faith and practice growing up in Nigeria. We might assume Olajuwon practices Islam the way he observed growing up, but we must also remember that his return to Islam is fostered in the U.S.

Early in his college and professional years, Olajuwon admits that he drifted from religion and was not as dedicated as he later felt he should have been. The culmination of events, from

domestic problems, on/off-court fights, and allegations of drug use, in the late eighties appears to drive Olajuwon's return to religion. When seeking to rededicate himself to Islam, he describes how he began reading the Koran, attending mosque, and having other religious meetings with, primarily, other immigrants to the U.S. from African and Arab nations. After having invested himself for nearly three years, Olajuwon took a well-publicized pilgrimage (*Hajj*) to Mecca in 1991. From there, Olajuwon's status as a Muslim would be popularized and become a significant part of his representation, especially as he became a more popular and successful player in the mid-nineties.

For the rest of his career then, Olajuwon was the 'authority' in the NBA on Islam, the person to whom media would go to for everything 'Islamic'. Hence 'Islam' was added to Olajuwon's representation of foreign Otherness. At different points he would be discussed as Nigerian, or Muslim, or both. Theoretically, this situation gave Olajuwon the opportunities to try to clear up some of the harmful stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. However, Olajuwon's insistence of his version of Islam being the only acceptable, or 'proper', version is difficult to accept in that it works well with non-threatening, 'ideal', version of Islam that Western media is willing to accept. In some ways, Olajuwon ends up acting as an apologist for Islam and polices the actions of other Muslims.

As brief examples, Olajuwon was given uncontested space to talk, and pass judgment, on the actions of Mahmoud Abdul Rauf. As I mentioned previously, Abdul-Rauf refused to stand for the U.S. national anthem and flag before NBA games as a politico-religious stand against a 'symbol of tyranny and oppression' (Reilly 1996). When the media went to Olajuwon, he told them that, 'Mahmoud either misunderstood the Koran when he read it or he was given bad information or bad interpretations from other people' (Blinebury 1996). When it concerned Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, Olajuwon explains that, 'He is not teaching Islam. The call of Islam is not based on race or color but is universal. It is available to humanity, not to specific people' (Marquand 1997). Lastly, Olajuwon describes in his autobiography how he once visited boxer Mike Tyson, who was in jail for rape, because he had heard that Tyson had converted to Islam and wanted to make sure he had learned it properly (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996).

Olajuwon's approach to the practice and political utilization of Islam in a right or wrong manner ends up marginalizing the political history which gave rise specifically to NOI but more

broadly conflates black American Muslims and Nation of Islam. The latter process is evidenced by the salient media assumption that Abdul-Rauf was a member of NOI. On the other hand, because of the general confusion around Islam, it was at times assumed that Abdul-Rauf was Arab, or African, and thus foreign, capable of being excluded or deported from the U.S. (Grewal 2007). By shifting the conversation to Islam and its correct practice, or 'use', the radical political critique (whether we like it or not) otherwise contained in the words and actions of Abdul-Rauf, or Farrakhan, or even Malcolm X (see below), are neatly ignored. The following examples offer Olajuwon's explanations of his faith and decision to naturalize. In them, Olajuwon's world view is inextricably tied to his faith.⁹

What Olajuwon listens to now more than anything else in his life is the words of the Koran, the sacred book of Islam. 'I recommitted myself to my faith', Olajuwon said. 'Islam is a way of life. It's a complete code of life. It covers all areas, and explains to you the proper way to handle every situation. This is the solution to all problems, and a way for you to fight for justice and fairness and peace'. His religious beliefs had been an important part of Olajuwon's youth, but he drifted away from his faith when he became a college basketball star in the U.S . . . Olajuwon was lost in a new world, but eventually he realized that the only way to find himself again was through the tenets of his faith. 'I view things differently now', he said. 'I strive for a higher moral code. My goal is to please God. You have to sacrifice every day to do that. For me, there is no other choice than to seek knowledge and avoid ignorance. Worldly things have become less important' . . . In 1991, Olajuwon made the holy pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia . . . Olajuwon compares his pilgrimage to the journey Malcolm X made to Mecca, a trip that gave Malcolm a deeper understanding of his religion. (Blount 1994b)

Renouncing his Nigerian citizenship and embracing an American one, however, was emotional for Olajuwon. He still flinches at suggestions he betrayed his homeland. 'I would never deny Nigeria: It is where I am from. It is part of who I am', he said, adding, '(But) patriotism based on the place of your birth does not make sense. . . . You have no control over where you are born. It happens. It is your parents who did that'. And Nigeria to him also symbolizes unrealized potential and conflict. He told the Houston Chronicle [that]—even living in the United States—he remained confronted by the Nigerian reality every time he had to use his passport . . . 'Drug traffickers, smugglers, dishonest politicians—unfortunately, that seemed to be the first thing that anybody thought of when you presented a Nigerian passport', [Olajuwon] said. 'I wanted to become an American citizen because I wanted to be able to travel and to have the honor that any individual deserves—if they live in a way that is honorable. Being an American citizen, if you are a good American citizen, gives you respect . . . My goal is to lead a life of righteousness, to conduct myself with honor, to let those other Americans know that I am as good a citizen as I can be', said Olajuwon, who is a Muslim. 'That is the basis of Islam. There are no nationalities. We are all different colors, all different races, but all brothers'. (Gregorian 1996)

As with most media interviews, we would ideally like to see more of what Olajuwon thinks, but the questions are neither asked nor is the information voluntarily given. During his playing career, Olajuwon is never questioned by the media on his assertion that Islam is the answer to all problems. Islam is reinscribed as absolute and unchanging, leaving no space for those who inevitably practice it otherwise (or not at all). Regardless, it is clear that Islam is an important part of his identity that prohibits any sort of affiliation based on racial, ethnic, or national ties. However, Olajuwon is never pushed to account for the contradiction that is his taking U.S. citizenship. As Daulatzai (2000) explains, becoming a U.S. citizen not only allowed Olajuwon to play for Dream Team III in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, but also opened the door to more endorsement deals, something which Olajuwon had sought throughout his career.

Given the latter quote above, it also appears that becoming an American eased Olajuwon's travel, especially considering that he began making more frequent trips to the Middle East. That act in itself is somewhat transgressive in that it constructs citizenship as more of a tool for crossing boundaries than for love of country, however the hierarchy of American versus Nigerian citizenship, and thus humanity, remains untouched. Yet, for his part, Olajuwon tells us that he genuinely felt that Americans had made him one of their own, and that by becoming a citizen he was repaying the love he had received over the years (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996).

The media may not have questioned Olajuwon on these points but Dikembe Mutombo did, as he once criticized Olajuwon as 'too busy being an American' because of his lack of interest in African causes.¹⁰

'Now, there are only two of us [Africans in the NBA], Hakeem and me, representing 100 million, maybe one billion Africans', Mutombo said. 'That's why it is so important that we retain our identity, not as men from separate countries, but as Africans. It is very important that we represent our continent, that we present a true and accurate picture of life in Africa, that we help Africa'. Twice, Mutombo has returned to Africa with missions to strengthen bonds of understanding and to bring financial and medical assistance . . . But Olajuwon never goes home to help his people. Mutombo finds this disturbing. 'He is so busy being an American he has lost his heritage', Mutombo said, 'and this I cannot understand . . . He is like my brother. He tells me he is proud of the work I do, but he will not accompany me. I feel disappointment for that'. (Denberg 1997)

Olajuwon's response is telling, as he takes noticeable offense, questions Mutombo's motives, and ultimately explains that another Muslim is more of a brother, and knows him better, than someone who is Nigerian but not Muslim.¹¹

While his roots remain in Africa, Olajuwon explained that his belief in Islam has flowered to encompass humanity . . . 'I cannot think tribal, ethnic or national,' Olajuwon said. 'No. My cause is universal, for all people. How can he (Mutombo) say he represents Africa when in one country—just one country—you have so many ethnic tribes that are killing each other? Why do you want to represent that? These are wars for power. Simply for power. It is ignorant. Islam is trying to erase that. You are told that you must wish for your brother what you wish for yourself. That is all over the world, not just in Africa. I will give you an example. If a person in China is practicing Islam, and my blood brother is not, then that brother in China is closer to me naturally than my own blood brother who is not practicing. That is Islam. It is natural because that is my instinct. You must look at the spiritual, not the physical. We are above that . . . I cannot understand such nationalism. (Murphy 1997)

Mutombo and Olajuwon are clearly approaching the subject in different ways. Islam is certainly a part of Olajuwon's, and Africa's (West Africa's and Nigeria's in particular), heritage, to which he returns, but Mutombo is more interested in issues of race and racism. Olajuwon further explains that he does return to Nigeria and prefers, in line with his practice of Islam, to do his charitable acts anonymously so as not to draw attention. Unfortunately, the subject is dropped and never publicly appears again after the two have a private conversation. Olajuwon's focus on brotherhood between Muslims gets contradicted in light of his criticisms of Abdul-Rauf, who, coincidentally, was a teammate of Mutombo during this time. Reportedly, Mutombo and Abdul-Rauf were friends who often talked about political issues. When Abdul-Rauf was suspended from the NBA for not standing during the anthem, Mutombo lent his support to and vouched for the character of Abdul-Rauf while making comparisons to the behavior of athletes like Dennis Rodman. At the time, Rodman was a controversial figure because of his changing hair styles/colors, piercings, and off-court behavior (once wearing a white wedding dress to celebrate his autobiography). Mutombo engages Abdul-Rauf's actions as a reasoned political stance, while Olajuwon approaches it through the lens of 'Islam'. That later Olajuwon and Abdul-Rauf are casually described as friends (Fowler 1995), should make us wonder whether or not the media was looking to create an issue, purposely or coincidentally, between two members of the same marginalized faith.

While this is a provocative history, I want to refocus on the fact that Olajuwon chooses to build and express an identity around an aspect of his life that is marginalized in the West. Despite the inconsistencies that arise when reading Olajuwon, it is clear that Islam and his identity as a Muslim provide a way for him to navigate his social reality. Notably, Catherine Ndereba also projects a strong religious identity, often times called 'devout', which we more often see used for Muslims, but she does not receive the same treatment for her beliefs. Olajuwon, his lack of political message and active condemnation of 'different' ways of being a Muslim make his version of Islam 'safe', insofar as that is possible, for the U.S. mainstream. However, both Olajuwon's personal discourse and representation constructs for us an 'Islam' that is in line with the romanticized version of the Orientalists, in that it is unchanging, static, and thus essentialized. Hence we already 'know' what 'Islam' Olajuwon is involved with because of its Orientalized existence in Western societies (Said 1978; 1997).

In his autobiography, there is no mention of Olajuwon facing discrimination or harassment for being a Muslim, and he goes as far as saying that he, in part, became an American citizen because America is where he 'found' Islam (Olajuwon and Knobler 1996, p. 242). I argue that Olajuwon knew very well the stereotypes of Islam and Muslims and actively stayed away from controversial statements. As Grewal (2007) explains regarding the Abdul-Rauf suspension, many Muslim Americans, including African American Muslims and immigrant Muslims, distanced themselves in order to avoid political scrutiny. However, as Hedges (2005) reports, Olajuwon raised eyebrows in 1995 for stating at a meeting for the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) that, 'America needs Islam, Islam is the only solution and the only way of life . . . The morality of America is almost bankrupt. There is no morals [sic]'. Hedges (2005) also reports that Olajuwon spoke to the same crowd about his attempts to convert NBA players to Islam in order to be happy with their lives.

Aside from Olajuwon's statements being similar to what you may hear in churches throughout the Bible Belt of the U.S. (and right-wing media in general), MAYA and other organizations Olajuwon donated money to were later linked to terrorist groups, including Al-Qaida and Hamas. It is these links to terrorism that Hedges (2005) was reporting on at the time. Hence, Olajuwon and his activities were quickly brought into the public spotlight and he was forced to defend his work in spreading Islam. Though Olajuwon was absolved of any intentional wrongdoing, it is a reminder how the duality of colonial Othering can quickly change sides. That

Olajuwon never expressed an opinion such as the one above in any media interview is an indication that he is aware of when to publicly engage in some discourses and disengage from others. In identifying with such a highly stigmatized and marginalized group in the U.S., he surely felt pressure to be selective in his media presence if he himself wanted to avoid being stigmatized. That in my data Olajuwon never publicly raises the issue of violence towards Muslims in America remains perplexing, given the opportunities. Despite such silences, Olajuwon served as a role model, something which he took pride in, for Muslims in Houston and elsewhere. I will discuss Olajuwon's meaning to Muslims in the U.S. in the next chapter.

The interplay between the representation of 'Islam' through Olajuwon and Olajuwon's own identity as a Muslim is certainly complex. As is evidenced in some of the above quotes, Olajuwon was apparently searching for a place to belong, which he finds not only in the Islamic community around Houston, but around the U.S. and Canada as he often attended Friday prayers in different cities when playing on the road. Olajuwon develops an identity that refuses to rely on or recognize the marginality of blackness, itself often essentialized. In that, he offers us an example of how black African immigrants may choose to identify based on different personal history and experiences within the host country.

POST-FEMINISM AND THE AFRICAN ATHLETE

Continuing with the theme of nationalism, politics and resistance, the women runners in my study were often positioned against their cultures and African patriarchy. In this section I use Tegla Loroupe as the basis for my discussion and then weave in the other female runners in my study, Catherine Ndereba and Tirunesh Dibaba, and their intersections with Lornah Kiplagat and Derartu Tulu. My primary focus is untangling the nature of their publicized resistance to African patriarchy and how they are positioned as feminist heroes for their respective African countries. Before that, however, it is worth briefly revisiting the inherent difficulty athletes face in being 'resistant' when their livelihoods depend on the global sports media complex.

Bale (2001) reminds us that the structure of sport makes it difficult for an athlete to be truly resistive, as their voices and livelihood depend on the media, public perception, corporate sponsors, etc. Throughout her years as an elite distance runner Tegla Loroupe voiced her opinion on numerous issues in the press. These issues range from the treatment of women in Kenya, women in distance running, peace in Kenya, to stereotypes regarding Kenyan runners. While her message appears strong and purposeful, we must remember that her voice is filtered through the

media via their representation of Loroupe's words and the very questions they ask. It is possible that questions were asked in such a way as to 'create' Loroupe's resistance when she was 'only' transgressing established gender norms. In short, we cannot know Loroupe's personal motivations for action through her mediation. Additionally, Loroupe was sponsored by Nike early in her international career and Mizuno more recently. While Nike especially has been well studied for espousing Western-centric, post-feminist, values through its athletes and advertisements (Cole 1996; Cole and Hribar 1995), there were no hints of any direct influence in my data. Perhaps this lack of influence is because of the compatibility of Loroupe's 'message' or framing with that of post-feminism, explained below. This non-link between sponsorship and message holds true for the other athletes I will weave into the discussion as well. Thus, while the purposes of Loroupe's words are resistive, she is only as resistive as Western media allows us to see through its selective questioning and representation of such resistance.

At the heart of these resistive moments are gender and the patriarchy of African men. After winning her first New York City Marathon, her stance against the treatment of women, and female athletes, in Kenyan society led Western media to portray her as a feminist symbol. Kenyan society was portrayed in media reports, by Loroupe, as a country where, 'The traditional system is, you listen to your father until your husband buys you [in exchange] for cattle, then you listen to him' (Noden 1998). Further, accounts of Loroupe's early training with African men were often described as exploitative, with the male runners asking her to wash clothes, cook, and do their chores, with Loroupe often feeling compelled to oblige them because of her upbringing (Minshull 1998; Mott 2001). These themes resonate with the representation of Ndereba and the intersections with Lornah Kiplagat and Derartu Tulu as well. Tirunesh Dibaba has stated that had she not started running she essentially would have been forced to marry, something her mother did not wish (*The Nation* 2007).

These descriptions serve to portray a paternalistic image of African men and a subservient image of African women. As I mentioned in chapter six, I do not argue that these representations are somehow inaccurate or outside of Loroupe's, or the others', experiences. Yet, how women navigate their societies, accepting, modifying, and resisting cultural norms and male dominance in different ways often goes unexplored (Babou 2013; Bhachu 1993; Elabor-Idemudia 1999; Foner 1986). For example, on the issue of dowry, Kiplagat says in an interview

that she has no strong feelings about it. That dowry is a tradition 'they' (men) can keep as long as it does not affect her body (Bloom and Herrman 2004).

With the society Loroupe came from in mind, presented to us as 'Kenyan', her resistive moments towards this society require further analysis. To begin with, her very involvement in sport was resistive as throughout her childhood Loroupe recalled that, 'They try to discourage women. But I wanted to show them' (Thomas, 1994), 'My tribe says I am crazy when I run. Now they are quiet' (Patrick, 1994). While it is often made to seem as though Loroupe overcame gender bias through her own determination, there was actually an infrastructure of women who encouraged Loroupe to pursue her running. This begins with the women in her family,

. . . her mother had grown up as an orphan and taught Loroupe the value of independence. One of her aunts told her never to be caught crying in front of men. Her older sister, Albina, told her that if you don't own something of your own, like property, men will not respect you. (Longman, 1998)

Loroupe would also receive encouragement and build confidence as a runner when she attended a boarding school for girls. Indeed, the role of education and the expectations of parents for their daughters to get an education are often elided in the representations of black African women. It is clear that African societies are not associated with an emphasis on education, for women in particular. In fact, throughout my study it was often the athletes who brought education into their representation, not the media. Western media often seemed to have the assumption that the desire for education was lacking, and were surprised to find otherwise.

The support Loroupe received throughout her early years from women in the community and close to her, while certainly not absolute, is indicative of a more complex cultural system where women often help each other and are resistive within a patriarchal system. These complexities go largely unexplored by Western media but are a consistent feature of the success of the women in my study. Tirunesh Dibaba had the support of her family and the legacy of her extended family behind her, Ndereba had the support of her husband and family, Mabika was helped to immigrate by Mutombo and his brother (additionally, Mutombo outfitted Congo's national women's basketball team for the 1996 Atlanta Olympics), Kiplagat was supported by her mother and father, and, to go further, Rose Chepyator-Thomson (who ran for the University of Wisconsin in the 1980s and is currently a professor at the University of Georgia) was encouraged by her father as well (*Big Ten Conference* 2007). It should be unsurprising that elite

athletes have support structures allowing them to succeed. However, the media repeatedly links the success of these athletes to their individual determination coming, or escaping, from a static patriarchal society.

To continue, once Lorupe won the New York City Marathon for the first time, she, and the media, had no problems openly criticizing the patriarchal structure of the culture she had come from or the Kenyan Amateur Athletic Association (KAAA). The media instantly took up her situation, printing text such as the following throughout her career,

. . . she surged over the final 10 miles to become the first Black African woman to win a major marathon. Her victory became an affirming symbol of achievement for Kenyan women, whose lives are often lived in subservience, and a silencing rebuke for the Kenyan men who had told her she was wasting her time. (Longman, 1995b)

'A week after Tegla's victory in New York, I was at a regional track meet in Kenya and saw a father encouraging his daughter to compete', says John Manners. . . 'That would have been impossible two weeks earlier'. (Brant, 2001)

Such framing paints Lorupe as a feminist hero for women in Kenya and for women in general. Further, Lorupe was quoted numerous times explaining the progress that has been made for women in Kenyan athletics and the responses she has received from Kenyan women:

Right now, we have a lot of women running, more than before . . . For me, I had to fight the federation [KAAA]. Still now, I have to and I don't know why. But at least now there are chances for other women. (Roberts, 2000)

". . . after I won, the women came to me and said 'You were wise to resist our words. We are proud of you'. . . It gave a lot of motivation to many people', she said, adding that her village "gave me an ostrich feather. They usually give the feather to the warriors who come home victorious". (Lorge, 1996)

Lorupe's outspoken approach and success seem to have had a positive impact on the barriers to entry in sport that women face in Kenya, as we might expect. Through her career, Lorupe's efforts to establish sports training facilities seem to have increased opportunities for women to enjoy sport and, we might think, serve to disrupt established gender roles and stereotypes in the Rift Valley (<http://www.teglaloroupepeacefoundation.org>). Indeed, it was probably extremely rare for a woman to get an ostrich feather symbolizing a victorious warrior. Lorupe's activist efforts, along with those of others, have resulted in training grounds for women, as well as educational facilities for orphans and children with HIV with the opening of the Tegla Lorupe

Peace Academy. Comparably, Lornah Kiplagat has been active in establishing the High Altitude Training Centre in Iten, Kenya. She and her husband focus on training women runners and giving them a space to train away from the responsibilities of domestic work, but also try to get younger women into high school by paying school fees (Turnbull 2007a).

However, while these representations of Lorupe distinguish her as an individual helping others, Western media discourses framing Lorupe as a feminist icon are necessarily problematic. In post-feminist Western societies feminist sentiments have often been co-opted by mainstream interests and commodified, through ideologies of individualism, for consumption by women as some sort of trend. The focus on individual vigor and efforts that post-feminism has cultured belies the importance of second-wave feminist activism and the creation of programs and organizations that help women around those feminist principles (Cole and Hribar, 1995; McDonald, 2000; Mohanty, 1995). In the cases of Lorupe, Ndereba, Dibaba, as well as their intersections with others, I argue that these post-feminist forces commodify the black African female athlete for the consumption of Western women. They are specifically commodified as women from developing countries who were able to overcome a paternalistic society through the solitary efforts of hard work and determination.

Thus, while black African female athletes likely mean something very different for African women, for Western audiences they become another straightforward symbol of meritocracy. This line of thought links closely with humanitarian businessperson ideology, and the humanitarian narratives I examined earlier, which serves to alleviate Western responsibility to developing countries (Denison and Markula, 2005). The allure of such ideology is tempting because society valorizes and finds glory in the individual achievement. However, too quickly does a focus on the individual mask institutionalized disparities regarding socioeconomic class, race, gender, and opportunity, especially on the global scale (Cole and Hribar, 1995; McDonald, 2000). Chepyator-Thomson, as a brief anecdote, remarks that when she was running in the 1980s at Wisconsin she faced the same resistance to her running while being a mother that she faced in Kenya (*Big Ten Conference* 2007). Dibaba, who currently competes but is not a mother, so far seems to have faced no real barriers or social dismay with her entry into running. Of course, we should expect each country to differ with respects to their attitudes on women in sport. With little, or minimal, recognition of the problems of male dominance and attitudes towards women

in sport in the West, black African women are only allowed to be locally resistive, that is, in Africa.

CONCLUSION

As I mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the hegemonic media representations of these athletes contain cracks, inconsistencies, that when pried open allow us to glimpse something different and 'reread' what is presented to us in a more nuanced manner. Through these cracks and the inclusion of other source data, we are able to investigate different aspects of the representation of these athletes that we otherwise could not. Additionally, we are able to get a sense of how these athletes navigate their host societies as foreign Others. My findings in this chapter are summarized below.

- Black African immigrant athletes naturalize for a variety of reasons which tend to be linked to transnational activities. We can loosely break those activities into business within Africa, international travel, and family unification. Raw patriotism is not likely to be a primary factor for naturalization.
- Second generation immigrants often have experiences of racism in the West that may drive them towards African or diasporic forms of identity. These identities are partially manifested in their choice to represent either a Western or African country in sport. The media representation of this choice often relies on conservative, nationalist, understandings of citizenship.
- Race is not the only form of identity immigrants can create in order to help them navigate their social realities. As demonstrated by Olajuwon religion can also serve as a strong identifying point. Though an identity around race seems more likely, we should expect migrants to be creative and nuanced in creating their identities, especially the second generation.
- Black African women athletes are constructed as resistive feminist heroes by Western media. In this construction, African men are dominant while African women are submissive. The black female athlete resists patriarchy through individual success, which inherently obscures the support they receive and the numerous ways women resist patriarchy every day in Africa.

When we look closely at the immigration experiences, representations of naturalization, and the representation of acts as political or culturally resistant, we can see that the interpretation of actual events is filtered through a Western-centric lens. That lens, used by Western media, is generally incapable of seeing the complex lines of power and transnationality at work within the black (im)migrant experience. The salient critique of Western nationalist notions of space and belonging is posed not only by the black African migrant athlete, but the black foreign Other and blackness itself more generally (Hall 1996). Western nationalist discourse actively works to

maintain some semblance of past national history or tradition which is still linked with previous racisms and xenophobias. Whether in maintaining the Other as foreign, recreating essentialist notions of the nation through sport, or continued paternalist attitudes towards African cultures, Western nationalist discourse has yet to fully confront contemporary issues of (im)migration. Instead, it attempts to freeze and defer issues of migration while continuing to idealize its past traditions as simple and pure, moral and firmly rooted in a homogeneous cultural identity (Gilroy 2005). Of course, the discourses of the foreign Other are not unproblematic either. Essentialized notions of racialized African, or religious, identity and culture also have the potential to fix Africa and African cultures in the past. They also tend to naturalize and dehistoricize race, creating and maintaining essentialized identities and experiences that often work to hide other forms of marginality (Hall 1996). Invoking the work of Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall (1996, 1997) explains that while 'little' or 'strategic' essentialisms are tempting, what we require in a transgressive politics is a dialectic, wars of position, that can reach people through their multiple, and contingent, identities. In short, there are no certainties in a politics based on identity and we cannot reverse discourses of blackness by turning them around (Hall 1997). Though the development of a transgressive politics is slow and victories few, as well as rare, a continued reliance on racial thinking and racial organization only stops us from dealing with problems as they stand today (Gilroy 2005).

CHAPTER TEN

THE DIASPORIC ATHLETE: BLACKNESS AND MEANING IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

They say I'm infected, this is why I inject it
I had it aborted, we got deported
My laptop got spyware, they say that I can't lie here
But I got no place to go
-Lupe Fiasco

So far, I have been primarily concerned with representations of black African migrant athletes that maintain a kind of transnational consistency between media in Western societies. I have argued in my analyses that black African migrant athletes are meant, first and foremost, to mean something for white audiences, not black. In the previous chapter I read beyond the media representations of black African athletes in order to provide an alternative reading, a counter-narrative, of historical life events and identity formation. My counter-narrative, however, is only a part of how blackness is lived and constructed transnationally. In this chapter I return more explicitly to the notion and concept of the black diaspora, the black African diaspora more specifically. Hence, I begin this chapter by revisiting the notion of the Paul Gilroy's (1993; 2005) black Atlantic and its extension into sport, what has been called the 'Sporting Black Atlantic', by Carrington, Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur (2001), or the 'Sporting Black Diaspora' by Carrington (2010). These works prepare us for thinking about the (new) African diaspora as a space where events and black (sports) celebrities are symbolically appropriated by black peoples and used to construct meaning and identity in black communities. These processes are necessarily complex and I spend the rest of the chapter explaining how we can fit the black African migrant athlete into our existing theories of diaspora.

To do that, I begin by recalling my discussion in chapter two concerning the African diaspora in a section entitled 'Identity and Meaning in the Diaspora'. Next, I examine moments where the black African athletes in my study (and some they intersect with) expressed some measure of appreciation for athletes we would think of as important to the diaspora. This section I have named 'The Diasporic African American Athlete', and in it I attempt to tease out the meaning these athletes, primarily African American, have for those in African countries. Next, I

examine the popularity of the black African migrant athlete in their home country and, to some extent, the African continent, in a section called 'The Black African Athlete and the African Continent'. I find that these athletes have in some ways displaced, or taken a place alongside, the African American diasporic athlete for those communities. Lastly, I discuss and revisit some cracks in the representations of black African immigrant athletes where we can see their importance to black African immigrants and communities in the West, but also to native black communities in the form of popular culture, primarily music. I have divided the section, termed 'Black African Athletes and the Diaspora', into three subsections labeled 'Popular Culture', 'Coalition Building', and 'Mutombo and Obama', each addressing different issues concerning the presence and activities of black African migrant athletes in the West and in Africa.

IDENTITY AND MEANING IN THE DIASPORA

As stated above, it may help to begin by revisiting what I said about diaspora in chapter two. A primary focus of this chapter makes use of and extends into issues of identity and meaning making in the African diaspora. The work of Appiah (1992), Mills (1997; 1998), Gordon (1995; 1997), Gilroy (1987; 1993; 2000; 2005; 2010), Wright (2004), Said (1978a; 1989), and Hall (1996; 1997), among others, has been useful in framing parts of my analysis in terms of anti-black racism, global white supremacy, diaspora and blackness. In particular, Gilroy's influential work over the years on the concept of the black Atlantic has been useful outlining a politics of the black diaspora without relying on essentialist or authentic notions of blackness. Gilroy, and other intellectuals, tell us that, though their analyses are grounded in populations linked with the African diaspora, it is impossible and undesirable to create a politics of anti-racism or 'radical humanism' based solely on race or racial unity. Any attempt to build such a politics must fundamentally recognize the humanity of each individual regardless of race (Gilroy 2005).

Hence, what is necessary is a politics that recognizes the cultural and experiential hybridity of the black Atlantic, but can then expand and make links with other groups of people. These other groups include peoples of color on the spectrum of blackness who face racism, such as Latinos, Asians, American Indians, Indians, and Arabs, racialized religions such as Judaism and Islam, which feature prominently in diasporic literature, and forms of oppression, where gender and sexuality remain marginalized (Gordon 1995; Gilroy 1993; Mazrui 1999; Said 1978a; Wright 2004). For Gilroy, the compression of time and space via the progression of

postmodernity and neoliberal practices has, in part, sustained a long 'tradition' of communication, the sharing of similar experiences of racism and exclusion, between black communities around the Atlantic. However, Gilroy warns against the impulse to engage in backwards and static notions via such tradition. Instead, tradition must be (re)conceptualized in order to embrace the hybridity and plural nature of diasporic communities and experiences. It is thus a history and tradition of change and intermixture that should be embraced.

We can further think of this tradition of diasporic communication through sport and bodily performance to the increased visibility of African American sports stars over the years. From Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, and Muhammad Ali, to Michael Jordan, Kobe Bryant, and LeBron James (to name a few), the athletic performances and actions of black athletes have often carried a political and ethical critique of Western notions of right, justice, and democracy similar to the ways black musical forms have throughout history (Carrington 2010; Gilroy 1993, 2000; Iton 2008). In some respects, those performances resonate with black communities all over the world because of what they mean for the possibilities of black peoples and because of local and global forces that make sport, and entertainment, one of few 'viable' ways out of abject poverty, both economically and of opportunity.

Carrington, Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur (2001) extend this notion of diasporic communication to sports through their concept of the 'sporting Black Atlantic'. As they explain,

... the sporting black Atlantic can be defined, on one level, as a complex cultural and political diasporic space, which transgresses the boundaries of nation-states, whereby the migrations and achievements of black athletes have come to assume a heightened political significance for the dispersed cultures and peoples of the black diaspora—the sports arena thus operates as an important symbolic space in the struggles of black peoples against the ideologies and practices of white supremacy. (pp. 204-205)

In essence, what athletes such as Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Muhammad Ali, and Michael Jordan have become is a part of the cultural resources of black communities in forming resistive transnational identities. Until now, the focus on and prominence of the African American athlete to the black diaspora, and the research concerning it, had to do with how African Americans were some of the first athletes to transgress racial boundaries of their day and reach new levels of possibilities for black peoples.

As Carrington et al. (2001) note, the insular nature of American popular culture makes the sporting black Atlantic more likely to be found in countries other than the States. For example, those in cities like London and Soweto may be more comfortable reaching beyond national boundaries for their sport heroines and heroes than those in Chicago or New York. However, different black communities in different locations will symbolically appropriate black athletes in different ways because of the ways race and racism are experienced in different contexts. So despite the transnational nature of the sporting black Atlantic, there is a significant part that remains rooted in local contexts and particularities (Carrington et al. 2001). Such relativity makes determining how black communities identify with certain black athletes rather unpredictable, but that does not rule out the existence of generalizable similarities.

While it remains too early to tell what the real impact of these processes mean for U.S. or European sport, it is clear that the increasing presence in sport by those from the global South is an unstoppable trend. This presence means that the many peoples of the global South, and all along the continuum of blackness, will maintain a presence in the global sphere of cultural production that is sport. With increased migration and recent technological advances compressing time and space even further, black (African) (im)migrant athletes are continuously emerging in the diaspora and taking their place alongside African Americans. Despite their representations in Western media, these athletes bring new meanings to the aforementioned cultural resources of black groups in the diaspora, meanings which are not as incompatible to those of African Americans and/or native blacks as we are led to believe. It is my aim in this chapter to begin exploring in a meaningful way what these athletes may mean to different populations and communities, particularly those in the black African diaspora.

THE DIASPORIC AFRICAN AMERICAN ATHLETE

As mentioned above, the diasporic African American athletes have historically held a prominent place in the literature on sport and the black diaspora. The early, as well as contemporary, movements and achievements of these athletes made them a focal point around which diasporic blacks and those in Africa could wrap meaning and potential for their own lives (Carrington 2010). I begin my analysis here with Dikembe Mutombo. In particular, he offers a good example of how African American athletes were looked at by a child growing up in then Zaire. The 1974 title fight between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman was an important spectacle event, marking the return of Ali to prominence, and is often mentioned among the

greatest fights of all-time. Of course, it was also important to Africans who were still emerging from colonialism, and for the Congolese who were nearly ten years into Mobuto's rule.

According to the documentary film *When We Were Kings* (Gast 1996), Ali was treated like a hero in Zaire and spoke publicly to groups about race and politics. As Mutombo explains regarding Muhammad Ali,

One of his most famous fights took place in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where he battled George Foreman in the 'Rumble in the Jungle' in 1974. At the ceremony Thursday, Mutombo recalled the impression Ali's visit made on him as an 8-year-old growing up in that country. 'He changed my life', said Mutombo, who also is a trustee of the Constitution Center. 'I can never forget how inspired I was to see a black athlete receive such respect and admiration. He changed how the people of Zaire saw themselves, and in turn how the world saw them'. Since ending his boxing career in 1981, Ali has traveled extensively on international charitable missions and devoted his time to social causes. (Matheson 2012)

Ali is certainly one of the most well-known athletes in the world even today, and his political resistance during the 1960s and 70s is the most important part of his legacy. What Mutombo tells us is that Ali provided an example of what a black man could do or become. The example Ali set and the feeling it gave Mutombo resonates with the discussion above about the importance of the black athlete, and their successes, to black communities throughout the twentieth century. In a similar manner, Olajuwon 'idolized' NBA great Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.

The Lakers' great center, who makes his final All-Star appearance Sunday, was one of the few players Olajuwon knew of when he came to the United States from Nigeria nine years ago. The former soccer player from Lagos said he idolizes Abdul-Jabbar. That hasn't stopped Olajuwon from trying to run him into the ground in their on-court encounters, however. He hasn't been picking just on Kareem. (Bloom 1989)

The idea of these athletes looking up to or idolizing other athletes occurs frequently in media reports with little question of why those particular athletes are looked up to. In that kind of coverage, Mutombo's response above is actually very rare. As I have pointed out in earlier chapters and the literature review, individuals in the black diaspora and on the African continent are very aware of their tenuous subject position in relation to Western societies. In the shared, or forced, experiences of oppression and rejection under white supremacy, it should come as no surprise that some individuals model themselves after those with similar experiences as a way to struggle against the devaluation of blackness. For Mutombo, growing up in a country emerging

from its colonial terror and resultant political crises, Muhammad Ali provided a radical departure from his everyday experiences, and those of many other Africans, even if he was only eight years old at the time. Diasporic athletes like Ali, in the tradition of boxers such as Tom Molineaux, Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, and others, pushed the possibilities of what black individuals could do in life through the status and success they were able to achieve.

However, instead of this kind of insight and awareness, we are left with the assumption that it is self-evident why someone would idolize, for example, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Simply, perhaps, the logic is that Abdul-Jabbar is one of the greatest players ever to play basketball, and therefore he is looked up to. However, that assumption made by the media is laced with racial and, at times, nationalist undertones. Mutombo obviously looked up to Ali for reasons besides his athletic prowess, and he explicitly draws upon the impact of Ali's blackness on himself and the population of then Zaire. The lack of a 'why' question being posed to Olajuwon on Abdul-Jabbar keeps us from potentially knowing how black diasporic athletes are interpreted by those in African countries. Olajuwon's 'idolization', a term used loosely, of Abdul-Jabbar is further complicated because it may not rest on Abdul-Jabbar's blackness, but could rest on his conversion to Islam and political involvement during his professional career. Abdul-Jabbar, along with Oscar Robertson, served as a 'cultural ambassador' to Africa in 1971 (Olajuwon would have been eight years old) as part of the U.S. State Department's efforts to show African countries during the Cold War that American racism was not what they had heard it was. Abdul-Jabbar, who had converted to Islam and changed his name three years prior, toured around different African cities, including Lagos, Nigeria during the trip (Witherspoon 2013). Though Olajuwon reportedly does not remember Abdul-Jabbar during that time (Kirkpatrick 1983), Abdul-Jabbar's presence in Lagos is still diasporic because of its influence, to whatever degree, on the fledgling basketball culture in Nigeria in the 1970s.

The rarity of a black African athlete expressing what, for example, an African American athlete means to them demonstrates the media's tendency to essentialize identity. For example, the success of Didier Drogba fueled efforts to find the 'next' Drogba. Those individuals were usually black with ties to Ivory Coast or French-speaking Africa. Romelu Lukaku, who is a second generation Belgian of Congo descent, is one such athlete who also holds Drogba as a 'hero' (*Daily Mail* 2009). Lukaku may very well feel some affinity towards Drogba based on their links to Africa, but the media takes this for a given, an essentialized form of identity based

on an ahistorical, whitewashed, blackness and not the result of white supremacy and colonial histories. Worth noting, the Belgium national soccer team, of which Lukaku is a part, will in 2014 play in its first World Cup since 2002 with a group of players who are children of immigrants primarily from African countries. Lastly, the same phenomenon happens with Olajuwon when the next recruit originating from Africa becomes well-known. Thus, athletes like Yinka Dare, Michael Olowokandi, and even Mutombo were the 'next' Olajuwon at some point in their careers.

A related matter to consider is the role of media in actively creating and fostering these identities. Social learning (Bandura 1977) via the media is one way in which people come to understand their realities and categorize the world. There is thus something of a feedback loop created. Invariably, youths watch and learn about star athletes through media outlets. With athletes categorized along racial, ethnic, and national lines, they are likely to identify with athletes that are given to them as being similar. This process is not a one-off event, but rather a persistent every day process of defining who, what, and how an individual should act, behavior, or 'be'. These definitions are then rewarded through social interaction, for example, on the playground picking out players to emulate. Picking the 'right' player is casually accepted, thus encouraged, while choosing the 'wrong' player, could be met with jokes or ostracism. People are certainly free to choose whoever they wish to emulate, but those choices are often conditioned by the social world around us and the media images we have access to (Bandura 1977).

In closing this section, I again reiterate that these diasporic links between African Americans and Africans are often hidden from us. The paucity of examples like those from the representations of Mutombo and Olajuwon not only indicates as much, but when they do emerge they are often terribly incomplete and lacking any notion of nuance. Particularly during the 1980s and 90s, when Mutombo and Olajuwon emerged, there is a noticeable assumption given their perceived lack of experience with basketball that they would have had no idea about American basketball stars. To some degree this changes with more recent athletes to the West, as with Drogba and, noticeably, Mwadi Mabika, who once discussed watching NBA games late at night and then trying to replicate the moves the next day (Anderson 2001). Mabika, in a 'twenty questions with...' promotional effort for WNBA.com, lists among her 'favorite' things primarily American (and African American) movies, actors, athletes, and musicians (WNBA.com). Though we should be skeptical of any promotional item, it is nevertheless my point that the how

and why black African (im)migrants have come to enjoy or appreciate black American culture is uncritically ignored. Instead we are left either with the assumed cultural superiority of the West, or some uncomplicated notion of black affinity.

THE BLACK AFRICAN ATHLETE AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

In earlier chapters I have explored how Western media is quick to elevate the stature and importance of black African immigrant athletes in their home countries. Filtered through the lens of a predominantly white media and intended for white audiences, this portrayal is problematic because it tends towards simplification and the reduction of African politics and society. However, the articles remain based on events that have actually happened, they are not fictional. African athletes who have emigrated from Africa to achieve success in Western sport are at times highly heralded and serve as examples of what is possible to achieve coming from Africa. The difference here is that we can reread these events through a more critical lens, taking into account the full weight of contemporary and historical forces.

To begin with, for the athletes in my study there are times where we are granted insight into who was important to them from the African continent when they were trying to succeed. For example, with Mutombo we find that Hakeem Olajuwon was of significance and popular in then Zaire despite being from Nigeria.

Ilo had begun playing basketball at a local playground, where the participants were nicknamed 'Dr. J' and 'Kareem' after their favorite overseas stars. Among the court's regulars, only Ilo did not have a famous monicker. 'I was just Ilo', he said. Yet he looked at his quickly growing brother [Mutombo], and he saw the next Akeem Olajuwon, the native of Nigeria who was by then adorning magazine covers in Zaire. (Maske 1991)

'I love to see my name go behind Hakeem Olajuwon, someone who inspired all of us to come from Africa and follow the dream of basketball', said Mutombo, who came to the United States from Zaire. 'He opened the door to show you can come to this game and dominate. I'm going out to buy champagne and toast Hakeem Olajuwon for leading me and inspiring me'. (Juliano 2007)

Similarly, Catherine Ndereba once noted that Tegla Loroupe was someone she strove to be like, despite Loroupe being her junior.¹

It never mattered that Kenyan Catherine Ndereba was a year older than Tegla Loroupe. She still wanted to model herself after her countrywoman. 'When I was a child, I heard all about Tegla, Tegla, Tegla', said Ndereba, 27. 'When I first came to the United States, my

manager kept saying, 'Tegla is a big star. Do you want to be like Tegla?' and I said, 'Yes. Of course'. Ndereba is well on her way. (Reel 1999)

While these various responses certainly could have been conditioned by the questions being asked, there is no reason to believe they would give a false answer in lieu of naming someone who actually did hold some kind of meaning. What I prefer to focus on is that both Mutombo and Ndereba chose athletes who were just ahead of them, who were the first to truly break through and find success at the highest level of competition. They, Olajuwon and Lorupe, are also the athletes who Mutombo and Ndereba are most like athletically. By this I mean that they generally did the same thing, Mutombo played the center position like Olajuwon and Ndereba, after beginning with short distances, turned towards running marathons like Lorupe. Seemingly then, Lorupe and Olajuwon served as individuals to be modeled after and follow in their footsteps. After they succeeded then it became more possible for others to break through. A similar phenomenon happens for Drogba, as a number of athletes are compared to him, such as Arouna Kone, Wilfried Bony, and Christian Benteke, and a few, such as Romelu Lukaku, are said to have 'idolized' Drogba while growing up in the West or Africa. Social learning and diasporic imagining again comes into play here as their comparison to Drogba may be based on them adopting Drogba's playing style having grown up watching him.

In a different vein, both Didier Drogba and Dikembe Mutombo are reported as receiving a great deal of attention when they go to their home countries of Ivory Coast and Democratic Republic of Congo, respectively. Their visits can include parades and fanfare, meetings with high-ranking state officials, (including the president, or head of state) and, more sobering, people sleeping outside of their hotels and residences. Therefore in some ways these athletes transcend sport and mean something different, or greater, than just being an athlete. Beginning with Mutombo, we find that he draws significant crowds due to his fame and generosity when he returns home,

The pressure on Mutombo for his time and money in Congo is so great that he can no longer stay at Kinshasa's best hotel because a crowd forms outside demanding handouts. 'Everybody wants to see me', he said during a whirlwind trip to break ground on the hospital project. 'They want a house. They want a car'. (Maykuth 2002)

When Mutombo goes home, he hands out money to relatives and strangers. 'He is a big, big man with a much bigger heart', Mitifu, the Congolese ambassador, said. During his visit to Kinshasa two years ago, hundreds of people camped outside the hotel. 'They

come to cheer him because they are so proud of him', she said. 'They come so they can at least shake his hand. He has always tried to shake as many hands as he could'. (Robbins 2002)

In Drogba's case, his celebrity status in Ivory Coast has reached levels few have elsewhere. In the quotes below, not only does it become evident how famous Drogba is, but that he has put thought into his status position and what he means to the people of Ivory Coast.²

. . . here is Drogbakro Village, a suburb of Ivory Coast's biggest city that has been named by its inhabitants in honour of their country's most celebrated export . . . 'We do not need an election to tell us the answer to this question', says Augustin when asked if Drogba is popular enough to become president of his nation. 'He is already bigger than the president. He is the Ivory Coast' . . . Indeed, that evening The Daily Telegraph is gifted first-hand insight into Drogba's local significance. He had secured with a quick call a table at the city's best restaurant, and while he, his wife and his guests from England are eating, we are joined by the Ivorian interior minister, who explains that meeting Didier is the most important task of his week. 'It's not my duty, it's not written anywhere that I have to do this', Drogba says of his charitable instincts. 'I do it because I know that I will never get this feeling in France or England or anywhere else'. (White 2012)

The youth of Ivory Coast love Drogba. Every time he returns to Abidjan airport now, he is swamped by media and fans, top of the television news, feted wherever he goes. Drogbacite—or Drogbaness, in English—is a cultural phenomenon in music and dance that shows no signs of disappearing, even though the Elephants, the national team, did not get past the first round in Germany 2006. He is a symbol of success in life, the first Ivorian pro footballer who has been talked of like this. There is so much publicity around him and his performances that influences the life of young people. There are songs in which they sing his name. The way he dresses—the young copy it. (Oliver 2007)

It is clear that these athletes mean something, a great deal perhaps, to the people, especially the youth, of their respective countries, and in various ways the African continent at large. For Drogba, Kunzler and Poli (2012) explain that watching his games is an intense, insatiable, interest, for poor youths in particular, and fuels the desire for other Western products. Yet I argue, as in previous chapters, that the reporting on the interventions and activities of humanitarian athletes often fall in line with what has been called the White Savior Industrial-Complex (Cole 2012), or saviorism, which all relate to the older concept of the 'white man's burden'. My argument here is that because of their experiences and success in the West, media positions these athletes as now being suited to 'fix' their countries. Unreported are the inevitable political complexities that come with trying to deliver the kind of aid Drogba and, to a greater degree, Mutombo are. In a presentation at the University of Georgia (Terry College of Business

2011), Mutombo explains some of the unforeseen difficulties he encountered when trying to build his hospital and still encounters today, particularly with the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo. To paraphrase, despite getting the land, permits, and tax breaks from the government, he still encounters problems with the government feeling 'embarrassed' by Mutombo overshadowing them, and paying doctors and nurses more than they can in state hospitals. In the same presentation, Mutombo relates how building a well in order for the hospital to get away from paying the city (Kinshasa) for water caused the state to demand payment because the hospital was still using the resources of the state. Mutombo accuses the state of trying to get his money because he is a famous basketball player, while ignoring the fact that he is helping thousands of the state's people essentially for free. In separate news articles, Mutombo talks about how his motivations were under scrutiny.

At one point Mutombo nearly lost the land the government had given him for the hospital because it wasn't being used. Refugees who had been displaced during the recent civil war began building homes on the property; some even started farming the land. After trying to have them removed peacefully, Mutombo had to enlist the help of the army and national police. He ended up paying about 40 women who had been farming the land \$100 apiece, the equivalent of two months' pay for most jobs in Congo. He also says he had to convince his countrymen he had no ulterior motive for the project. 'Politically, it was a little bit difficult for people to accept it', he says. 'A lot of people felt it was something behind the project. 'Why this young African want to do something that has never been done on the continent of Africa?' The question was why, why, why, why, why? There was concern that I was going to try to run for office. I am not in politics. 'President Mutombo?' No, no, no. There has never been a politician in my family, and I am not going to try to be the first one'. (Nance 2006)

It is unrealistic for the media to believe, by posing the question, that because black African migrant athletes gain wealth in the West that they are somehow equipped to insert themselves into inevitably political projects, or national politics in general. To some degree they, the athletes, perhaps even fool themselves into thinking it would be easy. The discourse of the White Savior Industrial-Complex is pervasive when it comes to simplifying causes concerning African countries. In the cases of Mutombo and Drogba, they seem to get more accomplished because of their immense fame and because they are not expressing political opinions on leadership or policy. If they were to enter the political process by running for office we might expect the state reception to their humanitarian activities to change.

Ultimately, it likely depends on who or what population is making sense of Drogba or Mutombo. To declare that Drogba is a hero in Ivory Coast homogenizes a number of different social classes and political affiliations. I argue that Western media considers Drogba to be a hero to 'poor Africans', which is rather nebulous, but perhaps more specifically among young men with little education or opportunity. This discourse makes it seem as though Drogba or Mutombo, or others, can directly intervene in government policy and decision making. Though a number of black African athletes are active in humanitarian and charitable efforts, unless they become explicitly political, their roles and effectiveness are likely subject to the political powers that be. For instance, Drogba has been outspoken for peace in Ivory Coast and has refused to take a side in any conflicts. He has been able to ask for, and gotten, things from the president, such as playing an international soccer game in 'rebel' territory. Yet, it also makes sense for the president to use such a popular and beloved figure as Drogba for political gain. By aligning himself with one of the country's most popular football players, he appears reasonable and likeable, to the Ivory Coast population and internationally. In Western media, the political usage of a figure like Drogba by the state does not receive attention or coverage. This situation is only aided by Drogba's insistence on staying neutral on any explicitly political topic in his home country.

Returning to the black African celebrity in Africa, we do see that athletes, along with athletics, are increasingly popular amongst the disadvantaged youth. Yet the flow of youth into seeing sports as an opportunity for economic gain, as opposed to education, is not a positive development. If the indication of increased access to sport by African Americans, even at institutions of higher education, is any indication, then we can look forward to, and already experience, problems of exploitation. What we have seen since the years of colonialism across the continent is a gradual decay of the school systems at every level and fewer jobs to accommodate those who do finish with a college degree. Mazrui (2005) notes that various dictators and their fears of academics can in part be blamed on the dismantling of African institutions of higher learning. Of course the second important part is the development and continuation of neocolonial policies which retard the development and limit the sovereignty of the African nation-state, particularly as it concerns public funding for education. The concurrent devaluation of African education by Western institutions has a significant impact on the lives of recent African immigrants to the West.

Hence, with limited economic opportunities because of these complex factors, combined with the relatively low entry costs into sports, we begin to see sport overtaking education in the minds of youths who want to succeed. Though the excitement and emphasis on education that accompanied the wave of African independence still exists, and education was commonly referenced in this study, the results have more recently been underwhelming. In his autobiography (Drogba and Penot 2008), Drogba briefly discusses how living with his family in a too small apartment and seeing cousins with excellent resumes have to take menial jobs made him question the value of education. Despite his parents' insistence on education, one time refusing to let Drogba play soccer for a year because of his grades, he increasingly began to see soccer as a 'way out'. Perhaps more importantly, he also saw soccer as an occupation unburdened by racial prejudice, if only in terms of getting access. What the immense popularity of the African athlete in Africa reflects is a grasp for meaning and self-value in a Western-oriented world that has otherwise ghettoized Africa and black peoples in general. The success of these athletes is thus symbolic of the desire to achieve, whether that be braving the trip by sea to Mediterranean countries or migrating from the rural areas to the growing urban slums to try for a better life and opportunity.

BLACK AFRICAN ATHLETES AND THE DIASPORA

Despite the increasing presence of the black African (im)migrant athlete in the West, their relationship and what they mean to diasporic black African immigrant communities is rarely explored in the media. In this respect, they are often made to mean something only for their particular African country, or the African continent as a whole, as the previous section indicated. However, we do know they mean *something* to diasporic communities, even if it is often hidden from us by neglect. In this section I bring to the forefront moments when the media allows us to partially see how those in the diaspora make meaning out of the black migrant athlete.

To start, in my analyses there were the rare articles which referenced second generation or 1.5 generation youths. The articles generally comment on how the youths came to cheer for these athletes. An example from Drogba gives us a glimpse of how a Canadian youth uses the fame and popularity of Drogba as a form of increased identification with Ivory Coast.

'I was never really into [watching the Ivory Coast] until Drogba came because he's at an amazing level at the world. He put the Ivory Coast on the map for soccer', said Bell, 17, a

Grade 11 student at St. George's secondary school . . . Bell was born in Ottawa but his mother comes from the Ivory Coast . . . At age five Bell moved to Vancouver but still frequently visits Ivory Coast's capital Abidjan where he has family . . . 'It's pretty nice. It's not the common conception people have of Africa. It's very developed. You'll see parks and places with soccer fields [all over]', Bell said . . . 'The Ivory Coast was never really at that [elite] level of soccer before Drogba and Kalou . . . Everyone in the Ivory Coast is really proud of them', . . . Bell said he's looking forward to trying out next year for his school's soccer team. And as a symbol of his roots he plans on sewing an Ivory Coast flag to his grad jacket next year. (Wood 2010)

In a similar fashion, Mutombo does not go unnoticed by the black African immigrants when he plays in Philadelphia, a city with a long history of black immigration. In the excerpt below, Mutombo elicits strong feelings and appears to encourage self-reflection among recent immigrants.

'I would fight for Mutombo', declares Bokulaka, who directs the International Eteko Bonyoma, a Congolese dance company. 'He is our star. We are family. Brother, sister, no difference'. . . Bokulaka is trying to explain why Mutombo is so revered among the Congolese above the pitch of a steel drum at the Third World nightclub in West Philly. A slender Ugandan man collects a cover charge, while a robust Liberian woman does brisk business selling pork kabobs well into the wee hours. It's a modest spot, a place where Mutombo could probably enjoy himself - if he had the time. . . 'Everything Mutombo do is for us', says Bokulaka. 'When Mutombo do something, people say, 'Do you see your brother?' ' . . . 'It takes a very big person to admit that where they're from is not that great and they want to help improve it', notes John Idi, a businessman who emigrated from Nigeria 13 years ago. 'A lot of Africans don't want to admit that or they're ambivalent about it'. (John-Hall 2001)

And for Olajuwon, we find that he is also paid attention to by other Muslims. The interviewee below talks about how the presence of Olajuwon drew him to basketball and serves as a role model.³

Abdulrafi said he'd never sat through a full game of basketball before Hakeem. Abdulrafi, a program analyst, keeps a picture of Hakeem in his office, and proudly displays it to co-workers. 'In the picture he's wearing a kufi and his eyes are cast downward, very modestly', he says. 'Hakeem has been through some rough times. He's been down a rocky road, but when he came back and recommitted himself to Islam, his game sharpened. When I show people the picture, I tell them, this is what Islam can do for a person'. . . 'My mom isn't a fan, but she watched with us because of Hakeem', says Abdullah's son Musab. Musab, 16, follows basketball religiously. 'I am proud to be Muslim when I see him play'. 'When you look at most role models, you like what they do, but when you meet them or find out about their personal lives, you realize they're different from you, and some things they do, you can't do', says Faraaz Ahmed, 12. 'But if he's Muslim, it's just

perfect'. . . Muslim kids have a lack of visible role models in this country, believes Abdulrafi, father of eight. 'Now I can say to my kids, I don't mind if you become a basketball player, as long as you model yourself after him'. (Yaquub 1995)

Articles of this kind are exceedingly rare, as is Bell's counter-discourse of Abidjan's development status. In my datasets of Mutombo and Drogba these articles are the only two of their kind. Yet despite their agonizing partiality and tendency to reinforce national boundaries they are important because they show us that these athletes have significant meaning to those in the diaspora. They allow people to create or maintain a type of identity and imagine themselves as part of an inherently diasporic community in a way that only African Americans previously had. It is worth mentioning that both Mutombo and Olajuwon had their own shoes in the 1990s. While Olajuwon's was designed to be affordable, Mutombo's made explicit use of African geometric styles in line with the conflation of Afrocentrism and growing urban aesthetic of the mid-nineties. Mutombo's shoe has since been reissued by Adidas, twenty years after the original (*Sneaker Freaker* 2008; 2014). It would seem to be time, perhaps overdue, to begin including black African immigrant athletes to the discussion, or canon, of diaspora and the meaning(s), or construction, of global blackness. That articles like those above remain rare speaks to the nation-centric processes of Western media and the invisibility and distancing of the foreign black Other.

Popular Culture

Yet, it is not only the more recent African diasporic communities for which black African immigrant athletes are important. Through the course of analysis, there was some evidence that athletes such as Mario Balotelli and Didier Drogba were making inroads into popular cultural forms, such as music, and thereby intersecting with native black communities. It is significant that it is Balotelli and Drogba who feature prominently in the popular culture of black communities, especially in England, France, and Italy. That these athletes are second generation and 1.5 generation immigrants, respectively, resonates with youth cultures that are increasingly hybrid and elude neat categorization into 'native' or 'foreign'. Of course for Gilroy (1993; 2010) and the black Atlantic, music has often been seen as a mode to communicate certain truths and critiques when other, whether literary or linguistic, modes have been closed. Music can also, at times, expose the cultural circuit that composes the diaspora and reveals it as being composed of multiple, webbed or multinodal, points of intersection. Hence these athletes can be symbolically

appropriated by immigrants of various generations in the West and can aid in creating shared meanings and understandings of their social experiences (Carrington et al. 2001).

In pursuing this issue further it is clear that Mario Balotelli, in his short career to date, has perhaps had the biggest impact on popular culture. Though early on he actively disavowed his Ghanaian parentage, he later affirms his pride in being black and lends his support towards efforts to end racism in football. He also lends his support to the first black minister in Italian parliament, Cecile Kyenge, who has been and continues to face racist and misogynistic harassment her election into office. Additionally, Balotelli admitted that being racially abused could see him turn to violence in response.⁴

'If someone throws a banana at me in the street I will go to prison because I will kill him'. Balotelli added, 'I'm black and proud to have African roots. I think I'm lucky to be black. People say about me that I'm a black boy who has fun, earns money and has girls. It's not like that. It's too easy to judge people through what you see'. (Ogden 2012)

. . . Balotelli's former club Inter were fined after monkey chants were heard in last month's derby with his new club AC Milan . . . Balotelli blasted: 'It annoys me, it makes me angry and I don't like it. 'We're making too little progress on this issue'. . . . Milan's Kevin-Prince Boateng drew widespread praise after storming off the pitch and forcing a match to be abandoned in January when he was racially abused by fans in a friendly at Italian lowerdivision side Pro Patria. Boateng has since joined FIFA's anti-discrimination task force and spoke at the UN on the issue. Balotelli added: 'I agree with him. To stop racism, we all need to contribute together'. (Little 2013)

[Cécile Kyenge] The first black person to be made a minister in Italy was plunged straight into a race row yesterday . . . But not all reactions have been negative. Mario Balotelli, the AC Milan football player of Ghanaian origin, welcomed her appointment, describing it as a 'step forward towards a more civilised Italian society'. . . . A veteran of human rights battles, Ms Kyenge said she hoped to modify the restrictive immigration law introduced by Silvio Berlusconi and to grant automatic citizenship to anyone born in Italy . . . Yesterday, Mr Salvini said that dishonest journalists had depicted his opposition to the new minister as a response to the colour of her skin, rather than to her ideas. And he invited Balotelli to 'score a few more goals and talk a little less nonsense'. (Willan 2013)

Very quickly Balotelli becomes a popular cultural icon, in two different ways. For the media, he represents an example of social change in Italy, an individual through which debates on immigration, nationalism, and racism can take place. In short, he becomes a means through which to shame 'racists', and Italian, Southern and Eastern European, society for 'being' racist. Ultimately this kind of discourse ignores the structures and institutions which allow and

perpetuate racist ideology. However, for those in the African diaspora, his frequent confrontation with racism reflects a familiar social experience. We can look to Balotelli's inclusion into popular music forms as establishing his value as a point of identity formation. The song and music video by Ruff Sqwad, entitled 'Why Always Me?', plays off of a t-shirt message of the same question Balotelli displayed under his uniform after scoring a goal against Manchester United in 2011. The t-shirt celebration was later explained by Balotelli as a question posed to English media and his feeling that he was being treated unfairly by the tabloids specifically. Below we find the chorus/hook to the song.

We mean no malice, we need a challenge
The media say we are savage and we are callous
When we go at it, leave it damaged, believe in magic
They hope we burn, the thought is tragic, the thought is tragic
Chorus
Why always me? Why always me?
Why always me? Why always me?
I'm screaming why always me? Why always me?
Why always me? Why always me? Mario Balotelli (Ruff Sqwad 2011)

The song makes the link between Balotelli's victimization and criminalization and that of black men in England generally. That the artists are, similar to Balotelli, second generation Ghanaian or immigrated early in life, and have a relatively good amount of popularity within British hip-hop/rap/grime culture, demonstrates the recognition of a common struggle against media attention and representation. Whereas the other athletes in my analysis may resonate more with other first and second generation immigrants, Balotelli, more than any other, has found meaning among the increasingly hybridized young black artists and popular black culture.

Of course, with Balotelli being so heavily criticized and subject to a normalizing gaze, there were inevitable backlashes to a song taking Balotelli's actions as its basis. In the media, there is a general sense of sarcasm and eye-rolling as it concerns the song(s) and Balotelli's later links with American rapper Drake. That Balotelli would be seen as cool or a popular icon is not in line with the media surrounding soccer that has invested in the production of Balotelli as a figure worthy of our derision. Another form of backlash occurred when I attempted to search online for the lyrics to the song above. We find that on many websites searching for the primary artist of Ruff Sqwad, 'Tinchy Stryder', and the phrase 'Why always me' returns a number of websites containing the false lyrics,

Roses are blue
Mario Balotelli is cool
He's such a loser
Even compared to Suarez
Why always me?
Says he
With his ugly ass shirt
Versus Man United
Man City 1-1 Stoke
Amazing goal by Peter Crouch
Making Balotelli look like a grouch
Super Mario is his name
Bitchin Bitchin is his game
Being a bitch is his key to fame
Always lookin at nude ass dames
[Tinchy Stryder freestyle]
(www.Lyricsres.com 2013; www. Lyricsreg.com 2013; www.onlylyrics.com 2013)

It becomes quickly apparent that these are not the lyrics to the song and that Tinchy Stryder never performed them. The creation of these lyrics, which anyone can edit on the websites, is similar to other negative responses to Balotelli, whether through established media sources, social media content, or any other outlet. What they do is treat with skepticism any effort to turn Balotelli into a symbolic figure reflecting the racial injustices of the West. It is appropriate that he may serve that role in Italy or when talking about other Southern or Eastern European countries, but in England, primarily, such action is treated with contempt as irrational.

Coalition Building

It may be of additional benefit in trying to think a little differently about the black African migrant athlete in Western societies and their individual actions and impact. Certainly, it is a tough test for the methodology of my study to fully explore and detail all of the ways those in the African diaspora make sense of the black African migrant athlete. As (im)migration will only continue from African countries to the West, black African migrant athletes will have greater opportunities to bridge the Western media constructed 'representation gap' between foreign and native blacks. Such interactions can hopefully, over time, aid in community and coalition building between different groups of black peoples. If we look hard enough we can see such processes happening in the cracks of the representations of African athletes.

For example, Drogba is active in anti-racism campaigns in soccer and has spoken out against racism not only on the field but in how Africans, and blacks generally, are paid less by their teams and endorsers. In his autobiography (2008), Drogba discusses racism and the 'immigrant experience' while growing up in France, yet this topic receives only cursory attention in his wider media representation. In this kind of action he is often joined by other black players, foreign and native, who have experienced racism from the stands while playing soccer. Though this action is often a part of initiatives by European soccer leagues to 'kick out' racism from the stadiums, more recent events have seen black players refusing to take part in these 'kick out' efforts because they are generally ineffective and do not go far enough to address structural problems of racism in soccer. Often cited are the small fine amounts handed out by UEFA for racism during matches compared to actions which violate corporate sponsorship (Conn 2012).

Relatedly, Mutombo has been involved in getting African and African American NBA players to join him when he travels to the Democratic Republic of Congo or attends the NBA/FIBA-sponsored basketball camps in different African countries. Players such as Shaquille O'Neil, Luc Mbah a Moute, Tracy McGrady, Patrick Ewing, Alonzo Mourning, among others, have all joined Mutombo or traveled with similar programs. Many athletes of first and second generation African origin playing in the NBA also participate in such programs.

Of course, what these activities mean or could mean go unmentioned, and the institutions which contribute to African underdevelopment and black poverty in the West go unchallenged. Corporate concerns blunt any subversive potential of athletes and programs through the commodification of black athletes. The NBA, FIBA, and other sports leagues, as well as a multitude of corporations, may donate millions to an athlete's charity or help set up camps, but they also expect to sell a lot of their product, I would think. At one point Mutombo commented that he had not received many individual donations for his hospital but, rather, many from corporations like, 'Turner, Chevron, Mobil . . . They want to be represented. By contributing to this hospital they send the word to the rest of Africa (Denberg 1999)'. Likewise, Drogba has benefitted in his own efforts from companies like Coca-Cola and Samsung.

There is also a poorly thought out emphasis on education. There are tensions between NBA/FIBA basketball camps in Africa, their being 'packaged' with educational and development programs (usually HIV/AIDS awareness), and the notion that basketball provides educational opportunities in the West, the United States in particular.⁵

'There's a lot of young kids today in Africa playing basketball', said Mutombo, who first picked up a basketball at age 19. 'But the lack of basketball courts stops them from growing to their potential. If you ask young kids on the street, they can name 5 to 20 N.B.A. players, and you see more kids in Africa wearing N.B.A. jerseys. That tells you how much the game is growing over there' . . . The Africa 100 Camp is about more than basketball. In between individual drills in the morning and games in the evening, players will work with the American contingent on community service projects. And seminars about life skills, staying away from drugs, and HIV/AIDS prevention will be held. On Sept. 4, the N.B.A. will unveil its first Reading and Learning Center outside North America . . . Desktop computers, printers, servers and other educational software will also be donated by Dell . . . 'The saying goes that in Africa, 'If you save one player, you save a thousand', because he gives back so much', Bohuny said. (Broussard 2003)

Thabo Letsebe? Nobody will know him outside of his friends and family. But his story has become a model for participants in the NBA-sponsored Africa 100 Camp. Letsebe, you see, made it from a barefooted, 17-year-old resident of one of Johannesburg's poorest townships to a college graduate, the first black South African who used basketball to earn a degree in the United States. He played at tiny Division III Goucher College in Baltimore, where you play, not for notoriety, but for love of the game. And an education. 'My life', Letsebe says, 'has been a dream come true'. So it can happen. And the NBA is trying to help 100 promising athletes make their dreams come true at the Africa 100 Camp, the first clinic on this continent to be sanctioned by the NBA. Africa has long been considered a vast pool of raw talent suffering from lack of facilities and quality coaching. (Sefko 2003)

The end of each excerpt is concerning. In the first, I would question the efficacy of any 'development' program putting the responsibility of thousands on one individual. In the second, we have a reification of why the NBA is in Africa, and Africa's desperate 'need' for expertise. Thus, we may wonder what, aside from increasing the popularity of the NBA, is the point of these camps in African countries. If education is ultimately the answer (or *an* answer), as basketball will only allow a few athletes to, essentially, 'escape' Africa or be 'saved' from it, then perhaps the NBA should invest more in schools than basketball courts. If only a handful of these players even end up at American universities and colleges, then the notion that sport offers a 'way out' is perhaps more misguided than we think (Mahlangu 2004). Despite Mutombo's participation in these camps and his predisposition towards them, when questioned as to why he himself built a hospital instead of basketball courts, he responds that people cannot do anything without health (*Voice of America News* 2009). The lottery ticket that basketball, and sport in general, represents in the lives of poor all over the world should not overshadow the fact that basic human needs deserve our attention first and foremost. That sport is even considered a

viable way out of poverty or to get an education is indicative of the current state of global inequality.

However, through these camps and the coverage they receive we get glimpses of the kind of connections that are being made between African Americans and Africans, as well as white Americans, through the process of visiting Africa. Additionally, I was also able to find examples where the opposite occurred, as the excerpt from an article where Mutombo tours post-Katrina New Orleans demonstrates below.⁶

Said English, 'I can see some of the similarities in the African kids' hunger with kids growing up here in America and, like me in the South, growing up poor and wanting to get away from the poverty and knowing this was a ticket out'. (McGeachy 2003)

Mutombo, who was accompanied by several of his sons and daughters, roared with deep-throated laughter, then turned serious when speaking of New Orleans. 'I think I am more shocked', Mutombo said. 'I thought things were bad here, but I didn't know it was this bad. To think that two years later the city is still in the same condition that it was two years ago. My question now is: Why? I think this should now become the main focus of the NBA . . . 'I told my wife that this trip would be meaningful, not just to myself but to my children . . . Maybe they know the pain and suffering of the people in Africa. But they don't know that there are such poor, poor people here in America, too'. (Blinebury 2008)

'Seeing the white South Africa was a lot like the West to me', Crotty said. 'I didn't see anything different. Everything was so proper and beautiful. Then going into the townships was an absolute shock, really. I've seen pictures, but until I actually saw it with my own eyes. I just don't believe anyone could come out of a situation like that and be educated and even worry about basketball or anything like that because it's such a day-to-day struggle just trying to get a meal or find a nice place to sleep. I was really moved by that'. (Carter 1994b)

In South Africa, they saw townships where blacks are forced to live without electricity and running water. "The thing that was toughest for me was I met so many kids I thought had unlimited potential in a lot of areas", Alvin Gentry said. "Very bright, very talented, very personable kids, who I don't think will ever have a chance to succeed. In a way, it's the same thing I see in kids who hang outside the (Miami) Arena'. . . . For McAdoo, 43, the racism brought back memories of growing up in Greensboro, N.C. . . . 'I saw this in the United States. I lived through this". (D'Angelo 1993)

For the most part such comments are not the focal point of the article from which they were pulled, as we may expect, but they point to the idea that if experiences are shared between different black populations and communities then we can begin to build some sense of shared understanding. This process, however, remains frustrated by the persistent lack of information

coming from African countries and its perceived irrelevance to those in the West, and the continued dominance of white supremacy and neoliberalism as global organizing principles.

In a similar manner, the scantily reported humanitarian efforts of Balotelli in Brazil at times became explicitly racialized. During a trip with the Italian national team to Brazil a year before the 2014 World Cup, Balotelli took time one evening to visit some of the children he was then sponsoring. What is compelling about Balotelli's visit to the children was that the rest of the Italian national team was, in essence, under curfew. Because of recent riots regarding Brazil's hosting of the 2014 World Cup, and the social disruptions that inevitably occurred, the Italian team was not allowed out after nightfall. This applied to the entire team except Balotelli, who reportedly told the coach that he would be okay because he is black.

Italy coach Cesare Prandelli on Friday dismissed rumours that his players have asked to pull out of the Confederations Cup in Brazil due to the huge protests that have swept the country. An estimated 1.25 million people took to the streets in scores of cities on Thursday evening to call for better public services and to criticise the cost of organising the Confederations Cup and next year's World Cup . . . Italy's players remained inside their hotel on Friday, with the exception of striker Mario Balotelli, who is of Ghanaian origin. When asked why Balotelli had left the hotel, Prandelli joked that it was 'because he is another colour', before explaining himself more clearly. 'Excuse me, I made a joke earlier', he said. 'Mario told me: 'Being black, I'd like to go to see the children for a social project'. It's a great thing—it wasn't just to go for a walk'. The Salvador region, in the northeastern state of Bahia, is largely populated by people of African descent. Later, Balotelli wrote on his Twitter account: 'Salvador!! i look like a person from Bahia!!!' (*Agence France Presse* 2013b)

Despite jokes made by the coach and the humorous way in which the events were reported, we can reread the incident and the salient racial understandings in another way. Never was it questioned why the (white) Italians would not be able to go out at night, there was an obvious assumption of danger given the recent riots but also the assumed racial composition, and class position, of the riots. The latter is indicated by the common sense idea that Balotelli would of course be fine among the populace because he is black, otherwise it would not make sense to bring his skin color into play. There is a criminalization of blackness, as well as protest, here from which Balotelli is apparently immune. I would imagine that the white Italian players could have gone with Balotelli if they wished, but it was overdetermined as too dangerous.

Conversely, however, I would argue that Balotelli recognizes that he may very well be safe because he is black, but also, perhaps whether he realizes it or not, because he stands for

something else and, of additional importance, is involved in Brazilian society through his charitable efforts. Balotelli exists as a diasporic athlete whose struggles and accomplishments are not likely lost on those of the black/African diaspora in Brazil who are fighting against white supremacy in a society that tells them race is unimportant. Thus Balotelli is not safe at night in Brazil because he is necessarily black, as Western media would lead us to believe, but rather because he is in part seen as a person who is similarly fighting racial oppression.

Mutombo and Obama. Lastly, a provocative addition to the narrative I have offered so far is the 2008 presidential election of Barack Obama. As a second-generation immigrant from Kenya, Obama's election to the presidency of the United States was a significant accomplishment for many black communities around the globe. In particular, the responses Mutombo, who campaigned for Obama, gives to the election of Obama are telling of the kind of meaning the event carried.

In a move perhaps unique in the NBA but typical of Dikembe Mutombo, the Rockets veteran center will go from being an honored guest at the State of the Union address of one administration to a firsthand witness of the dawn of another. Mutombo on Friday said he will attend President-elect Barack Obama's inauguration Tuesday, along with his oldest son Reagan, wife, Rose, and father Samuel, whom he is flying in from Africa for the occasion. 'It is just very important to me to be a part of something that has never happened before in this country, to be part of history like that', Mutombo said. 'We have the son of an African man, not from a second or third generation, from the first generation. That brings so much joy and so much pride for me. To see the son of an African man elected, it's giving my children a lesson, giving them hope that no matter where you come from, you can become somebody someday. One of my sons was running around when Obama was elected saying, 'I'm free, I'm free, Daddy, I'm free!' I said, 'Son, you've been free. It's just your mind is free now'. I'm proud to be a part of this'. Mutombo, 42, who was honored by President George W. Bush for his work in building a hospital in the Democratic Republic of Congo, had a breakfast meeting with Obama before he announced his bid for the White House. Mutombo said he campaigned for Obama. He declined to say who invited him to the inauguration. 'My father, who is not feeling well, decided to be on a plane to come all the way over here because he wanted to be a part of his', Mutombo said. 'It means a lot for Africans. I've had deep conversations with many African friends and they are very, very proud to see this history. Now I can tell my son, 'You cannot tell me you can't be the next Bill Gates or the next senator'. I'm feeling good about my children. I know I'm going to cry a lot. But I want to be there'. (Feigen 2009)

Mutombo draws explicit attention to the fact that Obama is the son of a first generation African immigrant and the meaning that has to his African friends. The former aspect of Obama is what seems to mean the most to Mutombo as it regards the future possibilities for his children, that

they have increasing possibilities in life. While it remains possible to be skeptical of the material impact of Obama, the symbolic meaning of his election clearly resonated with both native and foreign black populations. This is yet another example of the second generation having the ability to pull together populations considered 'Black' in a moment of racial awareness and solidarity. As we saw with Balotelli, Obama's multiple subject positions make him available to a wide range of peoples and backgrounds with which to make meaning, create identity, and practice resistance in their everyday lives.

CONCLUSION

My focus in this chapter was to explore diasporic processes of meaning making, identity, and coalition building in the discourses around the athletes in my study. The themes and topics explored in the pages above can be thought of as the proverbial 'tip of the iceberg', because we do not have much information on them, they are hidden from us, we only know that they are happening to some degree. We can condense my findings into the following points.

- The history of African Americans and, to some degree, Black Britons, as diasporic athletes finds resonance in the development of athletes from African countries. Particularly among early African athletes, African Americans served not only as models for how to play the game, but also what was possible for blacks at the time.
- African athletes increasingly mean something to other African athletes and the African continent, especially in their home countries. The successes of African athletes in the West have displaced the previous importance of African Americans in some ways because the African athlete is a 'homegrown' example of achievement.
- The full meaning of the African athlete to diasporic communities in the West is often hidden from us. Inconsistencies in the hegemonic discourse show that African athletes serve as points of identity and social value for these communities.
- Within the black diaspora more broadly, we can begin to see African athletes making connections with native blacks and native whites in a loose form of coalition building through shared experiences. These processes are more evident within the second generation.

In thinking more upon to topic of diaspora, if sport is to have anti-racist humanist (Gilroy 2000; 2005) or radical democratic (Winant 2001) potential then those involved in sport must think beyond the nation-state and foster a notion of diasporic community based on common experiences of oppression as well as notions of hybridity and intermixture. This process is, obviously, no easy feat, as there are no permanent ways forward and many perils to avoid. As Gilroy (1993; 2005) explains, the internalization of stereotypes, commodification of race-consciousness, hierarchies of oppression, static conceptions of race, and claims of authenticity

are all problems that have plagued a coherent notion and movement towards an anti-racist humanism. Going back to social learning theory, Western media's influence in creating and maintaining these perils cannot be overlooked. The behavioral expectations that media creates for individuals and the social reinforcement they receive by modeling themselves after those accepted behavioral forms can only be undone by radically different learning experiences. That individuals tend to overgeneralize vicariously gained knowledge concerning objects, relationships, and likelihood of events only strengthens their biases and fears of strangers (Others) (Bandura 1977). This feedback loop works to perpetuate the global hegemony of white supremacy and neoliberalism, both of which foster dehumanizing behavior (Mills 1997).

Concurrently, the lack of information coming from the African continent is also problematic. While African American leaders and celebrities, past and present, are often well known around the world and to those in African countries, the reverse cannot be said. Very few African leaders or entertainers are well-known to those in the diaspora. Though this one-way street of information is slowly changing, often virtually via web content (Reynolds 2013), it has historically meant missed opportunities for understanding and coalition building in the black diaspora (Mazrui 2005). These issues are further complicated when we consider that the issues confronting black communities and blackness are always worked out in the public sphere, popular culture, and thus subject to intervention and manipulation by white supremacist discourse. This public nature means that anti-racist humanism and radical democracy consistently face the normalizing cultural and political pressures of the dominant ruling order. These pressures have made deviant and irrational the historically black political tactics of protest and ideological resistance, particularly those with socialist leanings (Iton 2008).

The representations I discuss throughout my work serve to actively build division and resentment between blacks and whites, and among different black populations. The construction of the successes of black African athletes despite their primal and horrific experiences in Africa creates hierarchies of oppression which make black diasporic coalition building more difficult. As I have argued, such constructions confuse and essentialize various elements of blackness and the black (immigrant) experience. Michelle Wright (2004), discussing the creation of the black Other in Western philosophy, explains that while various Others can result from different forms of racism, such as 'the Other-from-within' (native blacks) and 'the Other-from-without' (foreign blacks), they are, 'conflated rather than discretely defined and, most importantly, that *one* racial

group can have different types of alterity placed on it depending on which textual agenda locates it as Other' (p. 31, emphasis in original). It is this kind of discursive complexity which I have attempted to tease out in this chapter and throughout my work.

As I mentioned in chapter three, Gilroy (2005) outlines the need for what he calls a 'radical openness' in bringing alive the concept of 'conviviality' which he hopes can eventually pick up where the concept of multiculturalism died. In his formulation, race/culture (now fused), along with ethnicity and nationality, is increasingly problematic as a fixed point of identity because it keeps race/culture static and tied to nation and national borders. For too long race/culture has been deployed as defense mechanism by majorities and minorities alike in order to orient themselves in the uncertainty and loneliness that is postmodern society. Though white supremacy may be dominant, the rise of cultural absolutism, another way of talking about race, has made white supremacy only one of a host of other unappealing options. For Gilroy, what we require is an anti-racist humanism, one that uses radical openness that moves us towards conviviality. This conviviality makes multiculture an ordinary aspect of everyday life, such as it already is in many urban areas and postcolonial cities. It is by drawing attention to the faulty notion, and possibility, of closed identities around race/ethnicity/nation that we can begin to think about new and emerging forms of anti-humanism which, for Gilroy, center on the reorganization of citizenship status, or lack thereof.

Like Gilroy, Wright (2004) denounces discourses of authenticity and homogeneity that often plague black diasporic identity or nationalism. Yet she goes even further by explicitly denouncing the often salient heteropatriarchal, and universalizing, formations of these discourses while bringing issues of gender, sexuality, and class alongside those of race. In the end, blackness, or the black subject, cannot rely on exclusivity if it is to avoid the pitfalls of discourses that created black Otherness in the first place. If we are to establish meaningful ties and representation for all within the black diaspora then black discourse must recognize difference and reach beyond the limits of nation in order to make links with black communities throughout the diaspora. Though sport remains a contested terrain and often maintains racial stereotypes, it is one of the only avenues of cultural production and diasporic communication open to people of color (Carrington 2010). Hence, it retains a measure of potential for positive political transformation. As Winant (2001) notes, the current political correctness of being color-blind is gradually becoming untenable as racial inequality persists and continues to worsen.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE SPORTING MIGRANT: ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND THE FOREIGN OTHER

I can't stop eating, my best friend's leaving
My pastor touched me, I love this country
I lost my earpiece, I hope y'all hear me
'Cause it hurts me soul
-Lupe Fiasco

I began this study with a set of research questions that were designed to guide and delineate my research. My primary goal was to explore discourses of global white supremacy and anti-black racism in the representations of highly skilled migrant labor in the form of black African athletes. As I mentioned in chapter five, these research questions point to much broader issues regarding the very nature of representing the foreign/native Other in Western societies. Hence, I was concerned with the different modes of alterity placed on the Other, and the focus on black Africans was a means to discuss some of the broader sociological implications regarding representation in the West. It is worth returning to those questions now in order to evaluate and summarize my findings.

1. How are black African migrant athletes in the West discursively constructed and represented by Western media along the social categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality? How is 'Africa' represented and what roles, if any, do foreignness and the migration process play in the representation of these athletes?
2. How are stereotypes and representations of native blacks in the West applied, or not, to black African migrant athletes (foreign blacks)? What are these stereotypes and what sort of social processes invoke and engage with them?
3. What influence does generation have on the representation of black African migrant athletes? Are later generations represented differently? Does the second (or 1.5) generation engage in certain, different, social activities than the first generation (or those who never truly immigrate to the West)?
4. How might these representations impact native and foreign (diasporic) black communities, or populations, in the United States and Europe? Do they play a role in the continued marginalization or invisibility of these communities?
5. How might the representations of black African migrant athletes in the West move us towards a framework for 'seeing' anti-black policies and global white supremacy within and around sport?

(1) *How are black African migrant athletes in the West discursively constructed and represented by Western media along the social categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality? How is 'Africa' represented and what roles, if any, do foreignness and the migration process play in the representation of these athletes?* Throughout my findings I focused on issues of race, gender, and nationality because they were prominent topics in the representations of the athletes. The social categories of class and sexuality emerged less frequently in my findings because they seldom arose in my data. In terms of race, I found that it was often tied to issues of nationality and representations of Africa. The foreignness of the athletes certainly played a role in the discourses of them as athletes and human beings. Narratives of their backgrounds were likely to rely on stereotypes of Africa, devalue African ways of living (languages specifically were often termed 'dialects'), and positioned them as lucky to have 'escaped' Africa to the West. They were often described as intelligent, hardworking, and kind, but also (paradoxically) naïve and 'naturally' athletic if undeveloped (raw). The former statements construct African athletes along the tropes of noble savagery, while the latter trend towards stereotypical understandings of black athletic ability and intellectual capacities.

Gender, too, was often tied with understanding of Africa, as the women in this study were asked about 'African' society and their 'escape' from male dominance. The way these questions are asked reinscribes African societies as backwards, static, and erases the ongoing misogyny and gender inequality in Western societies. In many ways, the discourses on gender betrayed the misogyny of the West in that the women in my research were consistently framed as mothers and wives (if they were), as weak or fragile athletes, and, contradictorily, as 'natural' athletes because of the 'harsh realities' of African life. At times, white female runners from Western nations were presented as 'Great White Hopes' to beat the dominant African runners, further cementing the fusion between race and nation. Lastly, the controversy I discussed surrounding the issue of male pacemaking for women highlighted the obsession with 'purity' concerning the sporting achievements of women, a topic I delved into further by bringing the experience Caster Semenya had with gender testing into my analysis. Such a preoccupation with the bodies of women not only hurts female athletes, physically and emotionally, but also stunts the athletic development of women's sport.

I will mention sexuality in more detail later, but class was another social category that did not figure prominently in my analysis despite its empirical salience. As highly skilled labor these

athletes certainly have something of worth to the West and they are compensated very well. They do not face the everyday conditions that other immigrants face in crossing borders, arriving, and incorporating themselves into Western societies. I bring up this fact occasionally throughout my writing and some athletes, like Didier Drogba, appear to be aware of the kind of privilege they carry and mention it in interviews. The problem with the way class appears in the representation of these athletes is that it is related to African populations, or Africa as a place of poverty, and not populations already within the West. Those black populations, already marginalized, are kept invisible by this kind of representation, or way of representing black African athletes. Another complicating factor that Kunzler and Poli (2012) note is that the corporate sponsorship and media attention around these expatriate athletes within African countries contributes to a sense of easiness in becoming a professional football player and emigrating from Africa. The realities of hardship and failure in trying to become a professional athlete and migrating to Europe do not receive an appropriate amount of attention or critique.

(2) *How are stereotypes and representations of native blacks in the West applied, or not, to black African migrant athletes (foreign blacks)? What are these stereotypes and what sort of social processes invoke and engage with them?* Chapter six of my analysis deals almost exclusively with this question. I broke the chapter into three parts, one focusing on anger, greed, and selfishness, one focusing on intellectual and mental capacities, and the last one focusing on stereotypical descriptors of women in sport. The aim of the chapter was not necessarily to compare the groups per se, but to draw attention to the fact that it is very difficult, if not impossible, for those considered 'Black' to escape the most negative stereotypes of blackness. Thus, primarily for Drogba, Hakeem Olajuwon, Dikembe Mutombo, and Mario Balotelli, I focused on moments where their behaviors brought harsh criticism and then analyzed those critiques to see if they contained racialized understandings or tendencies that we often see, for example, applied to native black athletes in the NBA. What I found is that as long as immigrant athletes do not display unwanted behavior, reminiscent of native black players (always already stereotyped in certain ways), then they could maintain a 'positive' representation. As I discuss, this is an impossible position to be in, essentially requiring black players to stop being human and simply go about their lives in a robotic manner. As for black African women in sport, much of what I discussed above applies here as well, not only did they face stereotypes of female athletic ability, but they were also framed as natural athletes in a simplistic way.

Additionally, my research here adds to and extends the previous research on celebrity and celebrity athletes. As mentioned previously, the industry that aims to routinize the production process of celebrity athletes relies on narratives and storylines that audiences can interact with in various ways. Wrapping the celebrity athlete with Western cultural values represents a process of commodification that seeks durability and multi-platform promotional opportunities (Andrews and Jackson 2001; Marshall 1997). Hence, the celebrity athlete becomes a tool, or symbol, of the hegemonic neoliberal economic regime, a representation of consumer freedom and hyper-individualism primarily directed towards straight middle-class white men (Marshall 1997; Montez de Oca 2013; Smart 2005). As creations of the West, the representations of African celebrity athletes in my study reflect the bias of these (racialized) processes towards blackness, African peoples and countries, through their stereotypical descriptors. This reliance on easy narratives and single stories betrays the construction of celebrity athletes as serving the needs of Western neoliberalism via celebration and aggrandizement, but also through the continued social exclusion of the (foreign) black Other.

However, my deep exploration of the discourses surrounding these athletes yields additional insight regarding the incomplete nature of the hegemonic narrative. That there are times where we can see the meaning the African celebrity athlete has to those in the African diaspora indicates that the hegemonic narrative, the representation, of these athletes can and is being interpreted in unmeant ways by those populations. The reclamation of the mere existence of recent diasporic African communities in the West is an important step towards in the recognition of how mass media works to keep blackness, both native and foreign black communities, socially marginalized. My arguments are further supported by the noticeable disconnect in the moments when the athletes in my data are critical of society and the resulting censorship or failure to meaningfully engaged with their critiques. In these instances, mass media acts as if it has no power, when actually it has been predetermined that its target audience has no interest in debates about the racialized structure of politics, the economy, or sport.

(3) What influence does generation have on the representation of black African migrant athletes? Are later generations represented differently? Does the second (or 1.5) generation engage in certain, different, social activities than the first generation (or those who never truly immigrate to the West)? The most salient differences in the representation of different generations are the uncertainties within the media in trying to classify or label the second

generation. This uncertainty that second generation immigrants embody finds expression in labeling processes that inherently draw on nationality, or discourses of the nation. In my work, this was clearly evident in the representation of Balotelli and the wide ranging combinations of 'Ghanaian' and 'Italian' that were combined to describe him. Though he was the only second generation athlete in my study, the discussion in chapter nine about Wilfried Zaha and his choice of national team is indicative of the nationalism that exists within these discourses and the nationalist hierarchies they try to establish and maintain. Particularly in the English (and European) context, the nationalist discourse that constructs all immigrants as blacks and all blacks as immigrants (Gilroy 1993) 'wants' always to position those immigrants with 'valid' claims to citizenship as foreign. This discourse around second generation immigrants, like Zaha and Balotelli, constructs them as foreign because they even *have* a choice, much less what 'side' they choose. It is also a discourse that serves to hide the transnational activities as well as modes of acculturation/assimilation that immigrant communities engage in and experience more broadly.

In the U.S. context, I argue that this discursive process is reversed but achieves the same end. All blacks are African Americans until their foreignness is of some discursive use. The African names on the backs of second generation athletes, and their experiences, in the NFL and NBA that actually contribute to the diversity of these leagues are neatly homogenized into a blackness that is in some ways always foreign to the U.S. despite its internalization. Again, as I have argued throughout, such a process reinforces blackness as inhuman by hiding the full complexity and diversity of experience and activities amongst those considered 'Black'. That second and 1.5 generation athletes also seem to form more connections with native black cultural forms, as opposed to the first generation, is also used against them in their determination as 'Black'. These experiences with such racializing processes has the further effect of 'pushing' 1.5 and second generation youth into blackness as a form of identity and building an awareness of the social marginalization of black peoples. I demonstrated this by showing how Balotelli, after years of 'only' trying to be Italian, begins taking pride in 'being' black and having an African heritage and, additionally, lends his support to other black Italians confronting racism.

Though perhaps a positive development for Balotelli personally, this pressing of people into categories that they do not choose but have to make their own is very problematic in that it creates the circumstances for white supremacy in reverse, which is of course the great fear of

colonialist discourse in the first place. Balotelli and Drogba and others are forced into certain identities, which they must embrace or be destroyed, but those self-same identities are not sufficient enough to end the current racist political structures within which we are currently embroiled. Fighting political battles with identities that have been forced upon us has outlived its usefulness and requires something new. Edward Said (1989), discussing Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire, states that the project of these two intellectuals (as well as others) has not been fulfilled precisely because they realized that in order to be different and live different lives that post-colonials need to think differently, beyond nationalism, blackness, and any other fixed notions of identity and authenticity. Until we fully realize and resist against the harmful effects of rooted and stable identities in nationalism, race, religion, gender, or sexuality then the current political structures will retain their shape and form.

(4) How might these representations impact native and foreign (diasporic) black communities, or populations, in the United States and Europe? Do they play a role in the continued marginalization or invisibility of these communities? Much of what I have stated above applies to this question as well. By restricting blackness to certain modes of behavior the discourses I explore throughout this study constrict the resistive political potential for both native and foreign blacks. To that effect, I was able to draw on Bandura's (1977) theory of social learning and Goffman's (1959) performance concept of the 'front stage' in order to discuss how social settings and contexts may curtail the behaviors and expectations of both black migrant athletes and black communities. The interference and intrusion of white supremacist discourse, or discourses that promote notions of authenticity and static identity as it concerns blackness, into black political efforts seeks to limit political action to those historical forms, such as mass protest, which, by those same discourses, have been made ineffective and often deemed irrational (Iton 2008). Hence, the political activities of black communities are labeled as 'Black' movements and are marginalized on that basis. This tendency makes invisible foreign black communities and their political desires, furthering their efforts to distinguish themselves from native blacks and leading towards feelings of resentment for both groups.

My arguments throughout this study document a number of both subtle and overt ways in which foreign and native blacks are made different and similar depending on the situation. In those arguments it becomes clear that native blacks represent 'blackness', which is the bottom of the racialized social order, and it is that 'blackness' against which foreign blacks, black (im)migrants,

attempt to distance themselves. Conceptually, of course, they can never truly escape blackness because of the color of their skin and their coming from geographic areas racially coded as 'Black'. Hence, it is anti-black racism that we are fighting against, and we must be careful that we are not actually remarginalizing native black communities.

In light of my study being focused upon the highly successful athlete, it is also worth discussing here the applicability of my findings to the 'failed' athlete or the migrant non-athlete (un-skilled labor migrant) in the West. What I find throughout the course of my research is that the high expectations of success initially placed on the athletes in my study drive their popularity and initially shield them from negative stereotypes. For athletes who face high expectations and then fail, such as Yinka Dare, who was supposed to be the 'next' Hakeem Olajuwon, we see a rapid and startling application of negative stereotypes, pulling not only on his blackness, but his foreign alterity as well. Similarly, when an Italian politician digitally altered a photo of Mario Balotelli to depict him working in a field like an African migrant worker, we gain insight not only into the workings of race and racism but into how Balotelli's foreign Otherness, and the stereotypes around it, are never quite forgotten. For the non-athlete, or the un-skilled labor migrant, it is this negative base of stereotypes which they must immediately confront upon arrival because they lack the status to shield them otherwise. As we see in the broader literature, we should expect the non-sporting migrant to initially form an identity around national origin, or religion, in an effort to protect themselves from the psychological, sometimes physical, damages of racism in the West. Hence, though my study does not directly focus on the failed athlete or un-skilled migrant laborer, they are inherently included and their social treatment is implicated precisely because of my focus on the marginalization of foreign black Other and foreign black communities. In other words, a focus on the highly visible actors was necessary to observe certain phenomena impacting the broader community.

(5) How might the representations of black African migrant athletes in the West move us towards a framework for 'seeing' anti-black policies and global white supremacy within and around sport? The representation of the foreign black Other in Western sport follows a framework that relies on local understandings of race and stereotypes of native black populations. For me, the 'local' here is to allow room for the particular, but it is a particular within my larger conception of global anti-black racism (Gordon 1995). In relation to local understandings of blackness, embodied by the native black population, the highly skilled foreign

black Other in sport is treated as a novelty, given a kind of 'pass', because they do not immediately reflect the racialized histories (hostilities) of the local. (Highly skilled is an important caveat here, as in lower levels of sport we are likely to see reception influenced to a greater degree by the issues of class and employment that we see outside of the sport setting.) Because they do not reflect these histories the representation of the foreign black Other is a way for Western societies to evade racism and claim colorblindness by finding certain blacks (even native blacks at times) to praise.

This favorable mode of representation remains in place as long as the foreign black Other maintains certain behaviors amenable to the white Western power structure. As mentioned previously, this is an impossible standard of behavior to maintain, while any deviance from these behaviors changes the representation of the foreign black Other towards those local understandings of blackness. Once the foreign black Other is made into 'just another black', or 'just another athlete', then the process of (re)marginalizing blackness is 'complete' and work begins on finding the next individual Other to exalt and then tear down. As I showed, these processes are often contradictory but have a certain consistency over time and geography, meaning that Western media tends to re-use the same methods of representing the foreign Other and determining whether they are 'different from' or 'just like' the native Other. Hence, what replaces the invisibility of the foreign black Other is not full visibility, but rather a segregated and carefully managed visibility (Hall 1996). My work here is a record of and documents that management, making it visible and applicable to the further study of (sporting) Otherness.

SHORTCOMINGS

Perhaps, then, it is best not to be represented. If what I have presented in these pages is any indication that may very well be the case. However, there are always opportunities for counter-discourse, something I aimed to provide throughout, which makes the shortcomings of my project frustrating. These shortcomings certainly begin with the relative lack of information on the women I included for the project. That this would be an issue was evident from the beginning and is caused by the marginalization women face in sport generally. I tried to get as much out of the data on the women and their intersections with other athletes as possible, but at times they fell out of my analysis completely. Though African men have made significant inroads into European soccer leagues and U.S. basketball and football leagues (as well as Major League Soccer to some extent), African women have yet to do so. Thus, despite the inclusion of

Mwadi Mabika (WNBA), much of my analysis fell on the female distance runners included in my study.

Similarly, my analysis on the activities of different generations of (im)migrant athletes, specifically the second generation, was strained to reach for interconnections with other athletes who were not primary figures in my analysis. Yet in the future it will be worthwhile to focus more intently on the second generation and to see where and how they are making inroads into Western society. The complexities of choosing which national team to play for, their relationship with the countries of their parents, as well as their identities and assimilation into Western society are all compelling reason for their further analysis. As I have stated previously, it is with the second generation, more than with the first, that we can see at work Gilroy's (2005) notions of cultural hybridity, multicultural, and conviviality.

Another area I was unable to address is that of sexuality. Though I briefly touched on sex and gender while discussing stereotypes of female athletes, most notably the accusations leveled at Tegla Loroupe in the early naughts, sexuality never emerged as a discourse. Heterosexuality is often assumed in sport, as in society, so it is a taken for granted discourse in some sense. Conversely, women who play basketball are often assumed to be lesbian, but given the small amount of data I could gather on Mabika, nothing emerged that would allow me to comment on that topic. The rest of the women in my study, aside from Loroupe, were married or recently engaged to be married, and the men as well were sometimes identified through their marriages or sexual exploits. In these ways there was a salient reinforcement of heterosexual norms and misogynist views towards women as sex objects. Of course, sport is often criticized for homophobia in general, the locker rooms and front offices, but also in the institutions around sport, among fans, and also in global media sport.

A way to redress the lack of conversation on the topic of sexuality would have been the inclusion of Justin Fashanu into my analysis. Fashanu became openly gay in 1990 through a British tabloid. He was born in the U.K., the son of Nigerian and Guyanese parents, was left at an orphanage after his parents broke up, raised in foster care by a white family, and eventually became the first black soccer player worth one million pounds. Thus, Fashanu stands at the intersection of immigration, race, and sexuality. He was the first openly gay player in U.K. soccer and a trailblazer for black soccer players in general, but he is also an example of success

and tragedy. After accusations of sexual assault against a seventeen year-old boy and, perhaps realizing he was not going to get a fair trial (Lane 2014), he committed suicide in 1998.

In researching athletes for this project, my preliminary research on the representation of Fashanu is certainly interesting. After Fashanu came out as gay he was essentially banned from professional soccer. This means that his career was rather short and most of his representation (I was able to construct a dataset of one thousand articles through *LexisNexis*) is focused on his sexuality. In particular, he makes public accusations of have sex with conservative male political leaders then admits he lied about those incidents. Because of some of his activities like this, he is often viewed as attention-seeking and the cause of his own problems. For my purposes, the most compelling aspect is that his sexual identity and blackness are kept separate by a discourse constructing him as an anomaly. This is done in part by the above activities but more so by his brother, John, who denounces his brother's actions as he himself is finding success on the soccer field and later in business (Middlehurst 1994). Because of the same last name, John's representation dominates when Justin's career falters. As some of the first prominent black soccer players, John 'recuperates' any 'harm' done to blackness, black masculinity, by distancing himself from Justin. Of course, the institution of English soccer had previously prevented damage to its hegemonic masculinity through Justin's expulsion.

Also worth noting is that we see similar discourses of being raised by a white family similar to those of Balotelli. John and Justin, in the beginning, are given respectability because of this association. They praised for being well-spoken and having good character, which undoubtedly helped their 'acceptance' into an English soccer context still dealing with rampant racism. We also see the same discourses of abandonment by immigrant parents that we see with Balotelli, but with relatively fewer news articles to analyze. Ultimately, I decided to exclude Justin and John Fashanu because I had stronger and similar examples with other athletes. As the barriers to women and LGBT athletes erode, it will be necessary to revisit these shortcomings more explicitly. However, that is only because the kind of work here is limited by methodology and type of data. As I discuss below, I believe we can get a different kind of understanding via in-depth interviews.

Lastly, and much more of a nagging concern, is that while in some ways African athletes give those in the diaspora more, or different, cultural resources, they do little if they are not moving us towards a better understanding of the marginality of blackness and, ideally, towards

an anti-racist humanism. A few of the athletes in my study move us towards the former, but it is difficult to say any move us explicitly towards the latter. Drogba speaks out on racism towards black athletes, but when asked by Frederic Kanoute to sign a player petition against Israel's treatment of Palestinians he stated that he does not take political sides, even in his own country (*Agence France Presse* 2012). Mutombo is a great advocate for the Congo and Africa, but yet, perhaps wisely, seems to realize that his efforts depend on certain discourses that are often simplistic, stereotypical and homogenizing, and thus goes no further. Olajuwon frequently states that we are all equal and human, but he at times slips into a religious discourse that is inherently problematic, as with all religions, due to its demands based on scripture. Lorooue speaks out against African patriarchy, but neither she nor the other women in my study explicitly deal with the intersection of race and gender. Perhaps Balotelli gets us the closest by being such a focal point of racial animus through no fault of his own, and because his being reflects back to the diaspora its own hybridization. Time will tell. The nature of sport, celebrity, and media often prevents athletes from being politically resistive figures. Yet despite these issues, the diasporic African athlete, by their mere presence, does work against nationalist understandings of spatial boundaries and rooted belonging (Carrington, Andrews, Jackson, and Mazur 2001; Gilroy 1993, 2000; Hall 1996).

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The logical extension of my research is into empirical data in the form of interviews and beginning to chart more closely the immigration of African athletes into popular U.S. sports forms. First, interviews of recent, second, and third generation immigrants concerning the importance of sport and African athletes to them and their communities requires greater attention. While some investigation into this topic is already happening in immigrant communities in Europe (for example, see Burdsey 2009), more can be done both in general and specifically in North America, the U.S. and Canada. Much of the research that is being done still focuses on narrow conceptions of blackness and immigrant activities. Researchers could thus use some of the ideas I have explored here to add a different kind of meaning to their findings.

Second, there is a growing need for a structure that can begin keeping track of African immigrants in popular U.S. sport, both at the collegiate and professional levels. While Raffaele Poli and Loïc Ravenel have established the CIES Football Observatory, an institution for keeping track of immigrant soccer players in UEFA member countries, no such institution exists in North

America to my knowledge and the work of Bale (1991) on sport migration to the U.S. is in dire need of updating. The development and maintenance of such a research project would help bring attention to immigrant populations and give insight into how immigrants are using and experiencing sport in a variety of ways. It would also help keep track of the talent pipelines that bring immigrants into the U.S. and Canada, from Africa and elsewhere.

With the West becoming more racially and ethnically diverse, investigating the processes by which blackness is remarginalized remains an imperative. If greater diversity can lead to better understanding and a comfort with difference, then an anti-racist humanism may very well be possible. African athletes are no longer the novelty they once were, and the second generation is clouding divisions that were once stark contrasts. Even within this study, however, the ability of white supremacist discourse to modify and place different modes of alterity on the foreign black other should give us pause. Thus, the operation of anti-black racism and immigration fears within communities of color remains an obstacle to overcome. The legacies of slavery and colonialism and the current domination of global capitalism and neoliberalism have been neither properly addressed nor fully exhausted. Dismantling these discourses and logics of oppression has to date proved difficult, and simple civility appears to be increasingly elusive. I hope my work here can help in the realization that race remains a fundamental organizing principle that is irredeemable and harmful to the moral progress of a globalized world.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

None

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

None

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

None

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

None

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. The inclusion of the last name was redundant as searching for the whole name alone returned the same number of results.
2. The data pulled from the *Factiva* news database represents a small amount of data primarily focused on Tamba Hali and Christian Okoye. Much of that data was collected for an earlier project but remains relevant despite the fact that later searches on *LexisNexis* found the same articles.
3. There were some shorter documents that were not full because they were at the end of the search or the last of the articles in general. These documents varied greatly in length from a few pages to a few hundred pages.
4. It will be obvious that the coding schema based on names, places, and words, as well as colors, is not always consistent, especially as it regards religion. Religions were generally considered more important than 'words' and were thus highlighted differently in order to draw attention.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Additional or full quotes include:

Teenage Italian striker Mario Balotelli has been welcomed back into the Inter Milan first team fold after issuing a public apology on the club's website. Balotelli, 19, had been left out of the last five match-day squads following an altercation that has been shrouded in secrecy. The only definite thing known was that Balotelli, an Italian of Ghanaian origin, had to apologise in order to be welcomed back. (*Agence France Presse* 2010)

2. Additional or full quotes include:

According to the national statistics institute, there are more than 500,000 children resident in Italy whose parents come from countries outside the EU and have to spend their infancy and teenage years with a residency permit and tight restrictions on their movements. Until 2008, one was Mario Balotelli, the Manchester City footballer, who, despite being born in Sicily and fostered by an Italian family, was technically considered a Ghanaian citizen and was therefore ineligible to play for Italy until the age of 18. (Davies 2013)

Balotelli appeared especially excited about the prospect of playing alongside fellow Italy forward Stephen El Shaarawy, the 20-year-old who has scored 15 goals for Milan this season. 'The World Cup is a big objective for both me and Stephen', Balotelli said. 'We've never played in one and we have the quality to do so'. Born to Ghanaian parents in Sicily before being raised by white foster parents, Balotelli was often the target of racist chants from opposing fans when he played with Inter. Racism in stadiums remains a problem in Italy, as evidenced when his new

Milan teammates walked off the pitch last month during a friendly after racist chants were directed at midfielder Kevin-Prince Boateng. 'Racism is very tough to fight', Balotelli said. 'I really don't know how to defeat it. You need to keep firm and sooner or later we'll win'. (*Associated Press International* 2013)

3. Additional or full quotes include:

Okoye, a 244-pound Nigerian, had never seen a football until he arrived at the California school on a track scholarship in 1982. He would like to play pro football or throw the discus for Nigeria in the 1988 Olympics. (*The New York Times* 1987)

'I'm still learning the game,' he said. 'I'm still a kid in the game.' But Okoye, who was born in Enugu, Nigeria, never played the game until the 1984 season at tiny Azusa (Calif.) Pacific University. He was a second-round draft pick by the Chiefs in 1987, and after two creditable seasons put together an extraordinary year in 1989 - a league-leading and Chiefs-record 1,480 yards rushing, 12 touchdowns and acclaim throughout the National Football League as the "Nigerian Nightmare". (Thomas 1991)

4. Additional or full quotes include:

Ndereba is a trailblazer, and not only because her time of 2:18:47 was the fastest in history until Radcliffe beat it. She is unique among African female runners in having a husband who is happy to stay at home and raise the couple's daughter while she travels the world earning a living. This unprecedented combination has turned Ndereba and her husband, Anthony Maina, into role models in Kenya, where their relationship is seen as a whole new way for men and women to regard each other. 'If people can believe that a woman is as successful as a man, they have started something', said Stephen Mwaniki, Ndereba's childhood coach. Maina's willingness to care for their four-year-old daughter Jane when Ndereba is abroad enables her to ignore criticism in Kenya that she should stay home and be a 'proper' wife. She never asked her husband for his permission to carry on with her running career. 'He could see what I had done', she said. 'I was double sure he would let me continue what I was doing'. He never considered trying to stop her. 'I said it in my heart, I should not discourage her', he said. 'I should let her go until she feels it is enough'. When Ndereba became pregnant in 1997 he agreed to stay home with the baby while she travelled. Since giving birth, her career has blossomed. She returned to the U.S. road-racing circuit in 1998 and picked up where she had left off. In 2000 she won both the Boston and Chicago marathons. She successfully defended both titles in 2001 and placed second in both last year. (Mackay 2003)

Paula Radcliffe has home advantage in Sunday's Flora London Marathon but, not to be outdone, the opposition have brought their own supporters. In the corner of Kenyan challenger Catherine Ndereba, Radcliffe's predecessor as world record holder and the second favourite, will be her husband Anthony and their five-year-old daughter Jane. Holding the jacket of Radcliffe's old nemesis at 10,000 metres, Ethiopia's Olympic champion Derartu Tulu, will be her husband Zewde, a former decathlete. Holding his hand will be their daughter Tsion, four. 'My mummy runs', announced Jane when Ndereba met the media this week but what is so unusual about these two African families is that their fathers let their wives take the primary role. Where in African society it is traditional for men to bring home the bacon while the women bring up the children, professional running has been the catalyst for role reversal. For two decades the tide of East Africans that swamped the professional road circuits in Europe and North America were men. The odd woman who succeeded disappeared after marriage or certainly on the birth of a first child. Now the women athletes are leaving their men at home to play happy families. Tulu has won world and Olympic 10,000m golds plus a world cross-country title since becoming a mother. Ndereba has won the famous Boston and Chicago marathons back-to-back twice since Jane's arrival. Her husband, a trained prison warden, is now a full lot of telephone calls, almost every day. There was a big bill', admitted Ndereba. Since the trip netted her around \$250,000 it was petty cash and far from complaining at being left holding the baby, Anthony said simply: 'It is best for all of us. Yes, of course, there were some comments at home, some criticism that she wasn't being a proper wife. That is natural in our society. But the world is changing. Why cannot a man be the person at home? I enjoy it'. Ndereba never asked his permission to continue her career after she gave birth in 1997, but then he would not have said no. 'I said it in my heart that I should not discourage her. I decided I should let her go until she feels she has done enough. I am very proud. And I am a good father'. He was so keen to play a fuller part in her career that he took up running. Since last October, when his wife decided that her regular base in Philadelphia would be too cold in winter to prepare for London and she would train at home, he has run around half of her 120 miles each week with her, sometimes up to two hours at a time. He said: 'I cannot say what time she will run but I do not think she has come to a race better conditioned'. A warning to Paula, perhaps, and one supported by Ndereba's coach El-Mostafa

Nechahadi. He said: 'This race will be fast. We are trying to see what's her capacity. We're going to go to her limit'. Ndereba's best is 2:18:47, the time she set winning Chicago for a second time in 2001. (Wilson 2003)

Like Radcliffe, Ndereba . . . also happens to be a mother, though a rather more experienced one. Her daughter, Jane, was born in 1997. For 10 years now, the 35-year-old Kenyan woman has been a significant trailblazer for the sporting motherhood. When her daughter was a year old, Ndereba left her in Nairobi with her husband, Anthony Maina, and spent three months away on the U.S. road-racing circuit. In doing so, she departed from the accepted tradition of female subservience in East African society and attracted a great deal of criticism. With her drive, her talent, and her ambition, though, she succeeded both in breaking through the social barriers and in becoming a world-beating professional runner. (Turnbull 2007)

5. Additional or full quotes include:

Catherine Ndereba said the telephone call would go out at about midnight - that's 8 a.m. in Nairobi, Kenya. Daughter Jane, who is home with her father, Ndereba's husband, Anthony, will hear that her mother won the 10-mile race Saturday at the SouthTrust Running Festival in a course-record 52 minutes, 25 seconds. Only 17 months old, Jane does not understand. Still, when Ndereba hears her daughter say, 'Hi, Mom', and 'Bye', which is about all she can manage, all seems right with the world. 'I always prayed to God that I could have a child and take care of her like my parents did for me', Ndereba said. 'She makes me feel good'. (Cristodero 1998)

Because Ndereba had been off the circuit, no one knew what to expect. She was ranked No. 1 in the world before leaving. Fourteen months ago she gave birth to her daughter, Jane. Seven months ago she began training again. And while she admits that it isn't easy leaving her daughter and husband behind in Kenya to race here, Ndereba said it is her only choice. "It's somehow tough, but I try to cope with it," she said. "Because I am there to run, because I have the talent and I have to exploit it." (Lowe 1998)

When Ndereba is running in the United States, she and several other Kenyans train in the Philadelphia area. That means leaving her soon-to-be 2-year-old daughter with her husband and family back in Kenya. On this trip, Ndereba is in the U.S. for almost three months. Referring to her daughter, the 5-2 Ndereba said: 'Of course, I miss her', adding that she calls once or twice a week and looks at her photo album. (Fleischman 1999)

When Catherine Ndereba visited Pittsburgh three years ago, she was a little selfish. She was running the Richard S. Caliguiri/City of Pittsburgh Great Race for herself. And why not? Kenyan women runners, despite their country's storied running tradition, were not held in high esteem in their homeland. Distance running was a calling for men. When Ndereba began to pursue a running career, she faced her share of opposition. "They asked questions - why did I do that?" Ndereba, 27, said in her lilting, high-pitched voice. "They thought it was all right to run around in the school yard. They didn't understand". Ndereba has a broader view of her running talent now. She skipped the 1997 season because she gave birth to her daughter, Jane. Then she confounded expectations again, returning to life as a world-class runner with full support of her husband, Anthony Maina, whom she met in a Nairobi college when both were studying to be police officers. 'Now I have someone depending on me', Ndereba said. 'And I would like her to take up in my steps'. Little Jane will have big shoes to fill. Although her mother is petite, she is a giant in her chosen field. (Shontz 1999)

It was time. In 1996 Catherine Ndereba was at the top of the running world, universally recognized as the top female road runner in the world. But it was time. Time to start a family. She had married. She was home in Kenya. Her maternal instincts called. 'I just wanted to be a mother', she said, matter-of-factly. So, in her prime, she stopped running. A full year passed. She gave birth to daughter Jane in May of 1997. Seven months later she was training again. Five months after that she was winning the inaugural Peoples Beach to Beacon 10K. She finished the season, once again, as the top-ranked female road runner in the world. The 27-year-old Ndereba (pronounced Der-A-bah) had come all the way back. And while she admits it was difficult, missing the competition, she has no regrets she took the time off. 'I considered it part of my life', she said. 'I was there to start a family'. Now she is here to prove she is the best. Again. (Lowe 1999)

A Philadelphia athlete among a field of 33,171 will try to validate her nickname and embarrass the Kenyan Athletic Association this morning in the 24th running of the Chicago Marathon. Such is today's to-do list for Catherine Ndereba, 28, the 5-foot-2, 98-pound distance runner sometimes known as Catherine the Great. Ndereba is a Kenyan citizen who lives in Norristown most of the year, when she is not in Nairobi. She runs about 120 miles a week at

Valley Forge National Park, where she trains with several Kenyan male runners managed, as she is, by Lisa Buster. The wife of a prison warden and the mother of a 3-year-old girl, Ndereba comes by her nickname on merit, having won the Boston Marathon last year, in only her third try at the 26.2-mile distance. (Reid 2000)

Catherine Ndereba got hooked on running when she was 12 because it provided simple rewards. If she ran the fastest times during her P.E. classes in Kenya, she would win prizes like pencils and books. Seventeen years later, she is one of the world's premier marathoners, having won Boston the last two years and entering Sunday's Chicago Marathon as the defending champion. Her friend and countrywoman Lornah Kiplagat didn't get her running career started until after high school, convincing her parents that it was a sport worth trying for at least one year. Now, as one of the world's top racers at a variety of distances, she's even started a running camp for young Kenyan girls. (Gano 2001)

When Catherine Ndereba crossed the finish line first last year in the closest Boston Marathon in history, a part of her was missing. This year that part of her has traveled from her homeland in Kenya to be with her Monday for the 105th running of the world's most prestigious 26.2-mile footrace. It is her daughter, Jane, who turns 4 next month. 'She's here for moral support', said Ndereba's husband, Anthony Maina. 'If I had Jane at home, Catherine would be thinking about her on and off and missing her. Now her whole family is here'. The week already has been a busy one for Ndereba, 28. Her agent, Lisa Buster, said she has been fielding requests for interviews and appearances since Ndereba reinforced her standing as one of the world's top distance runners by matching three-time defending champion Fatuma Roba of Ethiopia stride for stride until the last mile here last year. Ndereba ran 2:26:11, bettering her marathon debut here in 1999 of 2:28:27 and placing sixth. Upset and disappointed that she was not selected for the Kenyan Olympic team that competed in Sydney last summer, Ndereba took her anger out on the field at Chicago in October by blazing a triumphant 2:21:33, the fifth-fastest time ever by a woman. Her husband, who is making his third trip to the United States to be with his wife during a marathon, understands the magnitude of Ndereba's accomplishments, as well as her talent, because he also is a competitive runner. They met in college and married in 1994, and he was well aware of what the future would hold. 'I knew when we were getting married that she would travel a lot', said Maina, a frequent training partner who can pace Catherine for 5,000- and 10,000-meter distances but not for the entire marathon. So he gladly accepted his task this week of tending to Jane while Catherine makes visit after visit to schools around the historic city and other obligatory visits for the race's title sponsor, John Hancock Financial. And Jane seems to be enjoying the attention, even if she is unaware that her mother is one of the greatest ever at what she does. 'She may not understand it, but she has come to see that her mother is up there', Maina said. Asked if his wife maintains her seemingly confident attitude when she is not winning marathons, Maina turned philosophical. 'When you go to the kitchen, there may be four cooks', he said. 'It's not until you taste the food that you know who's the best cook. There are a lot of good cooks here'. Two of those cooks are fellow Kenyan Lornah Kiplagat and Ethiopia's Roba. (Nearman 2001)

I'm looking ahead to something more special than the World Championships', Ndereba said as her 3-year-old daughter, Jane, looked on. I think I'm (established) in my marathon career and now I'd like to set my mind on the world record (Tegla Loroupe's 2:20:43)'. (Garven 2001)

Radcliffe is also far too experienced to have ignored the threat of Ndereba, as too many others appear to have done. The mother of a five-year-old daughter, she won by six minutes here in 2001 and, like Radcliffe, was this week wearing the appearance of a woman who has not skimmed on her training. (*The Observer* 2002)

Her immediate family -- her husband, Anthony Maina, and their daughter, Jane -- arrived with her from Kenya three weeks ago. Jane has a month off from kindergarten. Maina took days owed from his job as a prison guard. Ndereba is employed by the same prison, and after the Boston race last year she was promoted from telephone operator to senior sergeant, but her job is running, not answering phones. Maina has never run a marathon and has never run an international race, but he can do 10 kilometers in 29 minutes. While hardly elite, his pace is ideal because he trains with his wife. 'I try to push her', he said. 'I like being her training partner and she likes the togetherness. We've been married since 1996. She's beautiful: her appearance, her performance. She's the same woman. All the good is there'. (Litsky 2002)

Ndereba, 30, says being a mother as well as a runner gives her strength. She added: 'When I am tired of my training I have somebody to have fun with so I don't get bored. It gives me energy. It also gives me a different philosophy

because I know there are other important things as well as my running'. Unfortunately for the London Marathon, Radcliffe's other potential challengers do not seem as positive about their prospects. (Spall 2003)

Ndereba has a 6-year-old daughter, Jane, who lives in Kenya with her husband, Anthony Maina. Maina will come to New York to watch his wife race. When not training, Ndereba returns home and works as a telephone operator. She said it is hard to leave her daughter.

'Whenever I leave her, she doesn't want me to go, but this is my career', Ndereba said. 'I have to sacrifice. If I don't have sacrifices, I don't have anything to gain'. (Szulsteyn 2003)

Catherine Ndereba is a 98-pound marathoning marvel, the mother of a 6-year-old girl and the the owner of a New York City Marathon record, even before she puts her size-8 running shoes on the Verrazano Bridge Sunday morning . . . A member of Kenya's Kikuyu tribe, Ndereba (der-AY-ba) lives with a cluster of other runners in suburban Philadelphia, and trains at Valley Forge National Park. Sunday's race is her third marathon of the year, the most she has ever attempted in a 12-month period. Ndereba traces the strength she needs for her 100-mile training weeks to her faith in Scripture, the same source that empowers her to cope with being so far from her husband, Anthony Maina, and daughter, in Nairobi. (Coffey 2003)

'When I decided to do my first marathon in 1999 it was out of disappointment. I was in good shape for the World Cross Country, but I did not get selected. I was so mad I did not know what to do, so I decided to go and run the Boston Marathon that April'. It was a move that elevated her towards celebrity status in Kenya. 'It's good, but sometimes it drives you crazy', she said. 'When you have a big name you might have friends but you also have enemies'. She declined to elaborate. Aged 31, only 5ft 2in and 7st, Ndereba is a mother of a daughter, aged 6. While her daughter is at school in Nairobi, Ndereba trains in Philadelphia. 'She is my daughter, but this is my career', Ndereba said, asked how hard it was to be separated from her. 'I believe that, if I do not have anything to sacrifice, I do not have anything to gain', she said. When not training or racing, Ndereba is employed by the Kenyan prison service as a telephone operator. A salary for nothing, surely? 'I just make appearances when they need me', she said. 'I like to work, but running is more important to them than being in the office because I am doing everybody proud'. Just as long as the Big Apple does not prove to be one bite too many. (Powell 2003)

6. Additional or full quotes include:

City may discover soon enough if the 19-year-old has been a victim or a perpetrator during his short and controversial career at Internazionale and, more significantly, whether manager Roberto Mancini can tame him. The history is a complicated one and bound up in the question of the Italian nation's seeming inability to embrace a multi-ethnic identity. At a casual glance, all that needs to be said is that Balotelli has been subjected to offensive terrace songs, of which at least one was openly racist. A particular favourite with supporters of Juventus is, 'If you jump up and down, Balotelli dies', though the really revelatory one is: 'A negro cannot be Italian'. Earlier this year, Juventus were fined for anti-Balotelli chants for the second time in the season. The striker was born - and later abandoned by his Ghanaian parents - in the Sicilian capital, Palermo. Though he holds an Italian passport, was raised by adoptive parents in Brescia from the age of two, speaks with the accent of his region and has been a rising star of Italy's Under-21 team, his nationality seems to have made him the source of more abuse than any other black footballer in Italy. At least that is the received wisdom among the more thoughtful observers in a nation whose lexicon has come to include the term the 'Balotelli generation' - coined by the Italian civil service to define the half-million children of immigrants born in Italy who qualify by law for Italian citizenship on their 18th birthday. (Herbert 2010)

Football ace Mario Balotelli hopes his move to Manchester has shaken off the racists who wanted his white girlfriends dead. The new Manchester City striker, who scored on his debut in midweek, suffered years of abuse from bigoted Italian fans over the colour of his skin during his time in Serie A. And they also hammered Balotelli's girlfriends - because they were white and he was black. On one occasion vicious fans called for Greek beauty Betty Kourakou to suffer 'Spartan law' - and be tossed off a cliff for dating the ace. Venezuelan babe Keyla Espinoza also came in for stick with some sick supporters saying the 'Latino' girl would regret dating a black man. Others, like Italian beauties Constanza Caracciolo and model Carla Velli, were subjected to hateful internet gossip. But Italian-born Balotelli, 20, now hopes his £22million move from Inter Milan will mean an end to the vicious attacks. The star, nicknamed Super Mario, has brought current girlfriend, Melissa Castagnoli, 19, with him and is desperate for her to fit into life in the U.K. A friend said: 'The racism Mario suffered in Italy was horrendous, really, really horrendous. And his girlfriends always got picked on for dating a black man. The U.K. doesn't seem to have the

same prejudices as some people do in Italy and Mario really hopes it will all end now'. Despite being born in Italy many rival fans refused to consider Balotelli, whose parents are Ghanian, to be an Italian. Juventus supporters used to chant 'a negro cannot be Italian' while Roma fans threw bananas at him. After being unveiled at Eastlands last week Balotelli spoke of the hurt the racism has caused him. He said: 'It's something that has really bothered me. It's a really bad thing but I've learned how to deal with it. That is to pretend that it doesn't hurt but it is something very bad'. Manchester City fans reckon he will become a 'hero' of the Premier League. Matty Lord, 37, said: 'Thankfully in this country we don't care about the colour of anyone's skin'. Mario won't get any abuse from fans here. He is supremely talented and will no doubt become a real hero'. (Corke 2010)

7. Additional of full quotes include:

BBC television's current affairs show *Panorama* highlighted possible racism in Ukraine and Poland this week in a program entitled *Euro 2012: Stadiums of Hate*. Images of fans making Nazi salutes and monkey chants towards black players have heightened fears that the tournament could be marred by crowd trouble. Some black England players such as Arsenal's Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain and Theo Walcott have said their families will not travel to watch the matches next month. 'Let's see what happens at the Euros', Balotelli said. 'I hope it will pass without problem. I really couldn't deal with that. If it happened I would walk off the pitch and return home. 'We are in 2012. It's not possible'. Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk said on Tuesday that fears of racism at the tournament had been exaggerated. 'Nobody who comes to Poland will be in any danger because of his race', he told a news conference in Rome. 'This is not our custom, as is not pointing out similar incidents in other countries, although we know they take place. In Poland, they're a rarity'. In Kiev, Ukraine's foreign ministry went further, saying the allegations were a 'dreamed up and mythical problem'. 'You can criticize Ukrainian society for a lot of things ... but, in the practice of racism, European Union member countries are a long way ahead of Ukraine', said ministry spokesman Oleh Voloshyn in comments reported by Interfax news agency. (Herman 2012)

This follows news that families of Arsenal wingers Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain and Theo Walcott have decided not to go to Eastern Europe as they fear for their safety. However, the Italian striker feels racism is unacceptable in today's world. 'I will not accept racism at all. It's unacceptable. If someone throws a banana at me in the street, I will go to jail, because I will kill them', said Balotelli, according to ESPN. Balotelli's comments come after former Arsenal defender Sol Campbell warned everyone, especially England supporters of African and Asian descent, that travelling to Ukraine and Poland could be very dangerous, according to an earlier IBTimes U.K. report. The former England defender, after watching a documentary by BBC's *Panorama* depicting widespread racism in both nations, said he felt UEFA should not have allowed Poland and Ukraine to host such a prestigious event. However, Ukraine's Euro 2012 director Markian Lubkivsky said Campbell's comments were irrelevant and there were no racism concerns in his country. 'If the player Campbell has such a vision, than it is his own point of view, and it cannot be projected for the whole country. His statement is simply insolent for us and we do not understand the aim of it', said Lubkivsky, according to a BBC report. Former Chelsea player Andriy Shevchenko also spoke up, saying the fans had nothing to fear in Ukraine. 'We don't have a real problem here about racism. The country is very quiet and people are very friendly', Goal.com quoted Shevchenko as saying. (*International Business Times News* 2012a)

Almost on cue, the heavens opened above Manchester, but Balotelli is promising to bring a ray of sunshine to City's football. 'I will fit well into the Premier League because, for a striker, it's an ideal league compared to Italy, which is quite tactical'. And he is certain he will not face the racist taunts he had to endure in Italy. 'It's something that has really bothered me', he said. 'There were two or three incidents in Italy that were quite bad. It's a really bad thing, but I've learned how to deal with it. That is to pretend that it doesn't hurt, but it is something very bad. 'As far as I know there is no racism in English football. What happened in Italy was very unfortunate and I hope I don't have them again'. He might not get them here but it might be a different story in Romania tomorrow night when he is set to make his City debut in their Europa League tie against Timisoara. (Tanner 2010)

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Additional or full quotes include:

Balotelli is a Ghanaian citizen currently in care of an Italian family who is expected to officially adopt him when he turns 18 on August 12. The striker can then choose to become an Italian citizen, thus becoming eligible to play with the Azzurri squad. He has repeatedly turned down calls from the Ghana national team. (*Deutsche Presse-Agentur* 2008)

A son of Ghanaian immigrants born in Palermo, Balotelli has yet to take Italian citizenship. But having already turned down the chance to play for Ghana, he has committed himself to Italy and has even been talked about as a possible surprise inclusion in the Azzurri's Euro 2008 squad. (Hooper 2008)

Inter's Palermo-born Ghanaian striker Mario Balotelli officially received his citizenship papers on Wednesday and said he was "proud to an Italian". Balotelli turned 18 the day before and was given his Italian identity card and certificate of citizenship at a ceremony at city hall in the nearby town of Concesio. "This is even more exciting that making my debut in Serie A. The best birthday present I could receive now would be a call to join the Italy squad, although I'd be happy to play for the Under 21 team," he told the press. Balotelli was born in Palermo of Ghanaian parents and at the age of two was given to foster parents, the Balotelli family, in Concesio. Because they never formally adopted him he had to wait until his 18th birthday, when he officially became an adult, to be granted citizenship. "It's an absurd law which needs to be changed. He was born and raised in Italy but had to suffer the humiliation and hardships of being considered a foreigner," said his foster mother Silvia Balotelli. (ANSA 2008b)

Balotelli, you see, is a man - or boy if we're to be a little more accurate - who divides Italy. His name may sound as Italian as pizza and pasta but his birth parents, the Barwuaahs, were both Ghanaian immigrants who settled in Palermo, the Sicilian capital, before bringing Mario into the world. He didn't stay with them for long. At the age of two, he was put up for adoption and welcomed into the Balotelli home in Brescia, Lombardy. He was finally granted Italian citizenship on his 18th birthday but in a land where to be automatically considered Italian you have to have two Italian parents, it was a long and complicated procedure. (Cronin 2010)

Yet behind the headlines is the story of a young man whose fractured childhood could have left him at the bottom of the pile. Born to Ghanaian immigrants Thomas and Rose Barwuaah, the ex-Inter Milan star insists he was abandoned by his parents in hospital when he was two. It is a claim Thomas and Rose adamantly deny and instead they claim their son has turned against them after being 'manipulated' by his Italian foster parents, Francesco and Silvio Balotelli. His metal worker father Thomas was close to tears as he proudly showed us pictures of Mario as a toddler growing up in the Sicilian city of Palermo before they moved north to Brescia. Thomas said: 'I don't know why Mario says we abandoned him in a hospital. It's just not true. Why would we have these pictures?' When his birth parents reappeared in his life via media interviews, Mario was dismissive. He said recently, speaking before his move from Inter: 'I was adopted by the Balotellis when I was two . . . While Balotelli has left his 'bad experiences' behind, his real parents still have to come to terms with his rejection of them. Today, Thomas and Rose live in a third-floor council flat at Bagnolo Mella, on the outskirts of Brescia, northern Italy, with their three other children Abigail, 22, Enoch, 17, and Angel, 11. Thomas said: 'We have always loved Mario but he has changed. It's the Balotellis - they have made him turn against us'. Although now a battling and athletic frontman, Thomas explained how things were very different when Mario was born. He said: 'There were complications with his intestines and he was in a bad way. He was in and out of hospital for a year. 'Doctors were worried he would not survive and we had him baptised in hospital in case he died'. But by early 1992, doctors had given Mario a clean bill of health and the family moved to Brescia, a wealthy industrial city. Initially they lived in a cramped studio flat with another African family before asking social services for help, pointing out Mario had recently recovered from an op. The authorities suggested Mario should be fostered and recommended the Balotelli family, who lived in nearby Concesio. They had a large house with two sons and a daughter of their own. Thomas said: 'At first we were not sure but we decided it was probably best for Mario'. We saw him every week and we all got on really well. 'We thought that at some point in the future, Mario would come back but every time we tried, the Balotellis kept extending the foster time'. I'm a poor metal worker and we couldn't afford lawyers to fight for us so Mario grew more distant. 'He would come and play with his brothers and sisters but he just didn't seem to have any time for his mother and father - he was convinced we had abandoned him'. (Harvey 2010)

2. Additional or full quotes include:

Tamba Hali was a child growing up in civil war torn Liberia when the rebel planes would suddenly come strafing overhead. Hali, now a destructive force of his own as a Penn State defensive end, would scramble for cover. . . His memories return to Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, where Hali can remember being 5 or 6 and friends carrying AK-47 rifles. He was told of his younger half-brother, Joshua, who was thrown down a well to his death at the age of 6. (Robbins 2005)

Growing up in volatile Liberia, where civil war and coups were common, his father made the decision to move his family from Africa to the United States. (*The Star-Ledger (New Jersey)* 2005)

Because of all the civil strife of back-to-back wars in Liberia, Hali and his three siblings had moved from 'hiding places that don't have names to mud places'. For five years, the Halis had no formal schooling, and in a move that's become local legend, Henry Hali bought his English-speaking children Hooked on Phonics tapes when they arrived in New Jersey. (Kinkhabwala 2003)

They would hide in huts, but there was no way to hide from the war around them. Often, there would be bodies piled alongside the road they were walking. Hali also said many of the uneducated children would run around killing others for no reason . . . A few years ago, even Hali's mother was shot. (Manfull 2006)

That's what Hali remembers from his childhood - death and killing. 'Sometimes it would be a lot of people', he said. 'Sometimes it would be just one. Sometimes you'd see a stack of bodies sitting on the side of the road while you're walking. A lot of kids in Liberia weren't educated. A lot of them would be running around killing people for no reason'. (LeGere 2006)

At age 10, Tamba Hali arrived in the United States unable to read, write or speak English, having fled from then war-torn Liberia. (Bosak 2006)

3. Additional or full quotes include:

He will become a good starting defensive end who will make a lot of plays, especially as a pass rusher, but will always make a few less plays than you expect due to his lack of ideal instincts. His smarts and work ethic will help him to learn to identify plays through reading keys to make up for some of his lack of instincts. (Fitzpatrick 2006)

'Playing behind Tamba, I learned how to play relentlessly and play hard every down', said the 6-foot-1, 263-pound Gaines. 'He wasn't the biggest, he wasn't the strongest, he wasn't the fastest but he just played hard every down. Look where it got him'. (Ceisner 2006)

That Hali is so prominent a prospect is a tribute not only to his athletic ability, but also his determination, devotion, and enthusiasm for detail. (Fox 2001)

4. Additional or full quotes include:

Indeed, it is a curious tale, and it has produced the most unforeseeable of reactions. Wilt Chamberlain once observed that 'nobody roots for Goliath', yet no one seems to pull too vehemently against Dikembe Mutombo. He's as endearing as he is awe-inspiring, more likely to react with a pained look to a low-post elbow planted in his chest than with any sort of retaliation. 'He's impossible not to like', said Alonzo Mourning, Mutombo's heralded teammate who may be the best testament to Mutombo's potential greatness: How many players can force someone the caliber of Mourning to switch positions? . . . The accent and the voice -- which rumbles at an octave that seems as low as any human possibly can produce -- are just part of the wealth of idiosyncracies that lead Thompson to call Mutombo his 'filling station', the type of player who keeps a coach invigorated amid an often-dreary repetition of headaches. 'He has come out of a different way of living, a different system of life', Thompson said. 'It's easier to communicate and to deal with him without him being fragile'. He has a refreshing freshness about him . . . because he has not been Americanized since he was in elementary school, with somebody recruiting him or somebody trying to convince him that he's the best thing that's happened to the game since the tennis shoe was invented'. (Maske 1991)

Mutombo, a man of Africa, has revitalized a floundering franchise and given it a purpose as well as a place in the public consciousness. From his signing on July 15, he has become the symbol of a team that was lacking one since Dominique Wilkins --at once hero and antihero --was dealt away in February 1993. Hawks executive vice president Lee Douglas said the turnabout is truly heart-warming for the entire organization. 'He's a wonderful person', Douglas said. 'He came in here a few weeks after he signed, and he introduced himself to the people in the office. He told the ticket sellers to work hard so he could play before big crowds. They had fun with him and he with them. It was very special'. A scholar with a double-major degree from Georgetown, a philanthropist who is a spokesman for CARE and whose passion is to raise funds to build a hospital in his native city of Kinshasa in Zaire, Mutombo rails against teen-age cigarette smokers and talks national politics. He recalls his first visit to Denver, when he was to be interviewed before the NBA draft of 1991, and how astonished people were that a basketball player, an African,

knew details of their mayoral election and, later, that he had correctly forecast that the candidate who trailed in the polls would win. 'I study such things', he said. 'Why shouldn't I know?' (Denberg 1996)

Mutombo rejoined the Rockets after midseason this year. General manager Daryl Morey and coach Rick Adelman wanted him because he could help on the defensive end, but they also wanted his locker room presence. They wanted, that big, disarming laugh and that smile to relieve tension that could have ripped the team apart. 'One of the things I'm happiest with is the transformation that has happened inside our locker room', Mutombo told the Chronicle's Jonathan Feigen a few weeks ago. 'The joy, the peace, the smiling on the guys' faces are very rewarding to see. That is what made me happy, like I accomplished something'. He's funny, smart, gracious and absolutely committed to leaving the world a better place than he found it. In the end, that part of his legacy, more than the basketball, will be what made Mutombo so special. All the basketball did was give him millions of dollars and a large stage. (Justice 2009)

5. Additional or full quotes include:

There is a precious innocence surrounding Akeem Abdul Olajuwon, the 7-foot sophomore center for Houston, who has dominated and charmed this year's National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament, both on and off the court. On the floor, he is a picture of raw talent in bloom. Wielding his muscular 240-pound frame about in a sports world that he's only recently come to know, he epitomizes a simple, sincere love for the game that other players only speak of having. That love, combined with the hard work at mastering a game he has played for only four years, has made the 20-year-old Olajuwon, who came to the United States from Africa, the spotlight of the Final Four this weekend in Albuquerque, N.M. . . . After the regional final and after the Villanova center John Pinone had tearfully tried to convince everyone that Olajuwon "was not the difference in us winning or losing the game', Olajuwon's innocence emerged. Speaking in a soft, low tone, he seemed almost shy as he stood towering above a group of reporters, trying to answer politely each question put to him. At times, he appeared to strain for the right answer, as if something had been lost in a translation. He speaks English well, having learned it many years ago in his hometown, Lagos, Nigeria, in a school that charged students a dime each time they spoke their native language in class. But sometimes, Olajuwon said, "People go too fast for me'. (Johnson 1983)

6. Additional or full quotes include:

If this is the last we've seen of Hakeem, his elegance and class always will endure. Teammate Steve Francis actually puts it best: 'He is what I want to be like when I grow up. I want people to respect me. So when people walk in the locker room, they know I'm them, and I don't even have to say anything. That's how it is with Hakeem' (D'Alessandro 2001).

Pardon the gushing, but Hakeem Olajuwon stands for everything right with sports. He is a giant, towering above the muck and the mayhem of greed, ego and all the things we detest. Olajuwon has carried the Houston Rockets back to the NBA finals, and the timing is perfect. America needs him to remind us that there is virtue in these maddening games played by millionaires . . . Olajuwon's humility is charming. After he conquers his foe, Olajuwon is ready with a smile and a handshake. He deflects praise, redirecting it to teammates. Hakeem speaks English, French and four Nigerian dialects. But you won't hear him talking trash. That would violate his dignity. 'In the last couple of years, I think his leadership qualities have been monumental in getting us to a championship and where we are right now', Tomjanovich said. 'He's not a very vocal type guy, but in the clutch situations, when we really need someone to be a pillar, he's come through all the time'. Olajuwon is also a patriot. He became a U.S. citizen two years ago and has applied to compete for his adopted country in the 1996 Olympics. Hey, Team USA needs Hakeem. This noble Nigerian can remind the world that there's more to the NBA than self-absorbed Ugly Americans. This isn't a shining stretch for the NBA. There are too many young, unproven players cashing in for doing little, and that's created a selfish environment. Olajuwon's performance in the postseason has elevated the entire league. He's restored respect. He's back in the NBA finals. Scoot over, Michael Jordan. Hakeem is the man. (Miklasz 1995)

Never has it been more obvious why Hakeem Olajuwon is just beginning to receive the sort of attention he deserves. It's his attitude. Olajuwon has the wrong attitude for late 20th century America. Throughout an NBA playoffs dominated by his talent, grace and professionalism, Olajuwon has not once bothered to taunt the crowd, dye his hair or refer to himself in the third person. Is it any wonder his number is so rarely called when advertisers want to make a commercial? Closer study of the Nigerian during the playoffs reveals the survival in Olajuwon of a quaint trait called dignity. This dignity reveals itself in many forms, most of them unfamiliar to any American sports fan under the age of 50. When approached by the media in recent days, Olajuwon explained his attitude this way: "Play hard,

be humble.' Play hard, be humble. Can somebody interpret that for America? Though he has lived in Houston for several years, Olajuwon obviously is still a foreigner to the ways of superstar behavior. American sports fans have been raised on bombast, after all. Conceited athletes have paraded before us for decades, primarily because egotists are drawn to the TV camera and vice versa. (Molinaro 1995)

7. Additional or full quotes include:

Blessed are the peacemakers - which is why Didier Drogba enjoys the status of a saint in the Ivory Coast. The Chelsea striker has been back to his homeland this summer to play in an African Nations Cup qualifier and visit his family. He also saw for himself that, just 18 months after he made a dramatic televised plea for peace, the civil war that had engulfed his country for five years is well and truly over. It must rank as one of the most poignant moments in football history. After he inspired the Ivory Coast to qualify for the 2006 World Cup finals in Germany, television crews entered the dressing-room and Drogba seized the microphone. He said: 'Ivoriens - in qualifying for the World Cup we've shown you the whole of the Ivory Coast can share the same goals. We promise the celebrations will bring everybody back together'. And then, after kneeling with his team-mates in supplication, Drogba announced: 'We beg you on our knees to lay down your arms and organise free elections'. And they did. The warlords agreed that the fighting had to stop. The years of killings and revenge attacks that had left thousands dead, wounded and mutilated came to an end . . . When word spreads that he's visiting his family in the city of Abidjan, thousands of Ivoriens - young and old - gather outside their home chanting: 'Drogba, Drogba!' As he stands with his family on a balcony looking down into the sea of happy faces, Drogba appears genuinely stunned. He admits: 'This is bigger than football. This is human relations. This is love. It is difficult to speak. I just enjoy the moment. I'm happy to be with them. This is the future of the Ivory Coast. That's why I'm so happy to come and show them I'm from here and I am what I am. They can be the same as me - or even better'. He may be paid pounds 100,000 a week as a footballer in England but Drogba insists he will never forget his roots. He explains: 'I want to show you the place where I grew up. It's not difficult to switch from Chelsea because this is where I'm from. The money came after I became a man so nothing has changed for me. I can go back to this life without money - no problem at all. It's still the same. I had to share my room with my brothers and cousins. There were five of us in a room. It wasn't strange. Before playing football I was someone normal. A normal person for this place. I can go back to what I had before'. He is the inspiration behind a style of music known as Drogba City, and has both a village and a brand of chocolate named after him. He is hailed as 'The King of Africa'. Drogba's proud father explains: 'Didier's interests were always beyond football. He's a unifier. What he has done here is incredible. It's beyond football and so important'. Kolo Toure, the Arsenal defender who plays international football alongside him, does not play down the striker's massive impact. He said: 'Yes, he brought the peace. In a team there can be one player who can make the difference. He's a big, big player for our country. We're so happy about what's going on here'. Fittingly, Drogba has the last word. 'The Ivory Coast is an influential country in Africa. That's why I did it - because of the people. I hope my country will be peaceful forever'. (Stammers 2007)

Drogba could easily have ignored the politically fuelled fighting that finally erupted in Ivory Coast just a few months after he made his international debut in 2002; he could have flown his friends and family to safety and then just kept his head down and left others to sort the mess out, indifferent to the knowledge that many of those others had spawned it in the first place. But instead he, more than any other Ivorian player (though many others have also made great efforts), committed himself to cajoling and pressurising politicians into acting responsibly. After being presented with his African Player of the Year award earlier this year, he flew to Abidjan to show his trophy to President Laurent Gbagbo, who, of course, was keen to bask in his reflected glory. But Drogba wanted something in return - he asked the president to arrange it so that Les Elephants could play their next home African Nations Cup qualifier not in Abidjan but in Bouaké, the centre of power of the rebels who had been fighting Gbagbo's regime. It would be a heroic, unifying gesture, declared Drogba. Placed squarely before his responsibilities by the country's favourite son, Gbagbo obliged, and last June Ivory Coast hosted Madagascar in Bouaké in an atmosphere of celebration that went far beyond anything a normal football match could muster. It would be silly and wrong, of course, to suggest that Drogba alone brought (a still precarious) peace, but he has done as much as one footballer could to help. This does not suggest someone who is obsessed with self-interest. No, it denotes a man who knows he can only find fulfilment when those around him are happy and in harmony. 'Human relationships and solidarity are essential to me', he said back in 2003. Is it any wonder he wants to leave Chelsea? He could stick around at Stamford Bridge, of course, and attempt to foster reconciliation like in Ivory Coast. But a) this is less important, and b) Drogba is a footballer who didn't turn professional until he was 21, didn't reach the French top flight until he was 24, and is now 29. Time is against him. He needs to be among people who are with him. (Doyle 2007)

ALL he said was: 'Come to Abidjan, Alex. You will not be disappointed'. Ordinarily, when a footballer tells you to jump on a plane and travel thousands of miles to West Africa for an interview, you tend to hesitate. But then Didier Drogba is no ordinary footballer and, as it turned out, this was to be no ordinary interview. As soon as I landed in the capital of Drogba's native Ivory Coast, it immediately became apparent just how big a star he was. Almost every street corner housed a giant billboard on which the Chelsea striker advertised everything from chocolate to mobile phones. It was clear that Drogba was the face of his country; the symbol of a new, post-civil war Ivory Coast. What was yet to emerge, however, was his pivotal role in bringing about that peace. Civil war had been raging for five years when, moments after leading his nation to the 2006 World Cup finals in Germany back in October 2005, Drogba picked up a microphone in the dressing room and, surrounded by his team-mates, fell to his knees live on national television. He begged both warring factions to lay down their arms and, within a week, his bold wish had been granted. 'It was just something I did instinctively', he explained. 'All the players hated what was happening to our country and reaching the World Cup was the perfect emotional wave on which to ride'. The culmination of the peace process came on the second day of my trip, when the White Elephants played an African Nations Cup qualifier against Madagascar in Bouake, the old rebel stronghold about 300 kilometres north of Abidjan. 'Seeing both leaders side by side for the national anthems was very special', Didier said. 'I felt then that that the Ivory Coast was born again'. I had been totally unaware of Didier's incredible feat until I began talking to people in Abidjan. At no point had he mentioned, let alone boasted, about his political involvement. I wondered why he had not spoken about this before, especially when the British press had been on his back? 'I don't feel I need to say anything to anybody about who I am in Africa', Drogba replied. 'I know what I stand for and that is all that matters'. Had he not, though, sometimes wanted to bite back when his integrity on the field had been called into question? 'Honestly', he said, 'it doesn't bother me what I get accused of. The people who mean most to me know what I am really about'. Many footballers have used their influence to great effect in recent years, whether by putting their name to an inner city project or sponsoring a charity, but none has ever stopped a country tearing itself apart. Truth be told, no other player could. Drogba is a god to the Ivorian people, not just because he is a famous footballer, but also because he is someone who speaks for the masses. He is in tune with the average Ivorian. 'Of course', he said, 'because above all I am one of them'. (Hayes 2007)

But while they may imitate his countrymen, Chelsea fans can't quite emulate them in terms of affection. Because in the Ivory Coast, love for Drogba goes far beyond what he does with a ball. On qualifying for the World Cup for the very first time in 2005, almost three years to the day after the Ivorian Civil War broke out, Drogba was called forward as captain to speak on national TV. There were no post-game clichés though, only a calculated speech - what Drogba felt would be a 'peaceful weapon', a statement that simply had to be made. 'All players please come together. Ivorians, men and women, from the north, south, centre and west. You've seen this. We've proven that the people of Cote d'Ivoire can all live together side by side, play together towards one same goal: qualifying. We'd promised you this celebration would bring people together. Now we're asking you to make this a reality. Please, let's all kneel put down your weapons, organise the elections and things will get better'. And Drogba himself made further efforts to ensure they did. On winning the African Player of the Year award in 2007, Drogba flew to Abidjan to have his photo taken with president Laurent Gbagbo. But he wanted something to equal the politician's blatant electioneering. He wanted the team's next African Nations qualifier switched from the capital to Bouake, the seat of the rebels fighting Gbagbo. A grand, unifying gesture. And the president had no option but to accede. The result went far beyond 90 minutes. Which is exactly how to describe Drogba's attitude to international football. 'We were like a ray of sunshine in a country plunged into grave crisis. My status shields me from misery; I'm not blind to that. This responsibility raised up our national team into a symbol of reunification. But we're no politicians. All we can do is radiate positivism and give pacifist speeches'. The kind of reflection beyond most of his peers, and even similarly influential athletes such as Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan. But then Drogba has the personal life to match. He is a UN Goodwill Ambassador and trained accountant. As his agent and friend Thierno Seydi explained, 'Didier is one of the 10 best-paid players in the world but humility is part of his personality. He will be an African Michel Platini, a decision-taker'. This is a footballer, after all, who castigated the European media for oversimplifying Ivory Coast's problems in their coverage. (Delaney 2009)

Didier Drogba is enjoying the best form of his career, but takes more pride from the work he does for a charitable foundation in his name. The Chelsea striker set up the Didier Drogba Foundation after the death of a close friend from leukaemia three years ago and it gained impetus after the stadium disaster in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, this year, when the collapse of a wall killed 19 fans. Drogba's present project is to build a new hospital in the city and, having bought the land himself, the striker is committed to raising £2.5 million to get it open within the next two years, with a fundraising dinner being held at The Dorchester in Central London this month. 'This foundation is really important

to me as it started because of the death of Stefan, who was only a young boy', Drogba said. 'I did everything I could to bring him to Europe for treatment, but it took a long time and as soon as he got the visa, he died two days later. I started with some work with an orphanage but am ready for a bigger project that can make more impact. Building this hospital should improve conditions for at least some in Ivory Coast'. (Hughes 2009)

Speaking about why he has committed to raise £2.5m to build a hospital in Abidjan, the city in which he lived until he was five years old, Drogba said: 'I have seen much suffering throughout Africa, especially with my work with the UN. But when I visited a hospital in Abidjan earlier this year, I was shocked by the terrible conditions. 'We hear about all the incurable diseases, but these kids are just as likely to die from diabetes because there is no insulin available. 'It was then I decided the foundation's first project should be to build and fund a hospital giving people basic healthcare and a chance just to stay alive'. When talking about his work for the UN, he said: 'I believe in giving people a chance. I know from the experience of my own country how terrible war can be for individuals, families and communities. But I always know that, if people are given a chance, they can achieve many things, even after a devastating conflict. 'I'll never forget where I came from. I was given a chance to succeed in life, but I always think about those who did not get that chance. We all have to work together if we want to combat poverty'. (Williamson 2009)

Chelsea striker Didier Drogba has joined Ronaldo and Zinedine Zidane as the latest soccer star to become a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations' development program. Drogba, who is currently leading scorer of the English Premier League and joint leader in the Champions League, said Wednesday he was honored to take up the mandate and would do all he could to reduce poverty in the world. 'There is too wide a gap between the rich and the poor', the Ivory Coast striker said. 'Being in the position I am, I'm delighted to serve a noble cause trying to reduce this poverty gap'. Drogba who will get a symbolic dollar a year for his role with UNDP, declined to say how much he earned as a soccer player, but said he had worked very hard to get into the league of best-paid players. In his new position, Drogba will promote the U.N.'s goal of halving world poverty by 2015. (*Associated Press Worldstream* 2007)

The youth of Ivory Coast love Drogba. Every time he returns to Abidjan airport now, he is swamped by media and fans, top of the television news, feted wherever he goes. Drogbacite - or Drogbaness, in English - is a cultural phenomenon in music and dance that shows no signs of disappearing, even though the Elephants, the national team, did not get past the first round in Germany 2006. 'Drogbacite? It's all about me, about my success of the last four years [since his international debut]', he says. 'There is a special relationship between football and music, and Drogbacite comes from that. It's still popular. Me, I need my music, especially before a game. I use it at Chelsea to prepare in the dressing room'. You can listen to the Drogbacite club hits on a compilation CD and to Drogba himself at the microphone on another disc. Before the World Cup, the Ivory Coast squad made a recording with Magic System, a local band, and both Drogba and the Arsenal defender Emmanuel Eboue showed that they can sing as well as play football. 'Yes, it's true I can sing', says Drogba. 'But it's not what I do best'. He does it well enough, though, and had the confidence to give a solo performance to the Ivory Coast President, Laurent Gbagbo, at a pre World Cup reception in Abidjan. There is no exaggerating Drogba's fame in Ivory Coast. A few indicators: the popular one-litre bottle of Bock beer is big and strong, so is now known as a Drogba; a street in Abidjan has been renamed Rue Didier Drogba; an interview with Drogba in the local Stades d'Afriques newspaper led to a circulation increase of 87 per cent; and the most popular overseas club in Ivory Coast, which for years was Marseille, is now Chelsea - by a long way. 'Ask them in the Chelsea store', says Drogba, 'and they'll tell you I am the one who buys all the shirts! When I go to Ivory Coast I always have to take so many, for my family and friends'. Adam Khalil, who did that sales-busting interview with Drogba for Stades d'Afriques, says: 'He is a key personality in the life of Ivorians, young Ivorians above all. He is a symbol of success in life, the first Ivorian pro footballer who has been talked of like this. There is so much publicity around him and his performances that influences the life of young people. There are songs in which they sing his name. The way he dresses - the young copy it. The cut off T-shirts, the gelled hair. He is an example of social success. He came from nowhere and, with determination, succeeded'. Just about every young Ivorian wants to be Didier Drogba, and if that is too much to ask, at least he wants to dance like Didier Drogba, who celebrated every goal he scored for Marseille four seasons ago with a dance. So Drogbacite is their way of taking on his personality, most expressively by copying his football skills, his feints and shots, in dance moves. (Oliver 2007)

In October 2005, after his team qualified for the last World Cup in Germany, Drogba stunned the nation with a post-match plea. As television cameras rolled amid celebrations in the Ivorian dressing room, Drogba asked for a

microphone. He fell to his knees and told his teammates to do likewise. Following five years of continuous conflict, he begged the nation's factions to stop fighting. Within a week, they did. 'It was just something I did instinctively', he told London's Telegraph later. 'All the players hated what was happening to our country and reaching the World Cup was the perfect emotional wave on which to ride'. Two years later, when negotiations between the government and the rebels stalled, Drogba had another idea. He proposed that the Ivorian national team play a match in the rebel stronghold of Bouake. He presented the idea publicly as a *fait accompli*. Nobody dared to contradict him. The prime minister came along with the team. Before the match, Drogba stood at midfield and presented him with a pair of cleats emblazoned with the words 'Together for Peace'. Even the rebel soldiers cheered. Ivory Coast beat Madagascar 5-0. The headline in the nation's main newspaper the next day read, 'Five goals to erase five years of war'. 'We Ivorians, we had this abscess, a sickness, but we had no way to lance it to get better', an Ivorian soccer official told Vanity Fair shortly before that game. 'It couldn't have been done by anyone else. Only Drogba. He's the one who has cured us of this war'. The feeling was universal, cementing both the peace and Drogba's growing reputation as one of Africa's brightest lights. At home, Drogba is routinely referred to as a god. He spends most of the year in London, playing for Chelsea, one of the world's premier soccer clubs. On his rare visits to the village of his birth, thousands gather around his house to welcome him back. (*The Toronto Star* 2010)

8. Additional or full quotes include:

U2 star BONO is used to performing in front of packed stadiums with fans screaming from the terraces. But the frontman thinks top footballers are the idols now. In an exclusive chat while sitting alongside Chelsea striker Didier Drogba, he doffs his sunglasses to the Ivory Coast star and says: 'There's no question about it, footballers are the new rock stars. 'It's an incredible sport, full of vitality. But rock 'n' roll? I don't know what it is any more. 'There are some great bands coming through but the excitement of being in a large stadium and not knowing the result is a thrill people are going to keep coming back to. 'Whereas when we play a stadium we know what's going to happen'. Bono, 49, Didier and a host of other Premier League stars including Andrey Arshavin, Denilson and Joe Cole have teamed up with Nike to front a new campaign - 'Lace Up. Save Lives' - for HIV and Aids charity (RED). They want people to buy their £4 red laces, with all proceeds going to battle Aids in Africa. As well as thrilling stadiums full of fans - just like his Band Aid mates did more than 20 years ago - Bono now reckons a new breed of campaigning footie stars can save the world. He said: 'These guys are very wealthy. I am very well paid, overpaid and even over-rewarded for what I do. But a lot of these guys are giving something back. 'Didier got a fee from Pepsi for doing a commercial and he gave the whole lot away to build a hospital. 'He didn't need to do that, but he did. 'He has even encouraged Chelsea, I guess through Roman Abramovich, to follow on with all the hard work'. (Smart 2009)

9. Additional or full quotes include:

IN THIS CITY of Live 8, it's a good time to pay attention to the philanthropic work and heartfelt common sense of former Sixer Dikembe Mutombo. Mutombo has a long history of trying to help others, especially in his homeland of Congo. He spoke yesterday in Geneva at a meeting of more than 200 young leaders organized by the World Economic Forum. He told the group that his plan to build a hospital in Congo's capital of Kinshasa could serve as a model for how to help impoverished communities. 'There's been so much talking - now it's time to deliver', said Mutombo, who surprisingly is still in the NBA, with the Houston Rockets. 'I've witnessed my people dying on the African continent with a speed that has never been seen before'. The Forum program brought together people under age 40 from some 68 countries to discuss how to 'shake up traditional thinking' about present and future global problems. Mutombo already has donated more than \$10 million to build the hospital, which could open next summer and house 300 patients. As a Sixer, Mutombo was considered disappointing, unable to push the 2001 team past the Lakers in the NBA Finals. In his real life, Deke is a prince. (Bausman 2005)

To opposing basketball players, Houston Rockets center Dikembe Mutombo is a taker - waving his finger no-no after blocking shots and grabbing rebounds. But to the people of Kinshasa in the Congo, there's no bigger giver than 7-foot-2 Mutombo. He has been the driving, relentless force behind funding and building a \$29 million hospital due to open in July. It will be the first new hospital in Mutombo's native country in roughly 40 years. The towering center even kicked in \$10 million from his own pocket. The 300-bed facility will be named Biamba Marie Mutombo Hospital in honor of his mother. 'I originally wanted to build a school because my father was general superintendent of all the high schools in the Congo', Mutombo said. 'But after my mother died in 1998, I learned what a mess the hospital system is there. That's when my dream, my vision, turned to building a hospital for the people'. Fox Sports recently honored Mutombo as one of the 10 most generous and charitable professional athletes in the world. 'I was very shocked to hear that I was on their list', Mutombo said. Mutombo said he learned how to give from watching his father, who now lives with him in this country. 'My parents raised 10 children without very much money. Plus

there were many more people living in my house, like cousins and friends. We were taught to share and take care of each other. 'My father is still a charitable person. I will give him \$1,000 or \$2,000 to put in his wallet, and when I come home from a road trip, he will have no money. I ask what happened and he says that somebody needed the money more than he does. When people tell him their problems, he helps them. That is my father'. (Hoffman 2006)

His cause is as big as his continent; and his level of commitment is as high as his name, which means 'mountain'. When former Atlanta Hawks basketball star Dikembe Mutombo speaks Sunday at Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer in Snellville, his message will be stark. 'Africa is dying', Mutombo said in an interview this week. 'Whole villages are being destroyed. Whole cultures are being diminished. Some peoples' histories are gone'. In the face of the epidemics, famines and wars that are ravaging his native Africa, Mutombo poses the question: 'What is the world doing about it?' Mutombo, who played for the Houston Rockets last year and is currently a free agent, has been doing something about the dire conditions for years. In 1997, he established the Dikembe Mutombo Foundation, which works to prevent childhood diseases in African poverty zones. His foundation also is building the first new hospital in more than 40 years in his homeland, the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). He has contributed more than one third of the projected \$29 million cost of the hospital, which is scheduled to open next year. The fight to build the hospital is a highly personal one for Mutombo. His mother, Biamba Marie Mutombo, died from a condition that could have been cured had adequate medical care been available. The new hospital will bear her name. (Osinski 2006)

Who is this guy, and why can't we have more folks like him in sports to replace all of these knuckleheads? 'What Dikembe stands for, especially coming from [the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire], it could have been easy for him to leave that situation and come to America and be as successful as he's been and forget where he came from', said Steve Smith, a Hawks television analyst, who teamed with Mutombo on those efficient Hawks teams from the mid-1990s to the start of the new millennium. Sometimes, Smith and Mutombo discussed picks and rolls away from the locker room. Mostly, they spoke about everything else. That's because Mutombo is a renaissance man who just happens to play hoops. He would be a medical physician today, but after he arrived at Georgetown on an academic scholarship as a pre-med major, John Thompson talked him into dribbling for the Hoyas and beyond. Even so, Mutombo already has a plaque in the Hall of Fame of Philanthropy. Among the slew of Mutombo's beneficence, there is the pending opening of his 300-bed hospital and research center in his native Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo. 'It's a journey just for him to get back home', Smith said. 'You've got customs, and you have to get a bunch of shots. I've seen him go back and forth to his native home three or four times a summer, and that's not an hour flight'. (Moore 2007)

To Dikembe Mutombo, Saturday brought the fulfillment of his life's work and one of the greatest days of his life. The Biamba Marie Mutombo Hospital and Research Center, named in memory of Mutombo's mother and the first hospital of its kind to be built in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in almost 40 years, opened Saturday, and immediately began seeing patients. 'It was a very peaceful day', Mutombo said. 'I had a peace of mind from the fact I worked so hard to see this thing happen. And to see it finally come true, all I can say it is just to glorify God. God has been good to me and the thing I tried to accomplish in my life, I was able to do. I have to thank all of my friends and my family members and people that are close in my life and who gave me moral support and financial support. For me to achieve my goal is just so good. I know they are having a big party there. I talked to President (Laurent) Kabila yesterday. He was so happy'. The hospital had its dedication July 17 and began preparing for Saturday's opening, timed to coincide with World AIDS Day. Sub-Saharan Africa has just over 10 percent of the world's population, but more than 60 percent of all people living with HIV, 25.8 million. 'I am happy', Mutombo said, 'We can begin treating people now. It's a dream come true'. (Feigen 2007b)

10. Additional or full quotes include:

When Hawks center Dikembe Mutombo decided to undertake the task of building a hospital in his native country, he turned to one of his best friends, Miami's Alonzo Mourning. Mutombo needs about \$ 40 million for the project, which will bring aid to the people of the Republic of Congo [sic]. He has raised less than \$ 10 million. Mourning and Knicks center Patrick Ewing are the lone players who have assisted Mutombo. "The support hasn't been there," said Mutombo, who refused to divulge how much money Mourning contributed. "Because we're real good friends that's why we stepped up to the plate," Mourning said about his and Ewing's donations. Mourning believes more players will contribute once the sting of the lockout passes and Mutombo begins campaigning. "A lot of the guys got hurt by the lockout," Mourning said. "If Dikembe made a concerted effort to address some of the guys in the league and say I need help, I'm sure he would get some help". (D'Angelo 1999)

Knowing that the average NBA salary is somewhere around \$ 2.5 million, and that so many stars are earning \$ 9-14 million a year, Mutombo made a personal appeal to his fellow players. He wrote letters and spoke to many personally. He did two fund-raisers last year. But the response has been poor. 'I haven't been very successful as I should', he said, 'There's been a slow response. I thought (that) being an African and playing in the NBA and trying to do something big for my continent, I thought the response would be overwhelming from my colleagues'. Part of Mutombo's problem is that he's so busy with the NBA schedule, especially this season. He hopes with a more relaxed schedule next season he can spend more time on the cause. And he's not blaming the American people for their inaction. 'I think the American people are very generous. I believe if I hit my campaign hard, I would get great response from the American public', he said. 'I won't lose my faith in that. I just think right now there's a conflict with my schedule. It's not allowing me to do more appearances and speeches'. (Fine 1999)

As a child he dreamed of being a doctor, but when he grew to be 7 feet 2 inches tall, Dikembe Mutombo modified that dream. Now he would build a hospital where doctors can save lives in his home country of Congo. Unfortunately, the lofty dreams of this lofty man are being hampered. He says he has been unable to raise nearly as much money as he had planned because of the lockout, and also because of apathy from his fellow players. 'I thought guys would be more generous -- maybe \$100,000 from some of them', Mutombo said yesterday. 'But I would say maybe seven to 10 guys contributed a little'. . . . 'One year I took some guys to Africa, and they wanted know where they would stay', he said. 'They did not know we had hotels in Kinshasa. I blame the school systems in America. They let people choose what they want to study, so people do not know much about the rest of the world'. After four years at the John Thompson Institute for the Vertically Gifted, he was ready to make a living. 'I am very lucky', Mutombo said with his throaty accent. 'At first I could make \$3 million a year, and now I can make much more. I realized that I could give money and it would be a tax exemption. I wonder why other players do not do the same thing'. In reality, many players do give money to charity, but few seem as openly involved in their causes as he is with the Dikembe Mutombo Foundation . . . He does not mind saying he is also saddened by the lack of response from his colleagues. 'I believe every professional player should have a better sense of giving back to society', he said yesterday. 'Look at how people are suffering. We got our chance. We make a lot of money'. (Vecsey 1999)

And it intensified when Biamba Mutombo suffered a stroke in Kinshasa in 1998. Even though the hospital was 10 minutes away, a curfew made it impossible to get her there in time. She died on her living room floor. Originally, Mutombo sought to raise \$44 million for the hospital. He launched the campaign three years ago by plunking down \$2 million of his own money, counting on the deep pockets of his NBA colleagues. Generous contributions from fellow Georgetowners Patrick Ewing and Alonzo Mourning notwithstanding, Mutombo hasn't received the league support he had hoped for. He scaled down his goal to \$14 million, and needs about \$6 million more in time for a projected September groundbreaking. When asked about the indifference on the part of NBA players, Mutombo put his massive hands over his ears. 'If you take a shower with someone, play with them, fly with them on the same plane . . . If I go on national TV and ask [other] people to pledge, do you think I have to ask them?' he said. 'If they have an open heart they will help'. But he softened his remarks a bit by noting, 'We're all role models, even if we do something wrong, because we've worked so hard to get where we are'. (John-Hall 2001)

'. . . I thought about a clinic, maybe 30 to 100 beds. My cousin said that would mean nothing in terms of really helping. He said 300 beds. He said, 'Don't worry, you can do it. You have power. People will respond'. . . That is a difficult subject for Mutombo. At last season's All-Star Game in Washington, Alonzo Mourning, his old Georgetown teammate, was soliciting funds for kidney disease research. Mourning recently had been diagnosed with a kidney disease that was threatening his career, if not his life. Mutombo, on the spot, wrote out a check for \$50,000. But when Mutombo asked players in the league to help him with his project, he says he got little meaningful response. (Jasner 2002)

Initially, Mutombo encountered numerous 'bumps in the road', even from his NBA brethren. Ground was broken in 2001, but construction didn't start until 2004 because donations came in at a slower pace than he anticipated, especially from other NBA players. 'My expectations were a little bit higher', he says. 'I was looking at it to be done through the NBA. It might have been a mistake on my part by feeling that way. It was not an obligation or a duty . . . to commit to my cause. But the guys have given me a lot of money'. The players have donated roughly \$500,000, and the players union another half million. Owners have contributed \$700,000. Mutombo would not say how much the league, as an institution, has given. (Nance 2006)

As the months passed, as normalcy returned, N.B.A. family fund-raising was still more problematic than Mutombo anticipated it would be. For all of the league's African-American influence, for all its global ambitions, he never did get the widespread player support he had hoped for. For peace of mind, purity of heart, he prefers to acknowledge the sense of homegrown obligation felt by many players and, he added, demonstrated last year in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. He shared his mental list of those who were generous: his Georgetown comrades Alonzo Mourning and Patrick Ewing; and Juwan Howard, Gary Payton, Tracy McGrady and Yao Ming. Mutombo concluded that it was his passion, his dream, and no one had a greater obligation than he did. For almost a decade, he has nursed fragile agreements with the Congolese government (and himself when he contracted malaria on one of his trips). He continued soliciting corporations, writing checks, and now he begins another fund-raising campaign, asking the masses to call his foundation (1-877-FUNDDMF) and promise a few dollars to help with the long-term costs of the 300-bed facility. (Araton 2006)

Mutombo said NBA owners combined to contribute nearly a million dollars. He laughed, though, when asked about the contributions of his fellow players. 'I've gotten great responses from those who have responded', Mutombo said. 'Guys like (Miami's) Alonzo (Mourning), (Houston coach) Patrick (Ewing), (Houston's) T-Mac (Tracy McGrady), (Houston's) Juwan (Howard); (Miami's) Gary Payton and (Houston's) Yao Ming. We got big contributions from the (National Basketball) Players Association'. Gavin Maloof said it seems as if many of the positive stories around the league go underpublicized. (McNeal 2006)

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Additional or full quotes include:

Some have suggested the Nets, 4-1 without Mutombo, have played better in his absence. Mutombo scoffed at the notion that he was a detriment or that the offense was too complicated. 'I read every day and I listen on TV and I just laugh. When you go to a new place you learn how to adjust, you learn how to play with the people. It's just the chemistry. I felt the critics, about knowing the offense, had kind of crossed the line', Mutombo said. 'I've been playing [NBA] basketball for 12 years and I've played for so many coaches and I did so well on all the teams. Why would I struggle here?' 'It's not complicated. It took maybe a week but it's not complicated', Mutombo insisted. 'Because we lost two, three games on the west coast, everybody was saying the offense was not working because Mutombo does not understand . . . I have a great career. If I didn't know offense what the hell was going through the mind of all the coaches I played for? Even Larry Brown, to play me all the way through to the NBA Finals? That means I was doing something right'. (Kerber 2002)

2. Additional or full quotes include:

When I look at Mario Balotelli, I feel nothing but sadness and regret. Not just for the Italian, but for a large portion of modern footballers in general. Roberto Mancini, David Platt and dozens of other people at Manchester City did everything they could to help the striker settle in; to help him fulfill his potential. But they were facing a losing battle from the start. 'Why always me?' he once asked. Well, Mario, it was probably because of all the stupid, misguided and crazy decisions you made along the way . . . I love people like Gary Neville, Frank Lampard, Paul Scholes, Ryan Giggs and even John Terry. Because they all have a real passion for the game. Neville probably doesn't need to do his TV work, financially speaking. But you suspect he just wanted to be involved, to continue playing a part in the game he loved. And I despair for Lampard, who looks like he will be kicked out of Chelsea, when he desperately wants to stay. I don't understand the logic of that. He can still do a job - and I can guarantee there will be other players at Stamford Bridge who do not care half as much as he does . . . asides from when it comes to collecting their wages. Give Lampard a contract. You need leaders in football. You need people who care. Terry does not strike as you as a particularly nice bloke off the field. He is probably not somebody you would invite round for tea. But I would love to have him playing in a team alongside me. Because, whatever you think about him as a person away from football, he gets it. (Birtles 2013)

The blame for City's exit lies entirely at the feet of one man. Mario Balotelli's X-rated challenge left 10 men with too much to do. While the brave 10 men of Manchester City fought to the very last to extend their European future, a coward skulked in the dressing room. An idiot called Mario Balotelli. (Custis 2011)

So how DO you solve a problem like Mario? Should those underwhelmed Blue Mooners get off his back? Should Mancini cut him adrift at the end of the season and recoup what he can for a player who looks like he could cause a riot in telephone kiosk? My advice to those disgruntled fans and an equally disgruntled manager is to simply leave

the boy alone. As the Yanks say, cut him some slack. Because beneath all that madness, beneath all that recklessness I genuinely believe there's a great player in Balotelli just waiting to burst out. Balotelli is nothing like another Thatcher or Barton. When they wore the sky blue shirt those two knew exactly what they were doing. Balotelli is exactly the opposite. When he sets foot on to the pitch he has no idea what he's doing. I genuinely believe that Balotelli hasn't got a vicious bone in his body. What he's got is stupid bones and he's got a lot of them. His nickname is Super Mario. It should be changed to Barmy Balo. Because as a footballer he's as daft as a brush. He doesn't think. He just does it and then regrets it. The only thing wrong with Balotelli is his age. He's a child wearing a man's body. And like animals, children do the daftest things. Years and years ago, I read a book which was totally forgettable apart from one phrase which has stuck in my mind ever since. This is what the author wrote: When I was in my late teens my parents knew nothing about anything. By the time I got to 25, I was amazed how much my parents had learned. And that's all that young Mario needs time. Time to grow up. Time to understand what's right and what's wrong both on and off the pitch. And I'd like to think that he would develop into a good man and a great player here at Eastlands. (*Manchester Evening News* 2011)

Can you tell a lot about a man by the way that he parks his car? Maybe. At Manchester City Mario Balotelli sometimes likes to leave his high-powered vehicle in places that he shouldn't. Like every member of the club's squad, the young Italian has his own space in the car park, identified by a small sign. Balotelli, however, has been known to leave the car outside the main training ground doors. It gets in other people's way. It makes it hard for them to turn round. It has been mentioned to him, but he hasn't listened. As one official told Sportsmail: 'You have to pick your battles with Mario, and this one isn't worth it'. Is any of this a big deal? Perhaps not. But is it indicative of Balotelli's attitude to life and to football? It seems that way. (Ladyman 2011)

Can this be right? That the week's most heartwarming piece of showbiz news comes from the terrifying grotesquery of perversion and horridness that is the Premier League's footballing community? Yes, it can. The Manchester City striker Mario Balotelli swaggered out of a casino last week and casually handed £1,000 to a homeless person. Where's the twist? Did he then demand sex from him? Or make him entertain his entourage by dancing like one of those miserable, enslaved Russian bears from the adverts? No. He just gave him the money and went off home. And suddenly, in some minuscule way, the footballing world's karmic scales were momentarily rebalanced. From a PR point of view, it has been a particularly bad year for footballers, what with Ashley Cole accidentally shooting someone and Nani building a statue of himself and everything. Someone needed to act to show they weren't all bastards all of the time. It was fitting that Balotelli was that man. Since he arrived in the UK from his homeland of Italy in September last year, he has fast become a new figurehead for footballing buffoons. He is a real idiot's idiot: a man-child who makes the antics of Wayne Rooney and the rest seem so parochial and narrow-minded by comparison. Swearing on telly? Shagging your best mate's girlfriend? Pah! Crude, childish horseplay to Balotelli. (Delaney 2011)

The life and crimes of Mario. Last week he was seen at a Liverpool strip club, breaking a pre-match curfew. In January, he parked his Bentley outside Xaverian College, Manchester, and went into use the toilet before talking to students and walking into a teachers' staff room. In December last year team-mates had to pull him and Micah Richards apart in a training pitch bust-up. They made up and posed as boxers in a Twitter pic. In October, a friend let off fireworks in a bathroom of his EUR4.5million home. A DAY later, after scoring in City's 6-1 defeat of rivals United he was booked for revealing a 'Why Always Me?' T-shirt. In April last year he won EUR30,000 in a casino - and gave EUR1,200 to a tramp outside. He threw darts at City's youth team players last March, but no one was hurt. That month, footage of him trying to put on a training bib became an internet hit. Days after arriving in the UK from Italy, in August 2010, he crashed his customised EUR144,000 Audi R8 car in Cheshire. (Byrne 2012)

3. Additional or full quotes include:

'I would like to offer the image of a player who likes to have fun and makes people have fun', the 21-year-old said. 'At times the English press has been really heavy, making up much of what it wrote. I am sorry mostly for my family, who have to read certain things. I do not have any weak spot. My strong point is my family'. (*Deutsche Presse-Agentur* 2012)

It also is true that Balotelli's mistakes often seem to garner a disproportionate amount of attention. Other players make clumsy tackles. Other players are shown yellow and red cards. But they are not all described in newspaper reports as 'volatile', 'unhinged', 'mad', or variations on the theme that Balotelli is something of a fruit cake. Balotelli shares some blame for that. Anyone who allows friends to set off fireworks in a bathroom and start a fire in their

rented mansion or who pulls stunts like throwing a dart at a colleague is going to get bad publicity. Deservedly so. But less deserved are the reports that lampoon Balotelli's fashion choices, that question how he spends his money and spare time or which portray him as a clown. When he scored first in City's 6-1 spanking of United in October, Balotelli lifted up his jersey to reveal the words 'Why always me?' written on a T-shirt underneath. It seemed funny at the time but it also is actually a serious question. Balotelli's fortune is also his misfortune: Football made him into a young millionaire but also means he is doing his growing up in public and in the blowtorch glare of the tabloids. How much of what we read about 'mad Mario' is actually true? Certainly not all of it. How much is myth? A fair chunk. When he traveled to the Faeroe Islands with the Italian national team for a Euro 2012 qualifying match in September, Italian football journalist and author Luigi Garlando was struck by the fact that Balotelli was the only player to ask him why the islanders grow turf on the roofs off their houses (it's to provide insulation and protect against storms). Garlando, who writes for *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, described Balotelli as 'very curious', 'sensible' and 'not the guy that came from the tabloids'. (Leicester 2011)

He said: 'I am enjoying myself now. When I first came here it was difficult because I came from another country and I am only 20. That wasn't easy, but now I feel good. 'The idea people have of me is not correct. Absolutely not. I am shy. I like to have fun. I like to do what normal 20-yearold guys like to do. I am just me. Normal. 'People tell me some of the things that are said about me and many times I have to laugh because these just aren't true. 'I am a footballer. I like to train and I like to play. I don't care what people say about my private life because they don't know my private life. They can say what they want, it doesn't bother me. 'When you are famous, people want to talk about you. But sometimes what is said isn't true and the people who know me know that. They know I am normal. 'It was the same in Italy and things haven't changed since I came here. I don't know why. Maybe it's because I do things that are a little bit different. 'But basically I am only 20 and I like to do things that guys my age do. For instance, in Manchester I like to go to bars - just like every other young guy in the city. That is normal for someone my age, but maybe not normal for a footballer'. (Bates 2011)

Balotelli has been subjected to racist abuse throughout his career in Italy and with City. In 2009, Juventus were ordered to play a game behind closed doors as punishment for abuse aimed at Balotelli, who was then playing for Inter Milan. The striker, who has Ghanaian ancestry, was also taunted by far-right groups during a friendly game for Italy in Austria two years ago. In April, the Portuguese club Porto were fined £16,000 by Uefa as a result of monkey chants directed at Balotelli during a Europa League tie against City in February. 'I remember very well the Juventus game, but I also scored a goal'. Balotelli said. 'I had to pretend I hadn't seen or heard anything. I wanted to play. I was young. It was up to me to tell the referee, but if I had told the referee to stop the match I wouldn't have scored. Occasionally, you're so good that people can't think of any other way to make you angry'. Balotelli admitted that being racially abused could see him turn to violence in response. Speaking about the Rome bar incident, Balotelli told a French magazine: 'These two or three lads were lucky the police came straight away because, I swear, I would have given them a proper kicking. 'I would truly have destroyed them. I hope that doesn't happen again. If someone throws a banana at me in the street I will go to prison because I will kill him. Balotelli added: 'I'm black and proud to have African roots. I think I'm lucky to be black. People say about me that I'm a black boy who has fun, earns money and has girls. It's not like that. It's too easy to judge people through what you see'. (Ogden 2012)

But so much of the criticism that has been leveled at Balotelli in the last two years has been of the snidey, passive-aggressive, cod-puritanical sort that we in this country seem to enjoy so much. It has been thought fine to encourage his pantomiming: the silly hats, the preposterous cars (and the wreckages thereof), the trout-pout girlfriends, the firework incidents, the slogan T-shirts, the wacky hairdos. But as soon as he plays up to the stereotype of off-beam maverick by doing something silly on the field, out come the finger-wagging pipsqueaks, filling up the media (conventional and social) with po-faced diatribes about what a naughty boy he is. Balotelli has become Baloo-telli, the dancing bear - prodded and tormented until he roars, then whipped and sent to his cage for roaring. There's a vicious circle here, in which we're all culpable. And by the way, I'm sure I should include myself in that. Anyway. So long now, Mario Balotelli. It was fun winding you up, then pretending to be offended by you. May you thrive in Italy, score a silly hatful of goals every season and stick it to English clubs in the Champions League until the day of your retirement. Let's give this story a happy ending. (Jones 2013)

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. Additional or full quotes include:

Though he has attained riches in his adopted homeland, America, Mutombo never will turn his back on Africa. He has no plans to become an American citizen. 'So many people are so proud that I reached so many goals coming from Africa', he said. 'Why should I do it? I think people should know where they came from. 'Another thing is about the soul. That's the problem I have. I don't want to lose my soul. Even though I will live here a long time, it is about the soul where I came from. I have an African soul'. (Carter 1994)

Mutombo has assimilated nicely into American culture, but he has no plans to become a citizen. His home always will be in Africa. 'I love America', he said. 'I love being here. It's a great country, a great place to live but I miss my home. I've been in all these other places in Africa, but being in Zaire is important. That's where I spent the first 20 years of my life'. Security remains a concern, but now an even greater one is the outbreak of a deadly virus in the country. Although he has been assured that the city of Kinshasa, where his parents live, is safe, he may delay his trip. (Landman 1995)

They're 7 feet tall and living the American dream. The Houston Rockets' Hakeem Olajuwon, born in Nigeria, and the Denver Nuggets' Dikembe Mutombo, born in Zaire, have NBA-star status in common but a difference of opinion this summer. Olajuwon is delighted to be playing basketball for his adopted home country in the Olympics. Mutombo, meanwhile, doesn't get it. Mutombo, who says he will never apply for American citizenship, paid a visit to the Rockets' locker room following a late-season game and chided Olajuwon by pulling his Zairean passport out of his pocket. He waved it, telling Olajuwon that instead of playing for America, the two of them should be banding together to lead an African squad. (*The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* 1996)

2. Additional or full quotes include:

Houston Rockets center Dikembe Mutombo's work in bringing a hospital to his native Democratic Republic of the Congo earned him a coveted seat in first lady Laura Bush's private box in the gallery of the House chamber for the State of the Union address. 'Mutombo's foundation has funded a large portion of a \$27 million hospital opening in Kinshasa, which will be the first new hospital in the Congo in 40 years', the White House said. Mutombo recently became a naturalized U.S. citizen. In an interview with the Houston Chronicle last year, he said, 'We all are here for a purpose. My purpose is to make a difference to society, not just by being a good human being, but to contribute to lives'. (Hedges 2007)

Former President Bush has met with Mutombo on several occasions and spoke at the Rockets' 2005 Tax & Tennessees dinner to help raise \$500,000 for the hospital. 'I've had the chance to meet with a lot of members of Congress, a few cabinet members as well', Mutombo said. 'I didn't know this message was going to reach the president. To me, to be a citizen of this country ... to be praised for my work in Africa, I'm very happy'. A day later, Mutombo said he was moved. But there was no mistaking his expression on Tuesday. 'That was pure joy right there', Rockets coach Jeff Van Gundy said. 'You see that pure joy usually in kids. To me, they were heartfelt remarks about a wonderful guy. (Feigen 2007b)

3. Additional or full quotes include:

Houston Rockets center Dikembe Mutombo is expected to be sworn in as an American citizen on Thursday. Mutombo said he got word from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security on Wednesday that his paperwork had been approved. Mutombo, who was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will be sworn in as an American citizen in Atlanta, where he lives in the off-season. 'It's more joy and more happiness', he told Houston television station KRIV. 'My blood is still going to be Congolese. This is where we are going to call home, so it's good to be an American'. *The NBA star said he hopes becoming an American will help his cause of building a hospital in his hometown of Kinshasa. 'I think it will open up the door more to the government assistance in this country', he said.* (*The Associated Press* 2006, emphasis mine)

4. Additional or full quotes include:

'It'll be a great day when I become an American citizen', [Hali] said. 'This is where I want to be. This is where I want my family to be'. (Craig 2006)

'Now I'll be able to do more things such as hire a lawyer, a lawyer that knows what he's doing concerning this information about getting people here from other countries', [Hali] said. 'Hopefully, that could be one way the money could help. I know it's really expensive'. (Tucker 2006a)

We think that when we become citizens (Hali is completing work on his naturalization) it will become easier. Our other way is through humanitarian reasons, showing that her life is in danger. (*Topeka Capital-Journal* 2006a)

'It's a big deal', Coach Herm Edwards said. 'You can dream in this country and actually fulfill your dream. In a lot of countries you can dream and you don't have an opportunity'. (*Topeka Capital-Journal* 2006b)

Being a citizen also should make it easier to move other family members to the United States. He hasn't seen his mother since his father brought him over. (Tucker 2006b)

But it feels good', [Hali] said. 'U.S. citizen. Equal rights. I can vote'. (Korth 2006)

5. Additional or full quotes include:

The 17-year-old striker - who was born to Ghanaian parents - will celebrate his 18th birthday on August 12 and with it receive his first Italian passport that should signal the start of his international career. 'I've been waiting for years for this August 12 and becoming an Italian citizen because I am Italian', he told the paper. Despite being born in Sicily and adopted and brought up by Italian parents, the fact his blood parents were Ghanaian has meant he has had to wait till turning 18 before he could become a full Italian national. Balotelli has long been seen as a future international and has turned down numerous requests by the Ghanaian FA to represent his birth-parents country, including the 2008 African Nations Cup in Ghana. Instead he established himself in the Inter first team squad, where his pace and power troubled defences and allowed him to score seven times. Soon it will be international defences that he will hope to make suffer and no doubt he will use some of the pent-up frustration he feels at having to wait for his chance in a blue shirt. 'Italy is where I was born, where I studied and where I play football', he said. 'My language is Italian and my family is Italian. It is only because of some absurd law that I have had to live for 18 years as a foreigner in my own country'. (*Agence France Presse* 2008b)

Inter's Palermo-born Ghanaian striker Mario Balotelli officially received his citizenship papers on Wednesday and said he was "proud to an Italian". Balotelli turned 18 the day before and was given his Italian identity card and certificate of citizenship at a ceremony at city hall in the nearby town of Concesio. "This is even more exciting than making my debut in Serie A. The best birthday present I could receive now would be a call to join the Italy squad, although I'd be happy to play for the Under 21 team", he told the press. Balotelli was born in Palermo of Ghanaian parents and at the age of two was given to foster parents, the Balotelli family, in Concesio. Because they never formally adopted him he had to wait until his 18th birthday, when he officially became an adult, to be granted citizenship. "It's an absurd law which needs to be changed. He was born and raised in Italy but had to suffer the humiliation and hardships of being considered a foreigner", said his foster mother Silvia Balotelli. (*ANSA* 2008)

Inter Milan's teenager Mario Balotelli revealed Friday why he has turned down the chance to play for Ghana, the country of his ancestors, instead hoping to one day represent Italy. Balotelli was born to Ghanaian immigrants in Italy but at the age of three he was put in the care of an Italian family. Due to his Ghanaian heritage, Ghana have tried to convince him to join their national team set-up but Balotelli is determined to play for Italy instead. He is only 17 years old but has already scored four goals in three cup appearances this season and has twice come off the bench in the league. 'I refused the call-up from Ghana because I don't feel Ghanaian', he said. 'I was born here, I'm Italian, I don't know anything about Africa, I've never been there'. (*Agence France Presse* 2008a)

6. Additional or full quotes include:

Roy Hodgson believes players should be willing to get on their bikes in order to win a cap for England. The Three Lions chief confirmed he had received assurances from Wilfried Zaha that he wants to commit his future to the Three Lions, despite overtures from Didier Drogba on behalf of the Ivory Coast, the country of Zaha's birth. It might not quite put to bed a debate that has been raging ever since Zaha received his first England call-up on Sunday for tomorrow's friendly with Sweden. As the encounter at the newly-built Friends Arena in Stockholm is non-competitive, Drogba can keep trying at least until the African Nations Cup squads are announced next month. But Hodgson finds the whole debate slightly odd. Given the chance to play for England, he does not feel there should be any choice to be made. "It is very simple", he said. "England, for me, is very important. To be asked to play for England is a major honour and a major feather in people's caps. "I am not interested in people who are deciding whether England is where they want to be. "When people are called up I expect them to come running, get on a bicycle and cycle to the training session if they have to, then shake hands with everyone and tell them how happy they are to be there. "All this nonsense about players receiving phone calls and being enticed away, if they are going

to be enticed away, they are not the right player for us. "Wilfried has played for England at Under-21 and Under-19 level. It seems to me fairly obvious if you want to do that and are happy to accept a call-up to the first national team, that is where you want to play. "Perhaps I am too simple but I have spoken to him and he told me that is what he wants to do." Zaha is not the only player this argument concerns either. Danny Welbeck received criticism in Ghana for choosing to play for England ahead of the country where both his parents come from. (Stone 2012)

The Crystal Palace prodigy Wilfried Zaha has turned down the Ivory Coast's invitation to join their squad for January's African Cup of Nations in South Africa, with the Football Association increasingly confident that he will now commit his future to England having been called up to Roy Hodgson's squad for tomorrow's friendly against Sweden. Zaha, 20, who was born in Abidjan and moved to England at the age of four, is eligible to play for both and has told friends that he will wait to see if Hodgson continues to select him next year before he makes his decision on which country to play for. Even if he plays some part for England in Stockholm tomorrow, he will still be eligible to play for the Ivory Coast. He has been the subject of a concerted effort by the Ivory Coast football federation (Fif) to persuade him to play for his country of birth. He has been visited at home in south London by the president of the federation, Sidy Diallo, and been contacted by manager Sabri Lamouchi as well as Didier Drogba, who is currently in London ahead of the team's friendly against Austria in Linz tomorrow . . . 'It's 50:50 because I was born in Ivory Coast but all I know is England', Zaha said. 'When the time comes, I'll make a choice. For now, I just want to reach the top. I'm not saying I want to leave Palace but the Premier League's where I want to get to eventually'. The former Palace manager Neil Warnock told The Independent yesterday the FA should do everything in its power to make sure that Zaha does not slip away from them as Chelsea's Victor Moses, another Palace academy graduate, did when he opted to play for Nigeria this year despite representing England at several junior levels after first arriving in the UK at the age of 11. Now at Leeds, Warnock said: '[Zaha] should have been courted by England, I spoke to the FA about it at the time. We're complaining about the amount of foreign players in the Premier League and we are losing ones who could play for England'. (Wallace and Moore 2012)

Roy Hodgson has warned Raheem Sterling and Wilfried Zaha that unless they commit to England he will pick players who are prepared to 'cycle to training' with senior stars. Hodgson revealed here that he will hand international debuts to Sterling, Steven Caulker and Leon Osman against Sweden this evening, but he wants assurances from Sterling, Zaha and Carl Jenkinson that they see their future with his team. The England manager was in combative mood on the eve of the match, insisting that the trio - all eligible to play for other countries - should feel honoured to receive his call. Zaha has said he is torn between playing for England and Ivory Coast after receiving a telephone call from Didier Drogba, while Sterling could play for Jamaica and Jenkinson for Finland. But Hodgson said: 'When people are called up I expect them to come running, get on a bicycle and cycle to the training session if they have to. Then they shake hands with everyone and tell everyone how happy they are to be there. 'All this nonsense about players receiving phone calls and being enticed away... if they are going to be enticed away, they will be enticed away. But if they are being enticed away they are not the right player for us. 'To be asked to play for England is a major honour and a major feather in people's caps. 'I am not interested in people who are deciding whether England is where they want to be or whether they want to be somewhere else. 'I made it clear to Zaha that I am inviting him because I expect him to be an England player. 'If you are not sure you want to be an England player then you are better off telling me and I will pick someone else. 'We don't stand or fall on you. We have chosen you because we think you are a good one. 'If our national team and the chance to play for them is not a strong enough motivation for players, they are not the type we want anyway. (Ashton 2012)

Wilfried Zaha has ended months of uncertainty by committing his long-term international future to England. The decision is a boost for England manager Roy Hodgson, who will now be free to pick Manchester United's new £15million signing for next month's World Cup qualifiers. He will also be in Hodgson's plans for next year's World Cup in Brazil. Zaha, 20, will play for England under-21s against Sweden on Tuesday and will tell the Football Association he is fully committed to the Three Lions. The exciting winger has been in a tug-of-war between Ivory Coast and England as he is eligible to play for both countries. He was born in the west African country and lived there until he was four but despite feeling proud of his parents' heritage, the importance of England in giving him a chance in professional football proved crucial. A source said: 'Wilfried wants to play for England. It's been difficult for him because he knows what Ivory Coast means to his family and he even had Didier Drogba calling to ask him to play for them. 'But England has been a massive part of his life. It's what he knows, the country has been his home for nearly all his life and they're who he wants to play for'. (Bernstein 2013)

But one player who looks increasingly unlikely to form part of the Ivory Coast squad looking to win their first Nations Cup since 1992 is Crystal Palace youngster Wilfried Zaha. The 20-year-old was born in the Ivory Coast before moving to England as a child and made his first senior appearance for the Three Lions as a late substitute in the 4-2 defeat to Sweden last week. Zaha could still change allegiance and line up for the nation of his birth as the Sweden international was not a competitive fixture, but Demel believes only Zaha can make the decision as to which nation he wants to represent permanently. He said: "I think Wilfried is a very good player now and has lots of potential to get even better as he is still very young. Of course, as an Ivory Coast player myself it would be great for him to play for our country, but it is his decision and no one else's. "To play for your country, you have to play with your heart. You do this at club level of course, but the difference is you have to adapt to moving on from a club at any time, so to choose the country you play for stays forever. "You don't change every season the country you play for, so it is a big thing for him to decide and it has to be right for him. *"I think he is an intelligent boy who will know what the right decision is and if he feels he is more English - as he has been growing up here - then choosing England will be right, but if he feels he wants to represent his birth heritage, then playing for Ivory Coast will be his decision. No one else can choose for him, it has to be Wilfried."* (Bryans 2012, emphasis mine)

7. Additional or full quotes include:

Super Eagles skipper and Portsmouth's leading scorer Nwankwo Kanu has tagged as 'something really good' his rivalry with Chelsea hit man Didier Drogba in the race for the Premiership's top scorer prize. 'It is something really good that I and Drogba are joint scorers (before weekend's matches) in the Premiership for now. It shows that our continent is growing in the round leather game', Kanu told KICK OFF in Abuja. 'It is a good development because you can see a lot of African players coming stronger and stronger everyday which is good for the black continent', he offered. He stated further, 'Like I normally say, I will keep on doing my best and let my best speak for me. I am scoring and by the grace of God I will keep on scoring. I am not used to boasting, saying I will do this or I will do that. *(Africa News (Vanguard) 2006)*

Africa deserves more than five places at the World Cup, the Cameroon Football Federation president says, claiming that half of the European teams that qualify aren't any better than many African contenders. Mohammed Iya said on Friday that Africa's football leaders were 'convinced we deserve more'. On the eve of the African Cup of Nations in South Africa, Iya was backed by Ghana counterpart Kwesi Nyantakyi, who used his team's progression to the quarterfinals of the 2010 World Cup also in South Africa as an indicator that the continent's teams had an 'enhanced' reputation in world football. Europe will have 13 qualifying places for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, unchanged from 2010, while 14 places will be available for European teams in 2018 because Russia has an automatic place as host. World body FIFA has given no indication that it is considering increasing Africa's allotment in 2018, the next time it's able to do so, although the ruling body does review how many places are made available to each continent after each World Cup and will do so again after Brazil. Europe's allocation, the biggest by far and more than twice the amount of any other continent, was the obvious problem for African hopefuls. 'We are convinced we deserve more', Iya said. 'Europe has 14 (in 2018). I'm very sure that half of those teams are at the same level as African teams. We deserve more'. Africa has done little to enhance its reputation at the World Cup, with no African team yet able to make the last four of the competition. Ghana, which was on the brink of the semifinals in 2010, was still only the third African team to make a quarterfinal in the 80 years of the World Cup. Although there has been significant general improvement across Africa, the continent's consistent world-class teams are limited now to Ivory Coast and Ghana. Iya, whose Cameroon team failed to qualify for the 2013 African Cup, said competitions in Africa were improving and also pointed to the success of Congolese club TP Mazembe, which made the final of the Club World Cup in 2010. Ghana's under-20 team won the youth World Cup in 2009, beating Brazil in the final. 'You can see the quality of our competitions is getting better and better', Iya said. 'I think we deserve more and we rely on people of the press to help us achieve that objective'. Although a growing number of international stars like Ivorians Didier Drogba and Yaya Toure and Ghana's Asamoah Gyan hail from Africa, its national teams still offer limited profit-making opportunities when compared to countries from Europe and Asia, for example. But African football leaders say that could change with more chances to play at the World Cup. 'If we were to get more places, then we'd certainly end up getting more sponsorship as a result', Senegal Football Federation president Agustin Senghor said. Senegal and Cameroon were the other teams to make the World Cup quarterfinals in 2002 and 1990 respectively. Both failed to qualify for this month's African Cup. (Imray 2013)

8. Additional or full quotes include:

Drogba's trip has prompted him to open up the debate on racism in football once more, as he accused European bosses of discriminating against African players when it comes to wages and contracts. 'We don't set off on the same

footing', he said. 'Even now, when you talk contracts with a sponsor or a club, you are told, 'This is how it is'. 'Let's stop the pretence. In the football world, an African is not as respected as a European or South American'. Drogba believes he has suffered along the way before finally ending up being paid wages equivalent to his European peers, first at Marseille and now Stamford Bridge. He added: 'I have been the victim of this more than once, except that I now know what I am worth. Being an African player is not an advantage. An African of equal value will always get less than a European'. Chelsea took their transfer window spending to nearly GBP 24m in the space of five days last night with the capture of Branislav Ivanovic. (Banks 2008)

Didier Drogba has claimed African footballers are still victims of racism in Europe. The Chelsea star is hoping to lead his Ivory Coast team to the final of the Africa Cup of Nations in Accra on February 10. But even though the third biggest football event after the World Cup and European Championship will attract a worldwide audience, Drogba insists many of the players - including Manchester United's new Angolan capture Manucho - are still discriminated against at their clubs because they are paid less than their team-mates. The Elephants captain said: 'To be an African player is not an advantage. A French international or an Ivory Coast international have totally different status. 'An African of equal value will earn less than a European. We don't start on a level footing. When you talk to a sponsor about a contract or with a club, they say to you: 'That is the way it is'. 'If you were in the France team, the negotiation would be pushed further and in the end you would earn a lot more money. Let's stop the lie'. Drogba also rapped 'a lack of respect' for the Africa Cup of Nations in the Premier League. He said: 'When I see a player like Fredi Kanoute was stopped by Tottenham from going to the 2004 CAN for Mali, it lacked respect - not only for the player but for the whole of Africa'. (McLeman 2008)

Didier Drogba has claimed that black African footballers are subject to racism and unequal treatment during their commercial negotiations with clubs and sponsors. The controversial Chelsea striker revealed he has fought against such disadvantages all his career and has only overcome them now as he is successful and famous. He said: 'I sincerely believe that if you are a black African footballer you do not get equality'. Even today if one talks with a sponsor about a particular deal or negotiates with a club they will simply tell you 'accept it that's the way it is'. 'For example if a player was part of the France national team instead of being from a black African national side, then the negotiations would be much smoother and, when they concluded, you'd earn more'. Chelsea, who have not only Drogba but John Obi Mikel, Salomon Kalou and Michael Essien on their books, will be disappointed not to be excluded by name from the striker's accusations, especially as they now pay him £100,000 a week. But Drogba added: 'In the world of football an African is not given the same degree of respect as a European or a South American. I've been a victim of such biased and unjust negotiations on more than one occasion in my career. 'The difference, today, is that I know what I'm worth and it does not embarrass me to tell people exactly that and to fight for it'. Drogba powered the Ivory Coast into the African Nations' Cup quarter-final last night with a goal in the 3-0 win over Mali. He has promised he will give '200 per cent' to Chelsea when he returns to England but that he'll make his mind up about leaving or staying only at the end of the season. (Hunter 2008)

William Gallas has revealed his pride and determination to succeed as Arsenal captain. In his most revealing interview yet, Gallas gives an insight into: How he felt he had been hit by a train when he came to English football. The hurt caused by Chelsea's slurs. His drive to be a good example to young players. And how he will stand up for racial equality in the world. The French defender was handed the Emirates armband at the start of this season. And Gallas admitted it took a while for the status to sink in, with former Chelsea team-mate Didier Drogba having to spell it out. Gallas said: 'This armband is a real recognition for me. 'Didier Drogba pointed out to me: 'You are captain of Arsenal, in the footsteps of Thierry Henry, Patrick Vieira, Tony Adams. That's truly something'. 'I didn't fully grasp that at first - it took me a few months to totally absorb this status. Gallas is a man of strong opinions. Not just about football but on race issues. He said: 'Black people used to be told, when they were mistreated, to keep quiet and not respond. I say you must respond. Like Rosa Parks did. 'As a footballer, I'm living in a kind of bubble, so I suffer very little from racism myself. But I can imagine what it is like for those outside that bubble. 'When I take the Eurostar, they leaf through my passport before letting me pass with a smile when they recognise my name. But my family don't get that favourable treatment and regularly suffer harassment'. (Custis 2008)

9. Additional or full quotes include:

What Olajuwon listens to now more than anything else in his life is the words of the Koran, the sacred book of Islam. "I recommitted myself to my faith", Olajuwon said. "Islam is a way of life. It's a complete code of life. It covers all areas, and explains to you the proper way to handle every situation. This is the solution to all problems, and a way for you to fight for justice and fairness and peace." His religious beliefs had been an important part of

Olajuwon's youth, but he drifted away from his faith when he became a college basketball star in the U.S . . . Olajuwon's play on the court continued to improve, but his demeanor did not. At times, he would have emotional outbursts at officials, opponents and even his own teammates. Anytime a situation during a game didn't go his way, Olajuwon became outraged. "In those days, I had no patience," Olajuwon said. "But now I realize how much of a virtue patience is. I stick with the basic eternal truths, but you have to practice them. You can't just say, 'Be patient.' Patience is something you must exercise." What brought Olajuwon to this conclusion was a return to his religious beliefs. Olajuwon was lost in a new world, but eventually he realized that the only way to find himself again was through the tenets of his faith. "I view things differently now," he said. "I strive for a higher moral code. My goal is to please God. You have to sacrifice every day to do that. For me, there is no other choice than to seek knowledge and avoid ignorance. Worldly things have become less important." . . . The truth for Olajuwon was his decision three years ago to make a total commitment to the Muslim faith. In 1991, Olajuwon made the holy pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, then returned in 1992 with two of his brothers. Those two treks helped change his life and his career. "I now approach my pro career as part of my faith," Olajuwon said. "It has helped my game tremendously. Working hard and making a living to take care of my family and help my community -- this is my duty. I have become more mature, smarter. And my game is more mental now. The older I get, the smarter I get, so the game becomes easier." And life has become easier for Olajuwon, who proudly became a U.S. citizen one year ago. "I think the guy is really at peace with himself now," Tomjanovich said. "You can see it in the way he handles himself in this crazy business we live in and the pressures that come with it. He has such an even temperament now. I've never talked to him about it, but I believe it's because of his spiritual beliefs. It has made him a better player." . . . "Finally, I realized what I had left behind," Olajuwon said. "I decided to recommit myself to my faith. I was hungry to seek knowledge of the faith. I did a great deal of reading and study to find out what my obligations are as a Muslim. I wanted to know how could I follow the five pillars in Islam. 'So Olajuwon made the pilgrimage to Mecca for the first time in his life at age 28. A few months before his trip, Olajuwon informed the media he wanted his first name to be spelled Hakeem instead of Akeem. It brought a few snickers at the time, but it was a serious matter to Olajuwon because using the 'H' is the proper Muslim spelling of his name. Olajuwon compares his pilgrimage to the journey Malcolm X made to Mecca, a trip that gave Malcolm a deeper understanding of his religion. "It was exactly like that," Olajuwon said. "Before I went to Mecca, I already had the desire for the knowledge. But being there taught me the meaning of sacrifice. "Rich or poor, it doesn't matter there. Everyone is equal. Your money or social status cannot help you there. It teaches you humility and equality. You wait in line; no one gets special treatment. You have to have patience and tolerance; like Ramadan (the Muslim period of fasting), which teaches you self-restraint and self-control." (Blount 1994)

Olajuwon the person has been more difficult to define. There was the so-called 'old Olajuwon', who was said to be surly and unpredictable with the news media, impatient and combative with teammates whose performances was not up to his standards. Now he is an African who became a United States citizen in 1992 but who calls himself a citizen of the world. As a Muslim living in the Bible Belt, Olajuwon has re-embraced Islam, the religion of his family, with a fervor that has led to what observers have called 'the new Hakeem': introspective, inwardly calm, humble. 'I am Hakeem', he said. 'That is the way I like to be known. Not by color or nationality. Just as a person who does not compromise his principles, stands for what is good, stands for justice and is humble'. . . He will be playing his oldest rival in the championship series on a great stage. All this at a time when he has re-embraced his faith. 'Islam has helped put everything in perspective', said Olajuwon, who has a 6-year-old daughter. 'In this business, with so much material wealth and fame, Islam allows you to see that material things are nothing but conveniences of life: You have money, what do you do? Have a better car? More cars? Bigger house? But that which is God is more enduring and everlasting'. As time goes on, whether gauged in quarters or years, Olajuwon seems to get stronger. He feels it, too, and says that the wellspring of his youth is wisdom, wrought by renewed faith. 'When I was younger I was just reckless, playing on raw talent', he said. 'I just played, wasting energy. I score more points now than ever -- I average more rebounds, I do more things and my assists are better than when I was younger. This is all part of giving thanks and playing with a free spirit'. (Rhoden 1994)

Renouncing his Nigerian citizenship and embracing an American one, however, was emotional for Olajuwon. He still flinches at suggestions he betrayed his homeland. 'I would never deny Nigeria: It is where I am from. It is part of who I am', he said, adding, '(But) patriotism based on the place of your birth does not make sense. . . . You have no control over where you are born. It happens. It is your parents who did that'. And Nigeria to him also symbolizes unrealized potential and conflict. He told the Houston Chronicle in a lengthy interview that - even living in the United States - he remained confronted by the Nigerian reality every time he had to use his passport. 'Drug traffickers, smugglers, dishonest politicians - unfortunately, that seemed to be the first thing that anybody thought of

when you presented a Nigerian passport', he said. 'I wanted to become an American citizen because I wanted to be able to travel and to have the honor that any individual deserves - if they live in a way that is honorable. Being an American citizen, if you are a good American citizen, gives you respect'. Note, though, his emphasis on living in a way that is honorable and being a good American citizen. 'My goal is to lead a life of righteousness, to conduct myself with honor, to let those other Americans know that I am as good a citizen as I can be', said Olajuwon, who is a Muslim. 'That is the basis of Islam. There are no nationalities. We are all different colors, all different races, but all brothers'. (Gregorian 1996)

10. Additional or full quotes include:

Hakeem Olajuwon, who plays for the Houston Rockets, is Nigerian and a devout Muslim; the Hawks' Mutombo is from Zaire and a Catholic. The common tie that binds them is Africa. With Manute Bol of the Sudan, they are the three Africans who have worked in the NBA. Whereas Bol was a curiosity, a 7-foot-6 stick of a man who disappeared from the scene two years ago, Olajuwon is one of the most dominant all-around centers the game has ever known and Mutombo a superb defender. 'Now, there are only two of us, Hakeem and me, representing 100 million, maybe one billion Africans', Mutombo said. 'That's why it is so important that we retain our identity, not as men from separate countries, but as Africans. It is very important that we represent our continent, that we present a true and accurate picture of life in Africa, that we help Africa'. Twice, Mutombo has returned to Africa with missions to strengthen bonds of understanding and to bring financial and medical assistance . . . But Olajuwon never goes home to help his people. Mutombo finds this disturbing. 'He is so busy being an American he has lost his heritage', Mutombo said, 'and this I cannot understand . . . He is like my brother. He tells me he is proud of the work I do, but he will not accompany me. I feel disappointment for that'. (Denberg 1997)

11. Additional or full quotes include:

Understandably, Olajuwon took exception to the article. He does return home to Nigeria. And he does perform (anonymous) charitable deeds, which is why he confronted both the reporter and Mutombo prior to Friday's game in Atlanta so Olajuwon could "get to the truth of the matter. " "When somebody does something, you have to wonder what they are trying to accomplish', Olajuwon said. "That is insecurity when you put somebody down to make yourself look good. He (Mutombo) didn't think I would confront him. That's why I called Mutombo and (the writer) and said, 'Let's discuss this and see if it is true. "Mutombo said all these things, but I have never talked to him for more than two minutes. Not more than two minutes. How can he say these things about me when he does not even know what is in my heart? " And what is in his heart, Olajuwon said, is what separates him from Mutombo. While his roots remain in Africa, Olajuwon explained that his belief in Islam has flowered to encompass humanity. There are no borders. No ethnic groups. No skin color. And no publicity for the good deeds and charitable works he does. "I cannot think tribal, ethnic or national', Olajuwon said. "No. My cause is universal, for all people. How can he (Mutombo) say he represents Africa when in one country – just one country - you have so many ethnic tribes that are killing each other? Why do you want to represent that? These are wars for power. Simply for power. It is ignorant'. 'Islam is trying to erase that. You are told that you must wish for your brother what you wish for yourself. That is all over the world, not just in Africa. I will give you an example. If a person in China is practicing Islam, and my blood brother is not, then that brother in China is closer to me naturally than my own blood brother who is not practicing. "That is Islam. It is natural because that is my instinct. You must look at the spiritual, not the physical. We are above that. " That is why the incident troubled Olajuwon so. When Olajuwon confronted Mutombo, it was not to berate him. Instead of being divisive, it was an attempt to make Mutombo understand Olajuwon's point of view. "Islam means 'peace', so that is my cause in life', Olajuwon said. "I cannot understand such nationalism. There can be no discrimination. Either you stand for the truth, or you do not. The work you do must be for Allah, not for the TV or your public identity or for endorsements. It is not for that. "What I do is not so I can be liked by people. If your love is natural, then it is in your heart. It is not in the deeds you do for public consumption or for endorsements. These are two different levels. But the public sees things like that and thinks, 'Oh, this guy really cares. ' " Since the article made it seem as though Mutombo and Olajuwon had shared long, rambling philosophical discussions on such issues, when they had not, Olajuwon had to set the record straight. "In Nigeria alone, we have over 50 ethnic or tribal groups', Olajuwon explained. "But my cause is Islam, which is trying to pull everyone together. They are killing each other. It is all power, power, power. His tribes cannot walk together. They are killing each other all the time. "We must love each other as brothers. My cause is not limited to Africa. Or America. It is universal. Allah is for humanity. It is beyond tribes. I can only stand for what is true – if you have faith, then what you wish for your brother, you wish for yourself. That is what I stand upon. "He, Mutombo, is not conscious of that since I have not spent more than two minutes with him. I shake his hand, talk to him before a free throw and stuff like that. But we have never sat down and had a discussion. When there is an

appropriate time, then I would take advantage of that. And to discuss something like that, you must wait until the right time." (Murphy 1997)

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. Additional or full quotes include:

It never mattered that Kenyan Catherine Ndereba was a year older than Tegla Loroupe. She still wanted to model herself after her countrywoman. 'When I was a child, I heard all about Tegla, Tegla, Tegla', said Ndereba, 27. 'When I first came to the United States, my manager kept saying, 'Tegla is a big star. Do you want to be like Tegla?' and I said, 'Yes. Of course.' Ndereba is well on her way. She is one of the favorites in Sunday's New York City Marathon since a tired-out Loroupe, who set the marathon world record less than two months ago, will be only a spectator . . . 'From the first time I met her', Ndereba said, 'Tegla has been so helpful. She helps with training ideas and has always been a very nice lady to me. Now, I look ahead and want to be like her. I am willing to do what she does to try and win'. Loroupe, 26, is a legend in New York. 'I am much more recognized here than in Europe, even', said the sweet-natured 1994 and 1995 champion. 'The people are so nice and warm. I love it here. It is like home'. (Reel 1999)

2. Additional or full quotes include:

. . . here is Drogbakro Village, a suburb of Ivory Coast's biggest city that has been named by its inhabitants in honour of their country's most celebrated export . . . 'We do not need an election to tell us the answer to this question', says Augustin when asked if Drogba is popular enough to become president of his nation. 'He is already bigger than the president. He is the Ivory Coast'. . . As Drogba walks through the hotel lobby the sedate politeness of the place evaporates as the country's few well-heeled locals gawp and stare and break into spontaneous applause. A couple of uniformed security guards fail utterly to defend their charge's defensible space, as everyone crowds in for photos, handshakes, a moment's connection with the icon. He obliges them all with a humility at odds with the brash, arrogant figure we presume . . . Indeed, that evening The Daily Telegraph is gifted first-hand insight into Drogba's local significance. He had secured with a quick call a table at the city's best restaurant, and while he, his wife and his guests from England are eating, we are joined by the Ivorian interior minister, who explains that meeting Didier is the most important task of his week. 'It's not my duty, it's not written anywhere that I have to do this', Drogba says of his charitable instincts. 'I do it because I know that I will never get this feeling in France or England or anywhere else'. (White 2012)

. . . in the Ivory Coast, love for Drogba goes far beyond what he does with a ball. On qualifying for the World Cup for the very first time in 2005, almost three years to the day after the Ivorian Civil War broke out, Drogba was called forward as captain to speak on national TV. There were no post-game clichés though, only a calculated speech - what Drogba felt would be a 'peaceful weapon', a statement that simply had to be made. 'All players please come together. Ivorians, men and women, from the north, south, centre and west. You've seen this. We've proven that the people of Cote d'Ivoire can all live together side by side, play together towards one same goal: qualifying. We'd promised you this celebration would bring people together. Now we're asking you to make this a reality. Please, let's all kneel put down your weapons, organise the elections and things will get better'. . . 'We were like a ray of sunshine in a country plunged into grave crisis. My status shields me from misery; I'm not blind to that. This responsibility raised up our national team into a symbol of reunification. But we're no politicians. All we can do is radiate positivism and give pacifist speeches'. The kind of reflection beyond most of his peers, and even similarly influential athletes such as Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan . . . This is a footballer, after all, who castigated the European media for oversimplifying Ivory Coast's problems in their coverage. (Delaney 2009)

The youth of Ivory Coast love Drogba. Every time he returns to Abidjan airport now, he is swamped by media and fans, top of the television news, feted wherever he goes. Drogbacite - or Drogbaness, in English - is a cultural phenomenon in music and dance that shows no signs of disappearing, even though the Elephants, the national team, did not get past the first round in Germany 2006. 'Drogbacite? It's all about me, about my success of the last four years [since his international debut]', he says. 'There is a special relationship between football and music, and Drogbacite comes from that . . . There is no exaggerating Drogba's fame in Ivory Coast. A few indicators: the popular one-litre bottle of Bock beer is big and strong, so is now known as a Drogba; a street in Abidjan has been renamed Rue Didier Drogba; an interview with Drogba in the local *Stades d'Afriques* newspaper led to a circulation increase of 87 per cent; and the most popular overseas club in Ivory Coast, which for years was Marseille, is now Chelsea - by a long way . . . 'He is a key personality in the life of Ivorians, young Ivorians above all. He is a symbol of success in life, the first Ivorian pro footballer who has been talked of like this. There is so much publicity around

him and his performances that influences the life of young people. There are songs in which they sing his name. The way he dresses - the young copy it. (Oliver 2007)

At home, Drogba is routinely referred to as a god. He spends most of the year in London, playing for Chelsea, one of the world's premier soccer clubs. On his rare visits to the village of his birth, thousands gather around his house to welcome him back. There is a dark side to that celebrity, one that Drogba himself has acknowledged. Last year, 22 ticketless fans were killed in a stadium stampede. They crashed the gates at a national team home game, hoping to get a look at their hero. Afterward, Drogba promised to donate all his endorsement earnings to charity. He kick-started the effort with \$5 million he received from Pepsi. The money will be used to build a hospital and orphanage in the Ivorian capital of Abidjan. Most expect that once his athletic career ends, he will run for president of Ivory Coast. If Nobel laureate Nelson Mandela is Africa's public face today, it will likely be Drogba who inherits that mantle. (*The Toronto Star* 2010)

Off the tarmacked highway that runs through the middle of Abidjan, down a dirt track littered with the corpses of ancient vehicles, past an open drain in which a bunch of barefooted children are paddling alongside a goat, there is hint of how renowned Didier Drogba is in his home country. For here is Drogbakro Village, a suburb of Ivory Coast's biggest city that has been named by its inhabitants in honour of their country's most celebrated export. At the entrance to the village, under the watchful eyes of the man himself, looking down from an advertising poster, stands its self-styled chief, a 37-year-old chauffeur called Kouassi Augustin. Every time Drogba plays either for his nation or for Chelsea, Augustin pulls the television set from his home and sets it up in the alleyway outside, where a crowd of several hundred gather, cheering their favourite's every move. Because of him, everyone hereabouts is a Chelsea fan and a Drogba victory with a club 4,900 miles north triggers a carnival of celebration that fills the village - and beyond - with noisy cheer for much of the night. 'We do not need an election to tell us the answer to this question', says Augustin when asked if Drogba is popular enough to become president of his nation. 'He is already bigger than the president. He is the Ivory Coast'. . . . As Drogba walks through the hotel lobby the sedate politeness of the place evaporates as the country's few well-heeled locals gawp and stare and break into spontaneous applause. A couple of uniformed security guards fail utterly to defend their charge's defensible space, as everyone crowds in for photos, handshakes, a moment's connection with the icon. He obliges them all with a humility at odds with the brash, arrogant figure we presume. Only a year ago, the country looked a basket case, its elected president - Alassane Ouattara - holed up in a hotel just up the road from where Drogba is now speaking, while the dictatorial previous incumbent - Laurent Gbagbo - refused to leave office following democratic dismissal. Three thousand people lost their lives in the tribal ructions that followed; the district of Abidjan where Drogba was raised was the last to surrender to the new boss. Now Gbagbo is facing a war-crimes trial in The Hague and Ouattara was at the airport leading the cheers of a united nation welcoming home their football team, ensuring he was the first to squeeze Drogba's hand. If nothing else, it demonstrates the reconciliatory power of sport . . . 'I'm blessed, I'm lucky because my voice can be heard a little bit more than other voices', he says. 'I can ring the president if I need something but I prefer not to do that, I prefer to fight and do things by myself. When I really can't then I will ask for support'. Indeed, that evening *The Daily Telegraph* is gifted first-hand insight into Drogba's local significance. He had secured with a quick call a table at the city's best restaurant, and while he, his wife and his guests from England are eating, we are joined by the Ivorian interior minister, who explains that meeting Didier is the most important task of his week. 'It's not my duty, it's not written anywhere that I have to do this', Drogba says of his charitable instincts. 'I do it because I know that I will never get this feeling in France or England or anywhere else'. Which leads to the inevitable question: if he likes it that much, with his football career facing its inevitable end soon, does he intend to do this sort of work full time? Indeed, does he share the chief of Drogbakro's certainty that he could translate his universal footballing popularity into elected power, like George Weah attempted to do in Liberia? 'To be honest, I like the place where I am now. I don't have any political opinion. I can say what I want, I'm free', he says. 'Today my situation is good because when I speak everybody will listen. If I decided to do politics only half of the country will listen. Am I more powerful the way I am? Maybe'. That's Didier Drogba, then: the centre-forward who is more powerful than the president. (White 2012)

But while they may imitate his countrymen, Chelsea fans can't quite emulate them in terms of affection. Because in the Ivory Coast, love for Drogba goes far beyond what he does with a ball. On qualifying for the World Cup for the very first time in 2005, almost three years to the day after the Ivorian Civil War broke out, Drogba was called forward as captain to speak on national TV. There were no post-game clichés though, only a calculated speech - what Drogba felt would be a 'peaceful weapon', a statement that simply had to be made. 'All players please come together. Ivorians, men and women, from the north, south, centre and west. You've seen this. We've proven that the

people of Cote d'Ivoire can all live together side by side, play together towards one same goal: qualifying. We'd promised you this celebration would bring people together. Now we're asking you to make this a reality. Please, let's all kneel put down your weapons, organise the elections and things will get better'. And Drogba himself made further efforts to ensure they did. On winning the African Player of the Year award in 2007, Drogba flew to Abidjan to have his photo taken with president Laurent Gbagbo. But he wanted something to equal the politician's blatant electioneering. He wanted the team's next African Nations qualifier switched from the capital to Bouake, the seat of the rebels fighting Gbagbo. A grand, unifying gesture. And the president had no option but to accede. The result went far beyond 90 minutes. Which is exactly how to describe Drogba's attitude to international football. 'We were like a ray of sunshine in a country plunged into grave crisis. My status shields me from misery; I'm not blind to that. This responsibility raised up our national team into a symbol of reunification. But we're no politicians. All we can do is radiate positivism and give pacifist speeches'. The kind of reflection beyond most of his peers, and even similarly influential athletes such as Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan. But then Drogba has the personal life to match. He is a UN Goodwill Ambassador and trained accountant. As his agent and friend Thierno Seydi explained, 'Didier is one of the 10 best-paid players in the world but humility is part of his personality. He will be an African Michel Platini, a decision-taker'. This is a footballer, after all, who castigated the European media for oversimplifying Ivory Coast's problems in their coverage. (Delaney 2009)

The youth of Ivory Coast love Drogba. Every time he returns to Abidjan airport now, he is swamped by media and fans, top of the television news, feted wherever he goes. Drogbacite - or Drogbaness, in English - is a cultural phenomenon in music and dance that shows no signs of disappearing, even though the Elephants, the national team, did not get past the first round in Germany 2006. 'Drogbacite? It's all about me, about my success of the last four years [since his international debut]', he says. 'There is a special relationship between football and music, and Drogbacite comes from that . . . There is no exaggerating Drogba's fame in Ivory Coast. A few indicators: the popular one-litre bottle of Bock beer is big and strong, so is now known as a Drogba; a street in Abidjan has been renamed Rue Didier Drogba; an interview with Drogba in the local Stades d'Afriques newspaper led to a circulation increase of 87 per cent; and the most popular overseas club in Ivory Coast, which for years was Marseille, is now Chelsea - by a long way. 'Ask them in the Chelsea store', says Drogba, 'and they'll tell you I am the one who buys all the shirts! When I go to Ivory Coast I always have to take so many, for my family and friends'. Adam Khalil, who did that sales-busting interview with Drogba for Stades d'Afriques, says: 'He is a key personality in the life of Ivorians, young Ivorians above all. He is a symbol of success in life, the first Ivorian pro footballer who has been talked of like this. There is so much publicity around him and his performances that influences the life of young people. There are songs in which they sing his name. The way he dresses - the young copy it. The cut off T-shirts, the gelled hair. He is an example of social success. He came from nowhere and, with determination, succeeded'. Just about every young Ivorian wants to be Didier Drogba, and if that is too much to ask, at least he wants to dance like Didier Drogba, who celebrated every goal he scored for Marseille four seasons ago with a dance. So Drogbacite is their way of taking on his personality, most expressively by copying his football skills, his feints and shots, in dance moves. (Oliver 2007)

3. Additional or full quotes include:

The Nigerian-born Muslim prays five times a day, sometimes at halftime. It's that kind of dedication that makes Olajuwon, the Houston Rockets center, popular with others of his faith. 'During one of the recent playoff games, the announcer said that Hakeem was leaving to pray, and explained why Muslims do that', says Arif Abdulrafi, 37, from Valley Park. Abdulrafi said he'd never sat through a full game of basketball before Hakeem. Abdulrafi, a program analyst, keeps a picture of Hakeem in his office, and proudly displays it to co-workers. 'In the picture he's wearing a kufi and his eyes are cast downward, very modestly', he says. 'Hakeem has been through some rough times. He's been down a rocky road, but when he came back and recommitted himself to Islam, his game sharpened. 'When I show people the picture, I tell them, this is what Islam can do for a person'. Olajuwon makes himself accessible to Muslim fans. After last year's victory, instead of heading to Disneyworld, Olajuwon went to a convention for Islamic Circle of North America. No matter what city he's in, Olajuwon never misses a congregational Friday prayer. He also plays basketball straight through Ramadan, a month in which Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset. 'I am thrilled that a Muslim player was chosen as MVP', says Imam Muhammad Abdullah, who leads a congregation of 500 families at the Islamic Foundation of St. Louis. 'God loves those who do their best'. 'My mom isn't a fan, but she watched with us because of Hakeem', says Abdullah's son Musab. Musab, 16, follows basketball religiously. 'I am proud to be Muslim when I see him play'. 'When you look at most role models, you like what they do, but when you meet them or find out about their personal lives, you realize they're different from you, and some things they do, you can't do', says Faraaz Ahmed, 12. 'But if he's Muslim, it's just perfect'. 'Unlike other players, Hakeem doesn't

involve himself in mischief', says Abdur-Rahim Saafir, 42. 'I've never heard him shooting off his mouth. He doesn't drink or do drugs. He demonstrates control with his actions and his tongue. He wins with dignity - and he doesn't let them pour champagne all over him afterwards'. Alcohol is forbidden in Islam. Olajuwon's modesty is what attracts Chicagoan Ali Khan, who has met the player at several Muslim functions. 'One time I jokingly challenged him to a game, and he said, 'Brother Ali, I'm so tired right now that you'd probably beat me'. He could be arrogant. He could walk around in flashy clothes. But the most important thing in his life is religion'. Muslim kids have a lack of visible role models in this country, believes Abdulrafi, father of eight. 'Now I can say to my kids, I don't mind if you become a basketball player, as long as you model yourself after him'. (Yaqub 1995)

4. Additional or full quotes include:

Speaking about the Rome bar incident, Balotelli told a French magazine: 'These two or three lads were lucky the police came straight away because, I swear, I would have given them a proper kicking. I would truly have destroyed them. I hope that doesn't happen again. If someone throws a banana at me in the street I will go to prison because I will kill him. Balotelli added: 'I'm black and proud to have African roots. I think I'm lucky to be black. People say about me that I'm a black boy who has fun, earns money and has girls. It's not like that. It's too easy to judge people through what you see'. (Ogden 2012)

Mario Balotelli claims world soccer is not doing enough to combat racism. The Italy striker has been targeted in the past, notably by Juventus fans and by Croatia supporters at Euro 2012. Juve were forced to play a game behind closed doors in 2009 after supporters sang 'a black Italian does not exist'. And Balotelli's former club Inter were fined after monkey chants were heard in last month's derby with his new club AC Milan. Speaking ahead of tomorrow's World Cup qualifier in Malta, Balotelli blasted: 'It annoys me, it makes me angry and I don't like it. 'We're making too little progress on this issue'. . . . Milan's Kevin-Prince Boateng drew widespread praise after storming off the pitch and forcing a match to be abandoned in January when he was racially abused by fans in a friendly at Italian lowerdivision side Pro Patria. Boateng has since joined FIFA's anti-discrimination task force and spoke at the UN on the issue. Balotelli added: 'I agree with him. To stop racism, we all need to contribute together'. (Little 2013)

The first black person to be made a minister in Italy was plunged straight into a race row yesterday. Cécile Kyenge, who joined fellow ministers at a swearing-in ceremony at Rome's Quirinal Palace, is one of seven women in the 21-member Cabinet and represents the new Italian Government's drive towards modernity. She emigrated from Zaire - now the Democratic Republic of the Congo - to study medicine in Rome in 1983 but her appointment as Minister of International Co-operation and Integration was immediately attacked by the Northern League. It described her as a 'symbol of a politically correct and hypocritical left that would like to cancel the crime of illegal immigration, and for immigrants thinks only of rights and not duties'. Matteo Salvini, a senior member of the party, said it was preparing 'total opposition' to the new minister. 'Let her come to some of the cities of the north and see how mass immigration has reduced the Italians to a minority in their own quarters', Mr Salvini wrote. 'The Northern League Governors will be a barrier, in the name of 'residents first, Italians first''. For the 48-year-old eye doctor from Modena, who is married to an Italian and has two teenage children, racist criticism on Facebook is nothing new. But not all reactions have been negative. Mario Balotelli, the AC Milan football player of Ghanaian origin, welcomed her appointment, describing it as a 'step forward towards a more civilised Italian society'. Ms Kyenge sees it in the same light. 'It's a step forward for Italy. It says that this is a country that is opening up, that the idea of a multiracial and mixed-race country is less of an Utopia', she told La Repubblica. A veteran of human rights battles, Ms Kyenge said she hoped to modify the restrictive immigration law introduced by Silvio Berlusconi and to grant automatic citizenship to anyone born in Italy. 'There is an enormous human capital to be exploited. Migrations aren't a threat, they're a resource', she said. Yesterday, Mr Salvini said that dishonest journalists had depicted his opposition to the new minister as a response to the colour of her skin, rather than to her ideas. And he invited Balotelli to 'score a few more goals and talk a little less nonsense'. He added that the choice of Ms Kyenge was typical of Enrico Letta, the new Prime Minister, who preferred untested appointments. (Willan 2013)

5. Additional or full quotes include:

In hopes of changing that, the N.B.A. is sending a large contingent of players and coaches to Africa to conduct its first Africa 100 Camp in conjunction with FIBA, the sport's international governing body, and Basketball South Africa. The camp, which will be held Sept. 2-7 at the American International School in Johannesburg, will bring together the continent's top 100 players ages 16 to 20 for three and a half days of intensive training. In all, 22 African nations will be represented. Similar camps have been held for the past three years in Europe and for the past

two years in Latin America. The African-born N.B.A. players Mutombo (Zaire) of the Nets, Portland's Ruben Boumtje Boumtje (Cameroon), Toronto's Mamadou N'diaye (Senegal), Cleveland's DeSagana Diop (Senegal) and Orlando's Olumide Oyedeji (Nigeria) will attend, as well as the Detroit veteran Michael Curry and coaching representatives from 15 N.B.A. teams, including Nelson. 'There's a lot of young kids today in Africa playing basketball', said Mutombo, who first picked up a basketball at age 19. 'But the lack of basketball courts stops them from growing to their potential. If you ask young kids on the street, they can name 5 to 20 N.B.A. players, and you see more kids in Africa wearing N.B.A. jerseys. That tells you how much the game is growing over there. 'I think we will begin to see more African players in the league than ever before. All they need is for someone to show them what they need to do to get to this level'. . . The Africa 100 Camp is about more than basketball. In between individual drills in the morning and games in the evening, players will work with the American contingent on community service projects. And seminars about life skills, staying away from drugs, and HIV/AIDS prevention will be held. On Sept. 4, the N.B.A. will unveil its first Reading and Learning Center outside North America. The center will provide thousands of donated books, resource guides and materials to children attending the Ithuteng Trust, a local school for troubled youth. Desktop computers, printers, servers and other educational software will also be donated by Dell. To Mutombo, the educational aspect of the camp is as important as the basketball. He is one of the N.B.A.'s most community-minded players and has spent many years raising money to build a hospital in the Congo, formerly Zaire. Many of the current African players have followed Mutombo's lead, a trend the N.B.A. believes will benefit Africa in basketball and beyond. 'The saying goes that in Africa, 'If you save one player, you save a thousand', because he gives back so much', Bohuny said. 'Every one of the N.B.A. players does a great deal in their homeland. They run summer leagues out of their own money, they run camps, they donate thousands of dollars' worth of products back home. They're working with the federations to professionalize the sport. So that, for Africa, is the really important next step'. (Broussard 2003)

Thabo Letsebe? Nobody will know him outside of his friends and family. But his story has become a model for participants in the NBA-sponsored Africa 100 Camp. Letsebe, you see, made it from a barefooted, 17-year-old resident of one of Johannesburg's poorest townships to a college graduate _ the first black South African who used basketball to earn a degree in the United States. He played at tiny Division III Goucher College in Baltimore, where you play, not for notoriety, but for love of the game. And an education. 'My life', Letsebe says, 'has been a dream come true'. So it can happen. And the NBA is trying to help 100 promising athletes make their dreams come true at the Africa 100 Camp, the first clinic on this continent to be sanctioned by the NBA. Africa has long been considered a vast pool of raw talent suffering from lack of facilities and quality coaching. While basketball is the focus, the bigger picture the league is painting is one of hope and opportunity in life, not just hoops. 'These guys are the pioneers of this program', says hall of famer Bob Lanier, named one of the NBA's 50 greatest players of all time. 'If they fail, the people behind them don't stand a chance. But we're not talking about basketball. Most of these kids won't make it professionally. You only get to play this game for so long. But you can be a great human being for a lifetime'. . . It's players such as Kukulela who epitomize what the camp is all about. 'The NBA would be great, but it's an education I want', he says. 'I want to go to the NCAA. I'll do the best I can to get there. I want to use basketball for an education, but also to have fun playing it'. Amadou Gallo Fall, the Mavericks' director of scouting, is one of the camp's directors and wasted no time telling the mostly 15- to 20-year-olds in an hour-long pre-camp seminar that virtually none of them will have a chance to reach the NBA. 'I think they understand that', Gallo Fall said. 'If they don't, it's our job to make sure they do. 'Our primary goal is to teach them to use this game to get an education. Use it to be a better human being, because it gives you structure. So many kids in Africa drop out of school when they're 14 or 15. All we want to do is give them something to shoot for'. As Thabo Letsebe proved, dreams can come true. And the NBA is trying to help, even if those dreams don't include the NBA. (Sefko 2003)

6. Additional or full quotes include:

Mutombo, who was accompanied by several of his sons and daughters, roared with deep-throated laughter, then turned serious when speaking of New Orleans. 'I think I am more shocked', Mutombo said. 'I thought things were bad here, but I didn't know it was this bad. To think that two years later the city is still in the same condition that it was two years ago. My question now is: Why? 'I think this should now become the main focus of the NBA. We should get the players on a bus tour of the city and let them know what kind of difference we can make. 'I don't think it should be just a one-day thing. It should be a continuation. 'I told my wife that this trip would be meaningful, not just to myself but to my children. They have seen their dad do so much in Africa and the rest of the world. I want my kids to start seeing life in America on the other side. 'Maybe they know the pain and suffering of the people in Africa. But they don't know that there are such poor, poor people here in America, too'. (Blinebury 2008)

In South Africa, they saw townships where blacks are forced to live without electricity and running water. "The thing that was toughest for me was I met so many kids I thought had unlimited potential in a lot of areas," Alvin Gentry said. "Very bright, very talented, very personable kids, who I don't think will ever have a chance to succeed. In a way, it's the same thing I see in kids who hang outside the (Miami) Arena." The Gentrys had an unusual perspective on South Africa. Alvin, 38, is black and was raised in North Carolina. Suzanne, 35, is white and grew up in Phoenix and San Antonio. The couple met when Alvin was an assistant coach with the San Antonio Spurs and Suzanne worked for the team's marketing division. They live in Doral Dunes outside of Miami. "We talked about the fact there could be people in our similar situation that may truly love each other that may not be together because of the way society over there is structured," Gentry said. "But we've realized we can't change the world. You see these hate groups coming back, and you wonder what direction this country is going." McAdoo, a five-time NBA All-Star, made the trip with his fiancée, Patrizia Maldini, who is white and from Italy. For McAdoo, 43, the racism brought back memories of growing up in Greensboro, N.C. "She was in tears," McAdoo said of his fiancée. "She had never seen people living like that. There were no tears from me. I saw this in the United States. I lived through this." The black township of Soweto sits in the shadow of Johannesburg. Officially, 2.5 million residents live in its 1 1/2 square miles, most in 10-foot-by-10-foot shanties. The Gentrys talked to residents with doctorates and master's degrees from Harvard and Boston University who have devoted their lives to helping the people of South Africa. They met doctors who are responsible for 90,000 patients. "I've encountered a lot of bigotry and racism, but I've always had a right to vote, and I've always had a right to own land," Alvin Gentry said. "And in South Africa, that is not the case. "You have no freedoms whatsoever." Minutes away are white neighborhoods large houses with tennis courts and swimming pools, surrounded by electric gates and guard dogs. But the only way Alvin Gentry could pass through these areas was with armed guards. And even with armed guards, he would not have been allowed to play on Johannesburg's whites-only golf course. (D'Angelo 1993)

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

None

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