

CHIPOLOPOLO: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF FOOTBALL (SOCCER) IN ZAMBIA,  
1940s – 1994

By

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## ABSTRACT

### CHIPOLOPOLO: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF FOOTBALL (SOCCER) IN ZAMBIA, 1940s-1994

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This dissertation explores the complex relationships between football, culture, and politics in Zambia, from the Second World War through the aftermath of the first multiparty elections of the postcolonial era. It reconstructs the rise and development of African football clubs, competitions, players, and personalities, and connects the everyday lives of ordinary people to broader shifts in colonial and postcolonial political history. The main primary sources for this study are Zambian government records, local newspapers and magazines, and dozens of oral interviews and informal conversations I recorded in Zambia with former players, administrators, journalists, and fans. The research reveals how football was used as a tool for social control and propaganda. As the economic heartland of Zambia, the Copperbelt looms large throughout this story. Beginning in the late colonial period, football boomed in this industrial region as miners and other African wage-earning workers quickly made the British game their own. They did so not only by acquiring sporting skills, but also by forging new loyalties and identities that nurtured, directly and indirectly, the broader anti-colonial struggle for self-determination.

Football took on a nation-building function after independence in 1964. Under President Kenneth Kaunda, a former player and referee, and his UNIP ruling party, the government invested considerable economic and political capital into the Football Association of Zambia, school sport, domestic clubs, and the national team. Kaunda's one-party state embraced football as a means to create consent and support for its ideology of

“African humanism,” to consolidate power and authority, and gain international visibility and prestige. Following the nationalization of the mines and other sectors of the economy, in the 1970s and 1980s parastatal companies and the armed forces played a vital role in growing the game despite a worsening economic crisis. The government’s gradual withdrawal from sport after the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs brought the domestic game to its knees, and may have contributed to the Gabon air disaster of April 1993 in which the entire national team perished.

This dissertation takes the cultural agency of Zambians seriously. It explores the impact of radio and the press, fan groups, and the inclusion of spiritual beliefs and practices, such as magic and sorcery. In so doing, this study also sheds light on the tensions produced by fierce rivalries between different clubs and competing notions of masculinity among miners, *bakaboyi* (domestic workers), and civil servants in urban communities. The gendered dynamics of sport meant that women fans struggled for inclusion in an overwhelmingly male domain; but female fans were neither unusual nor passive and some channeled their passion for football into founding the first women’s clubs and leagues.

As the first scholarly history of association football in Zambia, this work makes at least three contributions to national and African historiography. First, it expands on the new revisionist history concerned with moving beyond UNIP- and Kaunda-centered nationalist readings of the past. Second, it demonstrates the value of seeing football as a cultural space in which power is contested and where individual, community, and institutional identities come to life. Finally, this study uncovers new documentary and oral evidence that deepen our understanding of sport’s capacity to both shape *and* symbolize social change in an African nation’s colonial and postcolonial past.

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In my mother tongue of *Chitonga*, there is an idiomatic expression that states: “*munwe omwe taujayi njina*,” meaning one finger is not enough to kill lice. This stresses humility and the need to depend on other people for one to succeed in any undertaking. I would like to express my gratefulness to the many people and institutions that supported me throughout my PhD studies.

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## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune deficiency Syndrome
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BHAFA	Broken Hill Amateur Football Association
BP	British Petroleum
BSA	British South Africa
CABS	Central African Broadcasting Services
CAF	Confederation of African Football
CAFA	Copperbelt African Association
CAFL	Copperbelt African Football League
CECAFA	Confederation of East and Central African Football Association
COSAFA	Confederation of Southern African Football Association
EDUSPORT	Education Through Sport
FAZ	Football Association of Zambia
FC	Football Association
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILB	Industrial Loans Board
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDECO	Industrial Development Corporation
JBFA	Johannesburg Bantu Football Association
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MINDECO	Mining and Industrial Corporation Limited
NAMBOARD	National Agricultural and Marketing Board.
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NCCM	Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines
NDP	National Development Plan
NFL	National Football League
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NHRZ	Network for Historical Research in Zambia

NRFA	Northern Rhodesia Football Association
NSCZ	National Sports Council of Zambia
PHD	Philosophy Doctorate Degree
RCCM	Roan Consolidated Copper Mines
REC	Luanshya Recreations Club
RLI	Rhodes-Livingstone Institute
SAFA	South African Football Association
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SCORE	Sports Coaches Outreach
UBZ	United Bus Company of Zambia
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UMHK	Union Minière du Haut-Katanga
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPP	United Progressive Party
ZBC	Zambia Broadcasting Corporation
ZBS	Zambia Broadcasting Services
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZIMCO	Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation
ZISC	Zambia State Insurance Corporation
ZNPF	Zambia National Provident Fund

## INTRODUCTION: LEISURE, REVISIONIST HISTORY AND FOOTBALL IN ZAMBIA

There was wild jubilation in the Zambian capital of Lusaka on February 13, 2012, when the national soccer team, popularly known as *Chipolopolo* (Copper-bullets), made a triumphant return from Libreville, Gabon, after winning the 28<sup>th</sup> edition of the African Cup of Nations.<sup>1</sup> Zambia had beaten Ivory Coast 8-7 in a penalty shoot-out in the final to win the cup for the first time since its creation in 1957. Before this historic victory, the country had twice placed second, in 1974 in Cairo, Egypt, (losing to Zaire [Democratic Republic of Congo] and in 1994 in Tunis, Tunisia losing 1-2 to Nigeria).<sup>2</sup> The celebration for the 2012 victory was also a moment of reflection for the people as they remembered the fatal plane crash in 1993 off the coast of Libreville that killed the entire national team on its way to a World Cup qualifying match in Senegal.<sup>3</sup>

This first academic history of Zambia's most popular sport explores the complex relationships between football, culture, and politics in Zambia, from the Second World War through the aftermath of the first multiparty elections of the postcolonial era. It reconstructs the rise and development of African football clubs, competitions, players, and personalities, and connects the everyday lives of ordinary people to broader shifts in colonial and postcolonial political history. The study makes three main arguments. First, it argues that after the British colonial state and mining authorities expanded local access to the game

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<sup>1</sup> From 1911 to 1964 when Zambia was a British protectorate, it was called Northern Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes who founded the British South African (BSA) Company that ruled the territory from the late 1890s to 1924. At independence in 1964, it was named Zambia after the Zambezi River that cuts through the country. In this study, I am mainly going to use the name Zambia for both the colonial and postcolonial period.

<sup>2</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1975 by the Director of Sport Musa Kasonka to the Minister of Labor and Social Services, Lusaka, 10 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive; Chali Kabangafyela, "Zambia misses African Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 March 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Chris Chitanda and Sekelela Ncube, "Alpha Foxtrot 319 Over and Out," *The Weekly Post*, 30 April 1993.

through new post-war welfare schemes intended to “detribalize” and control Africans more effectively, miners and wage-earners on the Copperbelt had already found ways to make the British game their own. Instead of resisting the imposition of welfare schemes, Africans accepted them as a belated investment that enhanced their self-administered leagues and provided welcome entertainment to crowds in segregated black townships. Moreover, Zambians used social welfare provision to demand that colonial authorities boost delivery of social services. As with the rise of African trade unions, football organizations enabled some men to acquire leadership experience that helped propel the broader struggle for political independence. Two years before political independence, the formation of a non-racial (racially mixed) National Football League led by Tom Mtshali stood as a powerful symbol and an important step towards full independence as it allowed top African players to wear national colors and represent the territory as equals alongside their white counterparts. The sociability of African workers in Zambia had political and social implications.

Second, this study argues that football took on a nation-building function after independence in 1964. Having upset the colonial attempt to use sport to keep Zambians docile and passive, the common culture of football bridged ethnic and other fault lines. Under President Kenneth Kaunda, a former player and referee, and his UNIP ruling party, the government invested considerable economic and political capital into the Football Association of Zambia, school sport, domestic clubs, and the national team. Kaunda’s one-party state embraced football as a means to create consent and support for its ideology of “African humanism,” to consolidate power and authority, and gain international visibility and prestige. Following the nationalization of the mines and other sectors of the economy,

in the 1970s and 1980s parastatal companies and the armed forces played a vital role in growing the game despite a worsening economic crisis. The government's gradual withdrawal from sport after the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs brought the domestic game to its knees, and may have contributed to the Gabon air disaster of April 1993 in which the entire national team perished.

Third, this dissertation takes the cultural agency of Zambians seriously. It explores the impact of radio and the press, fan groups, and the inclusion of spiritual beliefs and practices, such as magic and sorcery. In so doing, this study also sheds light on the tensions produced by fierce rivalries between different clubs and competing notions of masculinity among miners, *bakaboyi* (domestic workers), and civil servants in urban communities. The gendered dynamics of sport meant that women fans struggled for inclusion in an overwhelmingly male domain; but female fans were neither unusual nor passive and some channeled their passion for football into founding the first women's clubs and leagues. Overall, an exploration of the pleasure and politics of sport in the last two decades of colonialism and the first three decades of independence provides an opportunity for scholars to capture the life experiences of ordinary Africans and to explore the nature of change in societies grappling with the effects of colonialism, postcolonialism, and global capitalism.<sup>4</sup>

## BACKGROUND

I grew up in Mpima Dairy Scheme—a medium scale farming settlement area about twenty-five kilometers east of a small town called Kabwe (formerly known as Broken Hill) in the

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<sup>4</sup> Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler, "Leisure in Africa: An Introduction," *The international Journal of African Historical Studies* 35 (2002): 1-2.

Central Province. This area is one of the many settlement schemes that were established in the postcolonial period by President Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP government to encourage retirees and other interested people to "go back to the land" in an effort to decrease the massive urbanization that the country was experiencing.<sup>5</sup>

If one visited Mpima Dairy Scheme on a Sunday afternoon in the late 1980s and early 1990s when I was a small boy on a day when there was a local derby football match between Mpima FC and Kankundwe United FC from nearby communities, the atmosphere would be tense and full of excitement. Following Sunday church services, one would hear both young men and old, as well as women interested in soccer, talking, analyzing and calculating the chances of Mpima winning the coming match. The same scene would be repeated at a national level whenever the national team had matches with teams from other countries. Football was a part of the social and cultural environment in which I grew up.

While I have never played the game competitively, the attention football attracted in my community played an important role in shaping my interest in the sport, and in analyzing what made it so important to many people's lives. This encouraged me to research and write "The Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia" a Master's Thesis at the Norwegian School of Sports Science in Oslo.<sup>6</sup> This background plays a central role in my research work for this study.

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<sup>5</sup> The post-independence government developed settlement programs based on both economic and political reasons — the equity goal of the humanist philosophy required an increase in African participation in market-oriented agriculture not only for one area or group of producers, but throughout the country. Rural-urban migration and rising unemployment in urban areas were among the reasons that made government to assist and resettle citizens on farm plots demarcated and assigned to them as a remedy to urbanization and unemployment.

<sup>6</sup> Hikabwa Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia (1930-1969): A Historical Perspective," M.A. thesis (Oslo: Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2009): 50.



## SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

A combination of archival research and oral interviews make up the main methodological approach I used in this dissertation. The popularity of the game in the country meant that individuals, government and media organizations were all interested in the game. This made both archival and oral interviews the most useful sources in the project. Archival research was done at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archive in Lusaka and the Mining and Industrial Archives in Ndola on the Copperbelt. I also collected magazines, newspapers and photographs from the archives of individuals whom I interviewed or met through my various discussions of soccer.

I spent the longest time in the NAZ, the biggest archive in the country. It is run by the Ministry of Home Affairs and holds government records from both the colonial and the postcolonial period. It is a fairly well organized archive and provided me with colonial records on social welfare programs in form of reports, minutes of meetings, and correspondences. These written sources helped in understanding how the colonial system played a formidable role in African sports and soccer affairs. The NAZ also provided me with postcolonial government records, but only up to the late 1960s. I could not find government records for any period following 1971. This reconciles with historian Miles Larmer's views that there are practically no government files in the NAZ from 1971 to the present.<sup>7</sup> According to Larmer, this is a result of government ministries being allowed to

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<sup>7</sup> Miles Larmer, "If We Are Still Here Next Year": *Zambian Historical Research in the Context of the Decline 2002-2003*, *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 215-229.

keep the files for these periods with the excuse that they still need them for reference.

However, he writes that:

Many files for the period 1972-83 have been transferred to one of the NAZ's offices and subsequently destroyed on the grounds that they were not important enough to keep. Ministry and NAZ officials decide what should be destroyed, but no criteria for such decisions are publicly available... It also appears that most of the vast majority of the Ministry of Labor files that were stored in NAZ's holding archive in the basement of the Home Affairs building in central Lusaka were lost in the early 1990s, when the staff stole them to sell as scrap paper in the market place.<sup>8</sup>

The unavailability of the records for this period helps explain why I struggled to get government sports records in the NAZ for the postcolonial period. As a result, I had to rely heavily on newspapers and magazines for data recorded after 1971. The NAZ holds a wide range of newspapers covering both the colonial and the postcolonial periods. As sports historian Martin Polley points out, newspapers and magazines have traditionally given historians valuable information about sporting events, results, players, the geographical distribution of various codes, and a tangible sense of what sports meant to local people.<sup>9</sup>

After the difficulties in finding government records related to football in the NAZ, I discovered the existence of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archive in Lusaka. The former ruling party for nearly three decades, UNIP has been out of power since 1991 when the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) ousted it. UNIP's official records are currently housed in a dilapidated archive that is poorly managed by the remnants of the party in Lusaka's light industrial area of Emmersdale.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Larmer, "If We Are Still Here Next Year," 219.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Polley, *Sport History: A Practical History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3

<sup>10</sup> I later learned that the whole UNIP Archive has been digitized into more than 1,000 DVDs. Copies of the digitized materials were deposited at the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka and the British Library in London. While one can freely access the digitized materials that were deposited in the British Library in London, UNIP disallowed the National Archives of Zambia to avail the digitized material to the public because

UNIP documents are crucial primary sources. From the time President Kaunda declared a one-party state in 1972, UNIP was responsible for almost all executive functions of government; in fact, it was popularly known as “the party and its government.” Despite the dusty and dilapidated environment, I found the UNIP archive to have many of the most important government files on football that I could not find in the NAZ. These documentary sources helped me gain important insights on how the ruling party and the Zambian government perceived and managed the game over time.

In order to better document and understand how the mines managed their clubs that dominated the game for a very long time I made four trips over several months to the Copperbelt. There, I spent many weeks conducting research in the Mining and Industrial Archives in Ndola—the second largest archive in the country—which holds documents from the mining giants Roan Selection Trust, Anglo-American Corporation, and the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM).<sup>11</sup> I excavated mining companies’ social welfare records, reports, and publications (including magazines) to find out how and why the mines organized workers’ welfare and football activities. I also found extremely useful minutes of meetings and budgets (as well as other records) for leading football clubs such as Roan United.

On the Copperbelt I also visited a number of old soccer clubs such as Mufulira Wanderers in Mufulira, Nkana in Kitwe, Roan United in Luanshya, among others, seeking access to club records. Unfortunately, none of the clubs I visited had any archives or historical records. This is partly because in the colonial period mining clubs fell under the

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it was going to take away the little income the ailing political party was earning from predominantly foreign researchers who occasionally visit the UNIP Archive.

<sup>11</sup> A rump state-owned ZCCM Investment Holdings — remnant of ZCCM runs the Mining and Industrial Archive.

jurisdiction of the African Welfare Department and in the postcolonial period under the Department of Community Services. Therefore, these archives were considered mining company property and housed at the Mining and Industrial Archives.

The absence of club records extended beyond the Copperbelt to Lusaka-based football clubs. In a country with a very poor record keeping culture, most soccer clubs seem not to value or prioritize record keeping. However, individual club leaders and members often keep club records in their homes as personal property. While some access can be negotiated, when these men lose elections, or their life circumstances change, or die these records are often lost forever.<sup>12</sup> The unavailability of written club records forced me to rely heavily on oral sources to delve deeper into the memories of players, administrators and supporters and the meaning of football in their lives.

The use of oral sources in unearthing local people's football experiences and recollections were powerfully revealing. I conducted more than sixty oral interviews in Zambia that richly complement the archival sources and secondary literature. Echoing the conclusions of oral historians Rogan Taylor and Andrew Ward in the English case, my study also views a statistical approach to recording soccer's history as an incomplete way of recording and transmitting the game's history and culture: "Football research calls out for a genre that is loyal to the sport's emotional truth," Taylor and Ward note; "spoken history is how football preserves its own stories. Spoken history is what the sport deserves."<sup>13</sup>

I took great care in the selection of my interviewees to make sure that I talked to people who had played different roles in the game over the years, such as players,

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<sup>12</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 6.

<sup>13</sup> Rogan Taylor and Andrew Ward. "Kicking and Screaming: Broadcasting Football Oral Histories," *Oral History Society* 25, (1997): 57

administrators, reporters, and spectators. I further divided my informants into two generational categories, an older group—comprised of individuals who experienced the game in the colonial period—and a younger group made up of people born after independence, to represent a cross-section of voices and views from different generations. While football is a male-dominated sport, I also interviewed women fans, wives of former players, and some who played netball in sports clubs with soccer teams. While much more needs to be done in this area, this approach facilitated the inclusion of some women's perspectives in the analysis.

Historian Paul Thompson points out that concern for representation is fundamental in oral history in order to get the desired results. However, for small projects or small groups of people, this legitimate concern cannot replace the power of having former participants or direct witnesses of the event provide testimony because the search in oral history is primarily for validity, not reliability.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, oral interviews with different groups of people who were directly involved in football activities generated multiple insights, as well as new information, about how the game was organized, played, the mood during matches and so on.

Since I had conducted interviews with some former footballers for my Master's Thesis, I did follow-up interviews with a few individuals I had spoken to in 2008 and had a list of names of people to contact. The people I interviewed connected me with other people and it snowballed from there. It was usually easy for me to gain the trust of new interviewees, especially if someone they know well introduced me to them. As most of the former practitioners are retirees, it meant that I sometimes had to travel long distances to

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<sup>14</sup> Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 146.

find them. But it also meant they also had both the time and inclination to talk about their past experiences, perhaps because nobody from a university had ever asked them to tell their story or perhaps because it reminded them of their younger, “glory days.”

I often found older people willing to share their sporting memories when visiting different grounds and stadiums around Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Formal interviews had to be done at a variety of locations, including social clubs, wherever it was convenient for the interviewees. While this usually made the audio quality of recorded interviews poor, I took extensive written notes and most of the information from these discussions added a lot of value to my research. Spontaneous, informal discussions that I initiated in the field (sometimes in buses!) also yielded a surprising amount of useful details.

While it was very exciting and absorbing listening to life stories of former players and fans, oral interviewing had its challenges. Most of my informants were impoverished elderly men who lost their jobs in the 1990s under President Frederick Chiluba’s aggressive implementation of austerity measures dictated by international financial institutions’ Structural Adjustment Program. Making appointments to interview some of these elderly men naturally raised their expectations of material rewards. Although I usually gave them a small gift to thank them for sharing their time and experiences with me (at the end of the interviews), it was not enough to meet the men’s earlier expectations. As Larmer observed about conducting interviews in Luanshya, it is impossible to ignore existing situations where some interviewees are unable to provide enough food for their families and a few are “themselves noticeably weakened by lack of food.”<sup>15</sup> Such experiences can leave the researcher pondering whether he/she is dishonorable by gaining

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<sup>15</sup> Larmer, “If We Are Still Here Next Year,” 226.

so much knowledge from interviewing poor people and yet leaving them with unfulfilled expectations about long-term material benefits from participating in the project.

Being a researcher in your own country (and community) also carries some challenges. While it was simple for me to navigate the local soccer landscape because I am familiar with it, sometimes I did not attract as much attention among individual Zambians as some white colleagues did. This was because some people perceived me as not being in a position to benefit them or add any value to their lives in terms of funding for their projects or scholarship connections to further their studies or those of their children. I also may have posed a threat to some in football management, as they may have feared that I might try to use my education to challenge their leadership positions. For example, the President of the Football Association of Zambia, Kalusha Bwalya, a legendary player, agreed to be interviewed by two different white students from Europe conducting research for their Master's theses, while he repeatedly ignored my requests to meet with him. I have no evidence that might explain the man's reluctance to meet with me, but it suggests some interesting aspects of my positionality that cannot be overlooked.

While there were a few people like Bwalya who were not willing to be interviewed, many more former players, administrators and fans were happy to share their past experiences with me. This was important for my study because these voices have been marginalized and long forgotten in local football circles. I saw myself walking in the footsteps of scholars before me who have argued that a major strength of the oral historical method is how the interviews provide an opportunity to reveal the hidden voices,

emotional intensity and experiences of players, coaches, and fans.<sup>16</sup> My interviews focused on life histories or experiences of former practitioners. My ability to fluently speak Tonga, Nyanja and Bemba, the three main languages spoken in my research areas (along the main rail line from Livingstone to the Copperbelt), allowed me to locate potential interviewees and conduct interviews successfully. My linguistic skills were crucial in examining and decoding vernacular metaphors, idiolects, double meanings, grievances, songs and the attitudes hidden in language.

I conducted my interviews after I had done most of my archival work. As scholars point out, “memory attaches itself to objects.”<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it was important for me to bring a newspaper article or photograph or other memento that the interviewee could relate to in order to trigger memories and enthusiasm in our discussions. This technique helped me assess how much they could remember and the consistency of their narration. This approach also stimulated some interviewees to share with me some of the materials they stored in personal archives, such as photographs, newspaper and magazine articles documenting their career or their favorite team. The act of archiving these records shows the importance of the game in people’s lives. These items and the process by which they emerged added value to this dissertation.

In my analysis of the interviews, I was aware of the fact that I had given the interviewees opportunities to reconstruct their past and some of them could have told stories that portrayed them positively. I had to consider what elements could have been left unsaid by my sources while trying not to further silence what happened. As Haitian scholar

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<sup>16</sup> Brian Gearing, “More than a Game: Experiences of being a Professional Footballer in Britain” *Journal of Oral History* 25 (1997): 63

<sup>17</sup> Susan Kaiser, *Post memories of Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.



Michel-Rolp Trouillot argues, historical knowledge is full of silences — it is about “what happened” and “that which is said to have happened.”<sup>18</sup> I tried as much as possible to balance between being analytically critical and not silencing my interviewees’ voices and memories.



Figure 1. My primary study areas: towns along the line of rail from Livingstone in the south through Mazabuka, Lusaka and Kabwe to the Copperbelt towns (Ndola, Kitwe, Kitwe, Chingola) in the north.

## LEISURE STUDIES IN ZAMBIA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The fact that academic researchers have overlooked football seems even more surprising when we consider that the country is one of the most intensively researched areas in Africa.<sup>19</sup> As early as the 1930s, British anthropologist Audrey Richards and other academic researchers conducted groundbreaking ethnographic studies of the Bemba-speaking

<sup>18</sup> Michel-Rolp Trouillot, *Silencing the past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 2.

<sup>19</sup> Harri Englund, “Zambia at 50: The rediscovery of liberalism,” *Africa* 83 (2013): 670-689.

people of Northern Province.<sup>20</sup> Following the discovery of copper ore in the 1920s in the area that later came to be known as the Copperbelt, the colonial government and mining companies identified an urgent need to study the culture of the local people with whom they were going to work with in the emerging copper mines.<sup>21</sup> As a result, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI) was established in 1937—a social science research institute that was the first of its kind in Africa.<sup>22</sup>

Working in tandem with numerous African research assistants, prominent anthropologists such as Godfrey Wilson, Max Gluckman, Elizabeth Colson, A. L. Epstein, and J. Clyde Mitchell made the RLI singularly successful.<sup>23</sup> Historian Lyn Schumaker points out that Gluckman, the second director and most prominent figure in the history of the RLI, played a critical role in shaping the institute's theoretical and methodological framework. He encouraged interdisciplinary, sharing experiences of apprenticeship, and forging social

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<sup>20</sup> Audrey Richards, *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia: an economic study of the Bemba tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 403. Richards claimed that about 40 to 60 percent of the men of the northern province of Zambia in the 1930s were absent from their villages because they had gone to get wage paying jobs in the mines on the Copperbelt, Katanga and other areas. When they returned, they often neglected their matrimonial obligations, claiming to be resting after their hard work in the mines, which placed a heavy strain on the resources of the matrifocal group (p. 172). See James Ferguson "Mobile Workers, Modernist Narrative: A Critique of the Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt [part one]" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16 (1990): 402-403 where he has challenged Richard's view of male migrants temporary working in mines but without strong urban ties. See also Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth: Hainemann, 1994), 79, in which they challenge Richards's notion of linking the Bemba people's food shortages to the *citemene* system of agriculture, and the breakdown of their sharing mechanisms due to the labor migration of men seeking jobs in the mines. They claim that she did not pay attention to a number of forces that influenced the creation of Bemba culture; instead, she was captivated by prevailing discourses and ended up contributing to their existence. They argue that social relations in the area "have been continuously and creatively reworked in the context of labor migration, cash cropping, and the wage economy" (p. 233).

<sup>21</sup> Cosmo Cantuar, William Ebor, Daniel Lamont, W. H. Bragg, Henry Balfour, Polwarth, W. G. Ormsby-Gore, Tweedsnuir, Lugard, Hailey, H. J. Stanley, Harold B. Kittermaster and Hubert Young, "A Rhodes-Livingstone Memorial," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 36 (1937): 531-532.

<sup>22</sup> For an authoritative account of RLI and its legacy, see Lyn Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); David Gordon, "Rites of Rebellion: Recent Anthropology from Zambia," *African Studies* (2003): 125-139.

<sup>23</sup> Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology*: 4.

and intellectual networks in the field, an approach that came to distinguish RLI's research methods and theories. After Gluckman became chair of the Department of Social Anthropology at Manchester University in 1949, this project evolved into the "Manchester School."<sup>24</sup>

RLI scholars and affiliated researchers such as Godfrey Wilson, Clyde Mitchell, and Hortense Powdermaker (from United States of America who was not directly linked to the institute) pioneered scholarly work on leisure in the country.<sup>25</sup> Their aim was to examine social changes among newly urbanized Africans who left their rural areas to seek wage-earning jobs in the newly developed copper mines. Godfrey Wilson became the first director of the RLI and conducted the first study of Africans in their mining compounds in Broken Hill mines. He published his work in the 1942 book *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*.<sup>26</sup> Wilson pointed out how the territory was rapidly changing as Africans were "detribalized" to become part of the world community.<sup>27</sup> He mentions the desire for European clothing as one of the main reasons that drove Africans to seek paying jobs in urban areas. Adoption of Western-style dress was an easy way Africans could acquire "civilized" status in Broken Hill as racial segregation restricted them

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<sup>24</sup> Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology*: 84-85. See also Richard P. Werbner, "The Manchester School in South-Central Africa," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13 (1984): 157-185; and Sally Falk Moore, *Anthropology and Africa: Changing Perspectives on a Changing Scene* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), esp. 62-73.

<sup>25</sup> The Rhodes Livingstone Institute was founded in 1938 to study local culture in Northern Rhodesia as many local people were going to work together with Europeans in the emerging copper mines and to facilitate the implementation of the newly designed indirect rule system. Despite drawing its funding from the colonial government and mining companies, the institute became independent and produced scholarship that was critical of the mining and colonial administrators.

<sup>26</sup> Mining compounds were residential areas with poor amenities that were allocated for African miners. Africans who worked for the colonial government or other employers in Copperbelt towns lived in other designated areas called government locations.

<sup>27</sup> Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia* 1. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Inst., 1941, 13.

from investing in homes.<sup>28</sup> Despite such path-breaking contributions, RLI scholars essentially ignored factors such as oppressive colonial demands, such as heavy taxes and land grabbing, which pushed Africans to leave their rural areas to seek jobs in the mines.<sup>29</sup>

J. Clyde Mitchell, the fourth director of the RLI, explored aspects of social relationships among urbanized Africans in Copperbelt mining towns in a 1956 piece titled *The Kalela Dance*. Popularly known as Mbeni along the Swahili coast, the Kalela dance was performed predominantly by the Bisa of Northern Province who formed mutual aid societies on the Copperbelt.<sup>30</sup> Mitchell argues that although the dance was traditional, it mimicked a Western military band with emphasis on cleanliness of the dancers dressed in European uniforms. He also mentioned that soccer was a popular game on the Copperbelt by noting the presence of a referee and a linesman during the Kalela dance.<sup>31</sup> Later scholars, such as Terrence Ranger and Albert Matongo, criticized Mitchell for not seeing the political nature of African dances, such as Kalela, as seen in the 1935 Copperbelt strikes.<sup>32</sup> Matongo argues that Mbeni and Kalela were responses by African workers to the colonial situation and were used as mediums of communication and mobilization on the Copperbelt to challenge colonial and capital oppressive policies.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Wilson, *Economics of Detribalization*, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Albert B. K. Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society: Another Look at Mbeni and Kalela Dances on the Copperbelt," in *Guardians in Their Time : Experiences of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1992), 212.

<sup>30</sup> J. Clyde Mitchell and Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, *The Kalela Dance : Aspects of Social Relationships Among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), 2.

<sup>31</sup> Mitchell, *Kalela Dance*: 6.

<sup>32</sup> T. O Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa, 1890-1970 : the Beni Ngoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 138; Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society: Another Look at Mbeni and Kalela Dances on the Copperbelt," 210.

<sup>33</sup> Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society" 192.

Around the same time, Hortense Powdermaker was conducting highly original research among African miners in Luanshya that used “leisure activities as an index of social change as well as a means of understating it.”<sup>34</sup> Powdermaker argues that listening to the radio, going to movies, and reading newspapers offered African wage-earners in mining towns an opportunity for upward social mobility through knowledge acquisition and a sense of participation. She stresses that while a leisure activity like listening to the radio was a source of knowledge and pleasure for African workers in the towns and mines, it also “served as a bridge between the tribal and the modern world, listeners could send messages to kindred and friends at home, receive news from villages and hear traditional tales as well as new ones.”<sup>35</sup>

After the 1960s, no studies on leisure in Zambia appeared until 1990 when historian Charles Ambler published “Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia” in the *Journal of African History*. In this article, Ambler explores how popular action against restrictive and racially discriminatory alcohol regulations shaped the nationalist movement in the country by bringing together diverse groups of people to resist colonialism.<sup>36</sup> Ten years later, this time in the *American Historical Review*, Ambler published another landmark article, “Popular Films and Colonial Audiences: The Movies in Northern Rhodesia,” which looks at “the history of film entertainment [. . .] to explore the broad question of the transition toward and reception of Western mass culture in the context of

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<sup>34</sup> Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa; the Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 224.

<sup>35</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 252.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Ambler, “Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia,” *The Journal of African History* 31, (1990): 295.

colonialism.”<sup>37</sup> While Europeans assumed that Africans lacked the sophistication to critically engage with European popular media, Ambler argues that the movie-going experiences of Africans on the Copperbelt challenge these assumptions. The evidence shows the ways in which Africans “continually appropriated and re-appropriated such media and subjected them to various and fluid readings.”<sup>38</sup>

While some Africanists, such as the exiled South African sociologist Bernard Magubane, criticized RLI scholars for having at best skimmed the surface in analyzing changing African societies under pressure from colonial interests, the body of RLI scholarship is greatly valued today and continues to inspire research on Zambia.<sup>39</sup> RLI scholars are recognized for their innovative studies on issues concerning ethnic, national, and class identities; ritual and law; and for shaping a particular kind of urban social anthropology that continued to influence academic knowledge production and policy discussions well beyond the country.<sup>40</sup> My analysis of soccer and society builds on and extends these RLI leisure studies and also fills a void in the Zambian historiography.

## THE NEW REVISIONIST HISTORY OF ZAMBIA

As shown above, the RLI played a central role in Zambian scholarship during the colonial period through the *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*. Apart from being engrossed in how Africans

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<sup>37</sup> Charles Ambler, “Popular Film And Colonial Audiences: The Movies In Northern Rhodesia,” *American Historical Review* 106 (2001): 82.

<sup>38</sup> Ambler, “Popular Films and Colonial Audiences,” 104.

<sup>39</sup> Bernard Magubane, “A critical Look at Indices Used in the Study of Social Change in Colonial Africa,” *Current Anthropology* (1971): 419-445.

<sup>40</sup> Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*; Max Gluckman, *The Judicial Processes among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955); Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*; Victor Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: a study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957); A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); Elizabeth Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: social and religious studies*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962).

were leaving their rural areas to seek payable jobs in the emerging towns and how they were changing from “tribesmen” to urbanites, the RLI conducted methodical longitudinal investigations of local ethnic groups such as the Tonga, Lozi, and Lunda.<sup>41</sup>

However the rural-urban debates dominated RLI research work because this was a time when there were massive transformations in the country that were driven by the booming copper industry. Later scholars have criticized RLI anthropologists for overestimating the rural-urban migrations. They have argued that this scholarship portrayed rural-urban migrations “in terms of an over-arching, progressive narrative, in which a ‘classic migrant labor system’ featuring short-term migration by lone, male, rurally-based migrants gradually gave way to a ‘permanently urbanized,’ fully proletarianized settled urban working class.”<sup>42</sup> James Ferguson argues that this overarching progressive narrative obscures our understanding of very intricate relations urbanized Africans maintained with rural areas for a long time.<sup>43</sup>

However, Ferguson’s view that the “modernist narrative” had dominated the labor history of the Copperbelt got him into a serious debate with historian Hugh Macmillan, who argues that none of the RLI writers subscribed to this narrative, and that it was later scholars who sympathized with urbanized Africans that propagated this idea.<sup>44</sup> This shows

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<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga*; Colson, *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*; Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*; Gluckman, *The Judicial Processes among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*; Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*; Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*; A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community*; J. Clyde Mitchell (ed), *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analysis of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns*..

<sup>42</sup> Ferguson, “Modernist Narrative: A critique of the Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt [part one],” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16 (1990): 386.

<sup>43</sup> Ferguson, “Modernist Narrative: A critique of the Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt [part one],” 386; James Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>44</sup> Hugh Macmillan, “The Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt — Another View,” *Journal of Southern Africa* 19 (1993): 681-712; Macmillan, “More Thoughts on the Historiography of Transition on the

how the Copperbelt and its relationship with rural areas had been a subject of serious academic and political debates for over 70 years.<sup>45</sup>

On the other hand, scholars have argued that in contrast to the rich pre-colonial and colonial history scholarship, postcolonial academic analysis was inadequate. Most of it is centered on the rhetoric about development, “the cultural hegemony of UNIP, its conflation with national interests, and a narrow focus on Zambia’s progressive diplomatic role in southern African affairs.”<sup>46</sup> Despite President Kenneth Kaunda’s rule failing to meet the independence expectations of most citizens, his declaring a one-party state in 1972, and people becoming disappointed and critical about his rule, academic scholarship remained muted.<sup>47</sup> Historian David Gordon argues that studies on Zambia in the 1970s and 1980s generally stressed structural forces rather than historical agency because the country was host to many “southern African liberation movements, and hence was a sympathetic home to some of the radical historians and social theorists of southern Africa.”<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, this period also saw the emergence of good historical works by Andrew Roberts, who built on Audrey Richards’s research on the Bemba speaking people

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Zambian Copperbelt,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22 (1996): 309-312; James Ferguson, “Modernist Narratives, Conventional Wisdoms, and Liberalism: Reply to a Straw Man,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 633-640.

<sup>45</sup> Macmillan, “The Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt,” 681.

<sup>46</sup> Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, Giacomo Macola, eds., *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill 2008), 3; for more on the nationalist scholarship, see R. Hall, *The high price of principles: Kaunda and the white south* (London, 1969); W. Tordoff (ed), *Politics in Zambia* (Manchester, 1974); J. Pettman, *Zambia: Security and conflict* (Lewes, 1974); D. G. Angling & T. M. Shaw, *Zambia’s foreign policy: studies in diplomacy and dependence* (Boulder, 1979) among others.

<sup>47</sup> David Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 20.

<sup>48</sup> Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History*: 20. Gordon gives an example of how Henry S. Meebelo’s argument that the failure of the Unions to embrace UNIP was the fought of the union’s megalomaniac leaders rather than UNIP’s authoritarian tendencies in *African Proletarians and Colonial Capitalism: The Origins, Growth and Struggle of the Zambian Labor Movement to 1964* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 415-550.



by exploring the Bemba polity.<sup>49</sup> Roberts later produced his classic book, *A History of Zambia*, in which he gives a thorough analysis of the people from the Stone Age to 1975.<sup>50</sup> The rest of the scholarship on the country in the 1970s and 1980s predominantly focused on land and labor issues, with a Marxist bias toward analyzing how colonialism, land grabbing and taxes disadvantaged local people.<sup>51</sup> Academic scholarship on Zambia considerably declined from the late 1970s to the 1990s probably due to the devastating fall of the copper-dependent economy that started in the late 1970s.<sup>52</sup>

In the early 1990s, academic scholarship started slowly moving away from the Marxist paradigm towards social history with a greater focus on the agency of the ordinary people. This is clearly emphasized in *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*, edited by Samuel Chipungu. Chipungu clearly states that scholarship on Zambia had started moving away from “theoretical and conceptual ‘group’ analytical frameworks of systems and peasantization to understanding the articulation of the individual within these broader theoretical constraints.”<sup>53</sup>

Chipungu’s edited volume was followed by a generation of refined anthropological scholars such as Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan, whose book *Cutting down trees: gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* analyzes agricultural change in the northern part of the country and argues that there has actually been no breakdown in kinship relations among the Bemba speaking people, as was claimed by Audrey Richards. The duo insists that social relations in the area “have been

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<sup>49</sup> Andrew Roberts, “Chronology of the Bemba,” *Journal of African History* 11 (1970): 221-240.

<sup>50</sup> Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: Africana, 1976.)

<sup>51</sup> Samuel Chipungu, ed., *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 2.

<sup>52</sup> Harri Englund, “Zambia at 50: The rediscovery of liberalism,” *Africa* 83 (2013): 670-689.

<sup>53</sup> Chipungu, ed., *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*, 2.

continuously and creatively reworked in the context of labor migration, cash cropping, and the wage economy.”<sup>54</sup> Around the same time, James Pritchett spent a long time in Mwinilunga, Northwestern Province, building on the work started by Victor Turner by providing detailed and complex notions of continuity and change on the Lunda-Ndembu people.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile the decline of the national economy led to James Ferguson’s critique of the already mentioned rural-urban grand paradigm.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Karen Tranberg Hansen focused on how impoverished ordinary people were coping with the economic decline through examining small-scale trading, and the booming transnational second-hand clothing business locally referred to as *Salaula*.<sup>57</sup>

In August 2005, a network of historians of Zambia called Network for Historical Research in Zambia (NHRZ) organized a conference in Lusaka whose theme was *Zambia Independence and After - Towards A Historiography*. Some selected papers presented in this conference were published in the book *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*. The editors of this book openly supported the perceived need to move away from the nationalist historiography that heaped praises on Kaunda and his UNIP government by stressing that:

The major contribution of this volume is to remind readers that Zambian post-colonial history does not amount to a history of UNIP and the developmentalist agenda, and that a fuller and more honest account of the country’s most recent past must place at the center of analysis the counter-

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<sup>54</sup> Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 233.

<sup>55</sup> James A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, Change, and Social Transformation in Central Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

<sup>56</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*.

<sup>57</sup> Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Salaula: the world of secondhand clothing and Zambia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000).

hegemonic political and religious histories and projects that stubbornly refuse to be silenced in the name of national unity.<sup>58</sup>

This book helped to change the direction of the country's postcolonial historiography. The emphasis of going beyond Kaunda and UNIP-centered scholarship in order to capture wider experiences of ordinary people earned this development a new name revisionist historiography.<sup>59</sup> This book resulted in the publishing of a number of interesting historical studies on politics, culture and society.<sup>60</sup> None of them focused on soccer, the most popular sport among ordinary people in the country.

Following the 2005 NHRZ conference, another important conference was held in Lusaka in September 2012, whose title was "Zambia 2014: Narratives of Nationhood."<sup>61</sup> This conference was organized in anticipation of the country's fiftieth anniversary and resulted into a special issue in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*. In this volume, scholars from different fields explore the Copperbelt, religious beliefs, social change, governance, development and social research with a reflection on "both the challenges and achievements of Zambia's research culture and of its history."<sup>62</sup> My study is an effort to join

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<sup>58</sup> Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, Giacomo Macola, eds., *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill 2008), 9.

<sup>59</sup> Miles Larmer, Marja Hinfelaar, Bizeck J. Phiri, Lyn Schumaker and Morris Szeftel eds., "Introduction: Narratives of Nationhood" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014): 895-905; Harri Englund, "Zambia at 50: The rediscovery of liberalism," *Africa* 83 (2013): 670-689.

<sup>60</sup> Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola eds., *Living the End of Empire: politics and society in late-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: spirits in a Central African history* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012); Miles Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics: a history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Walima T. Kalusa, "Death, Christianity, and African Miners: Contesting Indirect Rule in the Zambia Copperbelt, 1935-1962," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44 (2011): 89-112; Giacomo Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa: a biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Miles Larmer and Giacomo Macola, "The Origins, Context, and Political Significance of the Mushala Rebellion Against the Zambian One-Party State," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40 (2007): 471-496; Bizeck Jube Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: from the colonial period to the third republic* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006).

<sup>61</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker and Szeftel eds., "Introduction: Narratives of Nationhood." 896.

<sup>62</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker and Szeftel eds., "Introduction: Narratives of Nationhood." 905.

this larger conversation on “Zambia’s own history and how this should be understood in the context of regional and international change.”<sup>63</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that it is not easy to do scholarly research on Zambian society and provide coherent and intelligible work while avoiding some of the conventional themes that have continued to attract attention from scholars in the past. Historians of Zambia particularly face the challenge of researching and writing pre-independence history “without making it look like a dress rehearsal for independence, and post-independence narratives without making them look like waves of extolling achievements, or exhorting the failures to meet independence expectations.”<sup>64</sup> Similarly, anthropologist Harri Englund has challenged the revisionist historians, saying that they must go beyond the Kaunda and UNIP centered scholarship and not continue using revisionist debates as an excuse for ignoring marginalized histories.<sup>65</sup>

My study of football in Zambia comes at the right time in this debate because it captures the marginalized voices that have eluded the revisionist historiography for a long time. It will bring to life the voices and soccer experiences of ordinary people that have been missing in Zambian scholarship. Paying attention to social contexts through oral interviews has been key to achieving this goal. Scholars have argued that, it is important to pay attention to thought and language because “picking quotes out of newspapers won’t do” and have stressed the importance of paying attention to “local languages” arguing that “liberalism doesn’t always come speaking English.”<sup>66</sup> This study has also drawn on the

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<sup>63</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker and Szeftel eds., “Introduction: Narratives of Nationhood.” 896.

<sup>64</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker and Szeftel eds., “Introduction: Narratives of Nationhood.”

<sup>65</sup> Harri Englund, “Zambia at 50: The rediscovery of liberalism,” *Africa* 83 (2013): 670-689.

<sup>66</sup> David Gordon, Bizeck Jube Phiri, Gracomo Macola and James Ferguson, “Debating ‘the rediscovery of liberalism’ in Zambia: Responses to Harri Englund,” *Africa* 84 (2014): 658-667.

interdisciplinary literature on leisure in Africa as well as recent studies focusing on African actions, attitudes, meanings, and experiences in and around soccer.<sup>67</sup>

## CONTEXTUALIZING FOOTBALL IN AFRICAN HISTORY

During the past three decades, a number of academics have studied the history of leisure in Africa and have made rich scholarly contributions to the field. According to Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler, these studies focus on the history of radio and film, popular music, social drinking, courtship and romance, comic opera, conviviality, and the indigenization of Western sport in Africa.<sup>68</sup> Social historian Peter Alegi argues that the study of soccer complements this growing scholarship on leisure and popular culture in Africa.<sup>69</sup>

During the late nineteenth century, which one can fairly refer to as “an Age of Imperialism,” Africa became the most colonized and exploited continent among all the

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<sup>67</sup> See, for example, Allen Guttman, *Games & Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 63-69; Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 49-63; Paul Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism, and Resistance* (London: Frank Cass, 2002): 8-42; Brian Stoddart, “Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 649-673; Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1989); Alegi, *Laduma!* 49-63. For additional examples of the changing trends in African football studies in the English language, see: Leo Kuper, *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965): 347-364; Rémi Clignet and Maureen Stark, “Modernization and Football in Cameroon,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 (1974): 420; Phyllis M. Martin, “Colonialism, Youth and Football in French Equatorial Africa,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, (1991): 56-71; Ian Jeffrey, “Street Rivalry and Patron-Managers: Football in Sharpeville, 1940-1985,” *African Studies* 51 (1992): 68-94; Laura Fair, “‘Kickin’ it: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s-1950s,” *Africa* 67 (1997): 224-251; Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, eds., *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation, and Community* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Susann Baller, Giorgio Miescher and Ciraj Rassool, eds., *Global Perspectives on Football in Africa: Visualizing the Game* (London: Routledge, 2013); Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, eds., *Africa’s World Cup: Critical Reflections on Play, Patriotism, Spectatorship, and Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Chuka Onwumechili and Gerard Akindes, eds., *Identity and Nation in African Football: Fans, Community and Clubs* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>68</sup> Akyeampong, “Leisure in African History,” 2.

<sup>69</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 155.

colonies established by the European colonial powers.<sup>70</sup> Terence Ranger points out that although colonialism can be seen as a single coherent system, it had a variety of existential experiences that are not easy to grasp.<sup>71</sup> In his pioneering book *Dance and Society in East Africa 1890-1970*, Ranger builds on the work of James Clyde Mitchell and Hortense Powdermaker, among others, to explore “the origins, development, and diffusion of certain elements in popular culture in colonial eastern Africa in order to throw light on some of the realities of the colonial situation.”<sup>72</sup> He did this by focusing on Beni ngoma, a form of dance that evolved along the Swahili coast that use a variety of music based on the idea of military drill.<sup>73</sup> Ranger’s book helpfully centers African agency: “Europeans did not set out to produce Beni; did not produce Beni; and did not approve of it when it was produced.”<sup>74</sup> His work also reveals how Beni was connected with instances of protest in Central Africa and critiques early scholars, like Clyde Mitchell, who found “no protest dimension to Kalela,” a form of Beni dance.<sup>75</sup>

Twenty-five years later, Phyllis Martin expanded on Ranger’s study in East Africa with her seminal book *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, which explores how Africans appropriated leisure activities from French colonizers in the capital of French Equatorial Africa.<sup>76</sup> Martin stresses that this process was not straightforward, but rather complicated by the contests between Africans and Europeans over space, the definition, objectives, and control of leisure. For example, football had an irresistible attraction for the

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<sup>70</sup> Guttman, *Games and Empires* : 63.

<sup>71</sup> Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa*, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Ranger, *Dance and Society in East Africa*.

<sup>73</sup> Ranger, *Dance and Society in East Africa*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Ranger, *Dance and Society in East Africa*

<sup>75</sup> Ranger, *Dance and Society in East Africa*, 38.

<sup>76</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 103.

locals, but the locals' appropriation of the game quickly made French colonial administrators feel the need to assert greater control of the game among Brazzaville's African residents in order to prevent soccer meetings from being used as venues for political protest against colonial rule. Africans rejected this move.<sup>77</sup> Following Martin's book, Emmanuel Akyeampong published *Drink, Power and Cultural Change: A Social History of Alcohol in Ghana, c. 1800 to Present Times*, a landmark book which analyzes the ritual significance and social implications of changing alcohol use in Akan, Ga-Adangme, and Southern Ewe societies.<sup>78</sup>

Laura Fair produced *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890 - 1945* in which she explored how fashion, music, and football, created social identities, built cohesive communities, and provided opportunities for alternative discourses and power among former male and female slaves in Zanzibar.<sup>79</sup> The year FIFA, world soccer's governing body, awarded South Africa the hosting rights for the 2010 World Cup, Peter Alegi's classic book *Laduma! Soccer, Politics, and Society in South Africa* was published. It shed new light on black South Africans' appropriation and development of the game under colonialism, segregation, and apartheid, while also examining the dynamic role of the sport in shaping everyday lives in oppressed communities and also in challenging the brutal apartheid system.<sup>80</sup>

Marissa Moorman's *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times* is another important contribution to the field. According

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<sup>77</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 105.

<sup>78</sup> Emmanuel Akyeampong, *Drink, Power, and Cultural Change : a Social History of Alcohol in Ghana, C. 1800 to Recent Times* (Portsmouth NH ; Oxford: Heinemann; James Currey, 1996), 5.

<sup>79</sup> Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 236.

<sup>80</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 16.

to Moorman, “It is in and through popular urban music, produced overwhelmingly in Luanda’s *musseques* [townships], that Angolan men and women forged the nation,” despite the official version of Angolan history privileging formerly exiled guerilla freedom fighters.<sup>81</sup> Moorman argues that the people who gathered in clubs, parties, and homes to listen and dance to music formed an alternative space in which to assert “cultural sovereignty” outside colonial control and create a sense of emerging nationhood.<sup>82</sup> *Intonations* also stresses the role of technology in the form of radio broadcasts and the recording industry, what she calls “sonorous capitalism,” as “the motor that drove the development and spread of music as a medium for imagining the nation in late colonial Angola.”<sup>83</sup> The development of radio networks, phonographs, and vinyl discs provided the means by which people across Angola, including the rural outskirts, temporally connected with the urban issues in the songs raised.

This discussion shows how historians have continued to expand the field of African leisure and integrate it into mainstream Africanist historiography. African leisure studies have provided new opportunities for capturing a variety of existential experiences that are not easy to grasp. It has also provided alternative discourses as ways of understanding power in both colonial and postcolonial periods. As already mentioned, the scholarship on football (and sport generally) also stresses the centrality of African agency in the refashioning of a European pastime.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 198.

<sup>83</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 140.

<sup>84</sup> There were many forms of sport in pre-colonial African societies, see John Blacking, 1987 and Peter Alegi, 2010.



There is consensus among historians that European colonial agents—soldiers, sailors, traders, government officials, and missionaries—introduced modern sport to Africa for both locals and themselves.<sup>85</sup> Alegi refers to “the prophet of British Imperialism” Rudyard Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden” to reveal the colonial and commercial routes through which modern sport was introduced in Africa.<sup>86</sup> Britain led the way in spreading soccer, rugby, cricket, and other sports to Africa.<sup>87</sup> Other powers such as France, Belgium, Portugal and Italy trailed Britain because they lacked an established sporting culture and “were less certain than their British rivals that modern sport created moral fiber along with muscle mass.”<sup>88</sup> Therefore, British sports as practiced in English public schools moved across the British Empire in what can be seen as an “ethnocentric, civilizing and moralizing mission.”<sup>89</sup> Despite this European agenda, Africans quickly appropriated sport from their colonizers, indigenized it, and made it part of black popular culture.<sup>90</sup>

Despite this increasing production and enthusiasm for sport as a field of academic inquiry, not much scholarly work had been done on sport in Africa prior to the 1990s. According to anthropologist Bea Vidacs, the general problem of accepting sport as a legitimate and serious subject of study among academics is that some intellectuals see the pursuit of sports as “trivial, light without consequence and not on par with the grave

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<sup>85</sup> Guttman, *Games and Empires*: 63; Alegi, *Laduma!* 15; Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*: 1; Paul Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA : Politics, Colonialism, and Resistance* (London; Portland, OR: F. Cass, 2002): 9; Brian Stoddart, “Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1988): 812; Richard Holt, *Sport and the British : a Modern History* (New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1989).

<sup>86</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Guttman, *Games and Empires*, 2.

<sup>88</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 4.

<sup>89</sup> J. A Mangan, “Ethics and Ethnocentricity: Imperial Education in British Tropical Africa,” in *Sport in Africa : Essays in Social History* (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1987), 138.

<sup>90</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 49.

problems the continent [of Africa] faces from poverty and corruption through ethnic strife, civil war, genocide, to the abuse of power by the mighty, in short underdevelopment.”<sup>91</sup> However, in the last two decades the situation has changed; great strides have been made in analyzing African responses, attitudes and experiences to sports, and particularly to soccer.

One of the earliest social scientists writing about the game was N. A. Scotch, who published a brief but evocative article titled “Magic, Sorcery, and Football among the urban Zulu” in 1961.<sup>92</sup> Scotch describes how competitive soccer in Durban, South Africa, was both modern and traditional, as most teams employed *inyangas* (traditional doctors) to improve their chances of victory.<sup>93</sup> Around this time, sociologist Leo Kuper was also probing aspects of the game in Durban with the help of his research assistant, Bernard Magubane, mentioned earlier as one who later taught sociology at the University of Zambia while in exile. Part of this work was published in 1965 in a chapter on the challenges and successes of the Durban and District African Football Association under apartheid.<sup>94</sup> In 1974, anthropologists Remi Clignet and Maureen Stark’s work in post-colonial Cameroon considered how Cameroonian players, officials and fans navigated colonialism and modernization, and how this influenced football and larger societal structures and processes.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Bea Vidacs, “Through the Prism of Sports: Why Should Africanists Study Sports?,” *Afrika Spectrum* 41 (2006): 336.

<sup>92</sup> N. A. Scotch, “Sorcery, and Football among Urban Zulu: A Case of Reinterpretation under Acculturation,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5 (1961): 70-74.

<sup>93</sup> Scotch, “Sorcery, and Football among Urban Zulu,” 70-74.

<sup>94</sup> Kuper, *An African Bourgeoisie; Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa*: 347–364.

<sup>95</sup> Clignet and Stark, “Modernization and Football in Cameroon,” 420.

A dry spell of scholarly works on the game in Africa ensued until Tim Couzens and Ian Jeffrey, members of the History Workshop at Wits in South Africa, produced two valuable essays on soccer in South Africa.<sup>96</sup> More recently, African soccer has received considerable attention from across the social sciences. Sport scholar Paul Darby produced a major book and numerous journal articles focused on the international politics of African soccer at FIFA and in Africa.<sup>97</sup> Sociologists Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong's edited volume *Football in Africa* and anthropologist Bea Vidacs's publications on the Cameroonian game and identity complemented Peter Alegi's previously mentioned *Laduma!*<sup>98</sup> Alegi's second book, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game*, attempted to break down the national boundaries permeating the scholarly literature by using case studies in different regions of the continent, illustrating broader trends of Africanization, antiracism, anticolonialism, aspirations for nationhood, and the incorporation of the continent in a global football economy and culture shaped increasingly by media technology and transnational capitalism.<sup>99</sup>

In spite of the increased amount of research over the years, little has been written about the history of sports in Zambia, particularly soccer. Most of the works that have been done on sports in the country have focused on the sport-for-development (and peace)

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<sup>96</sup> Tim Couzens, "An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa." In B. Bozzoli (ed.). *Town and Country in Transvaal, 1883*, 198-214; Ian Jeffrey, "Street rivalry and Patron-Managers: Football in Sharpeville, 1940 -1985," *African Studies* 51, 1 (1992): 68-94.

<sup>97</sup> Paul Darby, "Football, Colonial Doctrine and Indigenous Resistance: Mapping the Political Persona of FIFA's African Constituency," *Culture, Sport, Society* (2000): 61-87; Paul Darby, "Africa, the FIFA Presidency, and the Governance of World Football: 1974, 1998, and 2002," *Africa Today* 50, no. 1 (2003): 3-24; Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance* (London: Frank Cass, 2002). Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance* (London: Frank Cass, 2002)

<sup>98</sup> Garry Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, *Football Cultures and Identities*; Bea Vidacs, "Football in Cameroon: a Vehicle for the Expansion and Contraction of Identity," *Culture, Sport, Society* 2 (1999): 100-117; Vidacs, "Through the Prism of Sports," *Afrika Spectrum*, 41: 331-349; Alegi, *Laduma!*

<sup>99</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*.

field.<sup>100</sup> Sport-for development is a social movement that emerged in the past three decades, and is based on “core assumptions that sport has potential to make a significant contribution to a range of complex global challenges such as human development, human rights, dispute resolution and reconciliation.”<sup>101</sup> This movement has two main focus areas: enhancing participation and performance in sport as an end in itself and using sport as a vehicle to achieve different social development goals.<sup>102</sup> The main drive in the emergence of this scholarship on the sport-for-development field had been the country’s proactive use of sport to sensitize communities about the dangers of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic, with Zambia having the highest presence of local and international non-governmental organizations implementing related interventions and projects.<sup>103</sup>

In his PhD thesis “Sport and the Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” Davies Banda reveals how the legacies of colonialism are still visible in the skewed manner in which sports infrastructure was developed in the country with most of them constructed along the line of rail. He also uses soccer as one of the three case studies in his analysis and

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<sup>100</sup> Bruce Kidd, “A new social movement: Sport for development and peace,” *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 11 (2008): 370-380; Davies Banda, “Zambia: government’s role in colonial and modern times,” *International Journal of Sport Policy*, 2 (2010): 237-252; Iain Lindsey and Davies Banda, “Sport, non-government organizations and the fight against HIV/AIDS,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (2010): 1-8; Oscar Mwaanga, “Understanding and Improving Sport Empowerment for People Living with HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” PhD Thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University (2011); Iain Lindsey and Alan Grattan, “An ‘international movement’? Decentering sport-for-development within Zambian communities,” *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4 (2012): 91-110; Simon C. Darnell and Lyndsay Hayhurst, “Hegemony, Postcolonialism and sport-for-development: a response to Lindsey and Grattan,” *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4 (2012): 111-124; Davies Banda, “Sport and the Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” PhD Thesis, Loughborough University (2013); Oscar Mwaanga and Davies Banda, “A Postcolonial Approach to Understanding Sport-Based Empowerment of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Zambia: The Case of the Cultural Philosophy of Ubuntu,” *Journal of Disability and Religion* 18 (2014):173-191.

<sup>101</sup> Banda, “Sport and Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” 3.

<sup>102</sup> Mwaanga, “Understanding and Improving Sport Empowerment for People Living with HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” 12.

<sup>103</sup> Banda, “Sport and Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” 3.

provides a brief historical account of the development of the game in the colonial and postcolonial period. Banda argues that political interference greatly affected how the beautiful game was run in both colonial and postcolonial period.<sup>104</sup>

Banda's work makes a good addition to the three journalistic books that have been written on soccer. Dennis Liwewe, a former Director of Public Relations for the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) Limited and radio and television football commentator, wrote *Soccer in Zambia* with an emphasis on the national team's participation and performance in international competitions.<sup>105</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, a sports journalist for the *Times of Zambia* and City of Lusaka FC player, self-published the second book: *The Zambian Soccer Scene*. It chronicles the historical development of organized football since 1922, when the Broken Hill Amateur Football Association was formed, to the late 1990s, highlighting important matches, players and administrators.<sup>106</sup>

Lewena self-published another book: *The Gabon Disaster: Zambia's Soccer Miracle* in which he narrates the tragic loss of the entire national team in the Gabon plane crash and the rebuilding of the national team that emerged as runners-up to Nigeria in 1994, a few months after the disaster.<sup>107</sup> The account is given more depth by Paul Darby in his piece "A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster, 1993."<sup>108</sup> In this article, Darby argues that the reduction of funding to the Football Association of Zambia by the government and

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<sup>104</sup> Banda, "Sport and Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 200.

<sup>105</sup> Dennis Liwewe, *Soccer in Zambia* (Monterey: Monterey Printing, 1985).

<sup>106</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene* (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing & Printing House, 2006), 85.

<sup>107</sup> Ridgeway Liwena ed., *The Gabon Disaster: Zambia's soccer miracle* (Lusaka: Ridgeway Liwena Publishing House, 1997).

<sup>108</sup> Paul Darby, "A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambia Air Disaster, 1993," *Soccer and Society* 5 (2004): 248-264.

the mining industry, in addition to administrative and political difficulties, created a context of vulnerability around the game in the country that culminated in the disaster.<sup>109</sup>

Following Liwewe and Liwena's work, Leah Komakoma in her Master's thesis explores how supporters of the English Premier League construct their identities based on their encounter with foreign teams/players and how they appropriate the meaning obtained through watching the league.<sup>110</sup> She argues that the local fans' interpretation of the English soccer premier league reveals negotiation of meaning in relationship with the local league.<sup>111</sup> My Master's thesis tracks the early history of the game and highlights the critical role of missionary education, colonial authorities, and mining industrialists in the building and popularization of the local game.<sup>112</sup> The lack of a detailed academic study of the history of football in Zambia is the main motivation for writing the political and social history of the game.

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

Just like in many other parts of the continent, colonial administrators, industrialists and missionaries introduced soccer towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in Zambia.<sup>113</sup> Christian missionaries were the first Europeans to settle in the area and introduced physical education and sport in the form of "muscular Christianity."<sup>114</sup> The colonization of the territory by the British South African (BSA)

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<sup>109</sup> Darby, "A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambia Air Disaster,," 261.

<sup>110</sup> Leah Komakoma, "An investigation into the identity among supporters of the English soccer league in Lusaka, Zambia," Master's Thesis Rhodes University (2005).

<sup>111</sup> Komakoma, "An investigation into the identity among supporters of the English league in Lusaka," 101.

<sup>112</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive football in Zambia," 50.

<sup>113</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia" 50.

<sup>114</sup> The ideal of "Muscular Christianity" evolved in Victorian England stressing a connection between "healthy" sport and the civilizing properties of Christianity.

Company towards the end of the 1890s led to an influx of European colonial administrators, industrialists, and traders who played the game during their leisure time in the emerging towns stretching from Livingstone in the south to the Copperbelt in the north (see map on page 13.)<sup>115</sup> These experiences opened up opportunities for urbanized Africans to appropriate soccer, to improvise equipment such as the balls and goalposts, and begin to play the game in their townships.<sup>116</sup>

However, as more Africans became interested in soccer in the colonial period, the game began to take a path of segregation. For instance, in 1922 a Broken Hill miner, William Nelson Watson, formed a whites-only Broken Hill Amateur Football Association (BHFA). In 1929, the BHFA evolved into the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA), which became an affiliate of the more racist South African Football Association (SAFA).<sup>117</sup> Nonetheless, by the 1930s, the game had become popular among urbanized Africans. The colonization of the country and the development of copper mines on the Copperbelt further led to massive industrialization, urbanization and population increases that provided fertile grounds for the popularization of soccer in African urban communities along the line of rail from Livingstone to the Copperbelt from the 1920s to the 1940s.<sup>118</sup>

This study is comprised of seven narrative chapters. Chapter 1 explores how the game emerged in the copper mining region—the Copperbelt. It examines how football diffused from Europeans and was adopted by local urbanized miners who turned it into a popular urban black culture. The chapter argues that mining and colonial capital on the

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<sup>115</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 3; Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 50.

<sup>116</sup> Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 49; Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*: 2.

<sup>117</sup> Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 52.

<sup>118</sup> Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 91.

Copperbelt introduced soccer through post-war welfare programs in the 1940s to control and “detribalize” African miners. However, Africans had already appropriated the game, and used the welfare system to further develop the game in their communities and sometimes to demand for more and better social services from authorities. The chapter also shows how football participation enabled newly urbanized Africans to build new urban networks and social identities, and gave some Africans leadership experience that became useful in the anti-colonial struggle.

Chapter 2 explores the conflict between segregated amateur football and the rise of racially integrated professional soccer professional football league in the final years of colonial rule. It reveals how the game played an understudied role in the fight for political independence and laid a widely accepted cultural foundation for building a sense of nationhood after 1964. It did so in several ways: by challenging racial segregation in sport installing blacks in prestigious administrative positions; making football a main feature of independence celebrations; and forging a common form of popular culture that connected people from different racial, ethnic, and geographical backgrounds. Chapter 3 examines the ways in which postcolonial leaders invested heavily, politically and economically, in the people’s game. President Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) took advantage of the massive popularity of soccer for social control and propaganda purposes and to engender national unity in a diverse country. The chapter shows that despite these sustained efforts, the UNIP government never gained full control over the game because ordinary citizens guarded their interests and compelled politicians to remain accountable in running the sport.



Chapter 4 extends this analysis into the 1970s and 1980s with a thorough examination of the impact of parastatal corporations' patronage on Zambian football and society. Following the postcolonial government's nationalization of companies, President Kaunda directed government companies and the armed forces (e.g. the army and police) to form strong teams and support the game. Even a catastrophic collapse of the economy failed to halt government-sourced financial investments in the national pastime deep into the 1980s. Chapter 5 breaks from a strict chronological approach by considering the key role of broadcast and print media in the postcolonial period in fostering Zambian soccer culture and a vernacular fan culture. It demonstrates that the cultural technology of radio popularized the game beyond urban industrial zones and into rural areas. This chapter also reveals how women managed to be a part of the soccer fever that gripped the nation after independence by showing their participation as spectators, active members of supporters' clubs, and later as players in a new Zambia Women's Football League.

Chapter 6 builds on the preceding chapter's thematic emphasis to probe the ways in which the game was localized or "Zambianized." As in other parts of the continent, this process involved cultural agency seen in the incorporation and use of *muti* (special medicine) and magic on and off the pitch. A blend of traditional and Christian spiritual beliefs and practices as well as newly scientific approaches characterized the changing nature of the local game. This chapter also considers the dark side of sport, such as poor officiating of matches; insufficient infrastructure; crowd disorder; and a culture of rivalry that sparked episodes of violence in the postcolonial period.

The final chapter looks at the game in the context of a spiraling economic crisis and the rise to power of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government of

President Frederick Chiluba in the early 1990s. It argues that Chiluba, an ardent soccer fan, was unable to support the game like his predecessor because of the neoliberal Structural Adjustment Program policies that his government had embraced. Specifically, the privatization of parastatal corporations and the demise of corporate sponsorship of sport resulted in the disbandment of football clubs (due to a lack of funds) and eventually to a marked decline of the standards of the game in the country. The conclusion revisits the main themes of the dissertation, stressing the striking role of everyday football activities in the personal and social lives of many ordinary urbanized men, and some women. It highlights the ways in which colonial and postcolonial governments and politicians attempted to use the massive popularity of the game to suit various interests, but also how local people blunted these attempts and retained considerable control of the game, if not financially then certainly in cultural and even political ways.

## CHAPTER 1: FOOTBALL AND SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE COPPERBELT, 1940s-1960s

Following the British South African (BSA) Company colonization of Zambia, and subsequent development of the Copperbelt, authorities were determined to keep urbanizing Africans under tight control to maximize their labor in the mines. They introduced welfare schemes with football as one of the main activities to help in controlling and “detribalizing” the increasingly restive urbanized African laborers.



Figure 2: The Copperbelt mining towns: Luanshya, Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira, Chingola and Chililabombwe

As stated in the introduction, there is no scholarly work on soccer that has been done despite the game’s widespread popularity on the Copperbelt. The social historian Peter Alegi points out that when Europeans introduced the game in Africa in the second

half of the nineteenth century, Africans were not passive victims on whom it was imposed; rather, local men (and perhaps some women) enthusiastically took to the game because “it was fun, inexpensive, and relatively easy to play.”<sup>119</sup> Drawing on archival documents, press articles, and original oral interviews, this chapter explores how and why African workers on the Copperbelt took advantage of post-war welfare schemes launched by the colonial state and mining authorities to enjoy the game and to challenge white authorities to deliver quality social services to the people. I argue that soccer gave Africans an opportunity to create new urban networks, build new community identities and add meaning to their social lives. They also used the game to build camaraderie and social exchanges with fellow colonized Africans in neighboring southern African colonies through soccer tours. Eventually, the game also enabled some men to gain leadership experience that would be crucial to the broader struggle for political independence.

Twenty minutes before full time in a 1962 semi-final Castle Cup match between Roan United and Nchanga Sports at Scrivener Stadium in Kitwe on the Zambian Copperbelt, fans of both teams were starting to lose patience.<sup>120</sup> Roan United supporters boosted themselves by chanting “*Roni iwine chungulo*” (Roan wins in the evening, meaning the dying minutes of a match). As the clock wound down, John Mulenga, popularly known as “Ginger Pensulo” after Ginger Stevenson, a white European on the Nchanga Sports team, collected a loose pass from the midfield. Mulenga dribbled past three defenders and fired a sizzling shot that the Nchanga Sports goalkeeper could not stop. It was the game-winning

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<sup>119</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 4.

<sup>120</sup> “Ginger Pensulo: A Striker with magic feet,” *Mining Mirror*, 4 March 1977.

goal. Roan United supporters honored their hero by chanting: “Ginger Pensulo, Ginger Pensulo, Ginger Pensulo.” Roan United had made it to the prestigious Castle Cup final.<sup>121</sup>

John “Ginger” Pensulo Mulenga, a star player for Roan United in the 1950s and 1960s, narrated in an interview 52 years later that he was born around 1934 in a village near Mansa, capital of Luapula Province in northern part of the country. (His national registration card, incorrectly and without explanation, shows a birthdate of June 1, 1937.<sup>122</sup>) His parents divorced soon after his birth. His mother later married another man by the name of Pensulo Mwaba, a first-aid worker at Roan Antelope Mine’s Shaft 14 in Luanshya.<sup>123</sup> Ginger Pensulo moved with his mother to Roan Antelope Mine Township and it was there in Section 5 in the early 1950s that Pensulo started playing the game. He played on community teams sponsored by mine welfare centers under the jurisdiction of the African Welfare Department, described in more detail below. In 1954, Pensulo’s talent drew the attention of recruiters for Roan Antelope’s amateur soccer club, which he joined and remained loyal to until his retirement from active sports in 1972.<sup>124</sup>

On the pitch, Ginger Pensulo’s clever footwork made him a difficult player to mark for opposing defenders. His technical prowess and dynamism made Pensulo an automatic first choice for the African side of the racially segregated mine soccer club. In 1957 during the Central African Federation, he was selected to play for the Copperbelt African Football Association select side against Southern Rhodesia in Salisbury (Harare). The following year, he was again selected to play against two clubs in Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) in the

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<sup>121</sup> “Ginger Pensulo: A Striker with magic feet,” *Mining Mirror*.

<sup>122</sup> The earlier date is the one given by his parents. Interview with John Ginger Pensulo, Luanshya, 7 March 2014.

<sup>123</sup> On how newly urbanized African miners settled in an urban social system on the Copperbelt, see A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

<sup>124</sup> Interview with Pensulo, Luanshya, 7 March 2014.

Belgian Congo. During the Copperbelt African Football Association select team's 1959 tour of the Union of South Africa; hosted by the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association, South African crowds labeled Pensulo a player with "magic feet."<sup>125</sup> He was the top scorer of the tour with nine goals.

Pensulo spent his entire adult life on Luanshya's Roan Antelope mines. He worked as a welfare assistant in the African Welfare Department, captained Roan United FC from 1965 to 1967, and later coached the club. He still lives in Luanshya, as of 2014, and remains one of the most celebrated soccer stars in country.<sup>126</sup> Pensulo's success was built on the rich soccer culture that developed on the Copperbelt beginning in the early 1920s.<sup>127</sup>

#### AFRICAN WELFARE PROJECTS ON THE COPPERBELT

The post-War period saw massive economic growth and urbanization on the Copperbelt and this, according to anthropologist James Ferguson, downgraded fears of another Depression-type economic collapse.<sup>128</sup> The increasing urban population meant that the mining companies and government had to acknowledge it as a fact, accept and plan a policy around it even though they had earlier resisted permanent African urbanization. From 1948 to 1964, mining companies and governmental bodies in Northern Rhodesia constructed over 100,000 houses for urban Africans at the cost of £32 million. Ferguson

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<sup>125</sup> "Ginger Pensulo: A Striker with magic feet," *Mining Mirror*.. This visit to apartheid South Africa may have originated in earlier tours such as the one analyzed in Peter Alegi, "Katanga Vs Johannesburg: a History of the First sub-Saharan African Football Championship, 1949-50," *African Historical Review* 31 (1999): 55-74.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>127</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 65; Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 26.

<sup>128</sup> Ferguson, "Mobile workers, modernist narrative," 603.

argues that around the same time, “recreational and sporting amenities and welfare facilities were greatly expanded in mine compounds.”<sup>129</sup>

Sendau Titus Tenga attributes this development to the British government’s realization that colonial domination required an ideological or cultural component to complement rule by force.<sup>130</sup> The Copperbelt strikes of 1935 and 1940 could also have played an important role in shaping these ideological approaches to the running of the mining towns on the Copperbelt.<sup>131</sup> Religious, educational, recreational, and sporting amenities were some of the measures colonial authorities came up with to “maintain the [political and] economic *status quo*.”<sup>132</sup> On the Copperbelt, the sociopolitical mix of commercial capital and colonialism thus involved the development of welfare schemes that British interests believed useful for modernizing and controlling increasingly restive African miners.

In addition to attempts at stabilizing African labor, mining authorities grappled with the difficult reality of managing urbanizing Africans. The leisure time and practices of Africans greatly bothered the mining authorities. Leisure life for many Africans in pre-industrial Zambia revolved around beer drinking in small and sizeable groups, flirting, having sexual affairs, performing traditional dances, visiting neighbors, telling folk tales and riddles and playing *nsolo*, a game played on the ground using small stones.<sup>133</sup> Looking further south, the pre-colonial athletic cultures of South African agrarian societies were

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<sup>129</sup> Ferguson, “Mobile workers, modernist narrative,” 603.

<sup>130</sup> Sendau Titus M. Tenga, *Globalization and Olympic Sport in Tanzania: A Development Approach* (Oslo: Norwegian School University of Sport and Physical Education, 200), 43.

<sup>131</sup> Julius Lewin, *The Color Bar in the Copper Belt* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1941), 4.

<sup>132</sup> Tenga, *Globalization and Olympic Sport in Tanzania*, 43.

<sup>133</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 225.

linked to gender- and age-based athletic norms, values, and practices rooted in traditional initiations, marriage celebrations, funerals, and other informal gatherings.<sup>134</sup> Scholars have also demonstrated that pre-colonial African societies had various forms of games and ritualistic dances that were performed with seriousness comparable to sports in modern industrial societies.<sup>135</sup>

When Africans settled on the Copperbelt, Europeans considered Africans' leisure activities and athletic contests as immoral and increasing misbehavior, crime and other destabilizing social acts.<sup>136</sup> The combination of cultural racism and quest for power compelled both colonial and mining authorities to increase the rate of "detrribalization" of Africans, helping them to settle down in "proper" modern urban communities in order to control their work and leisure, and blunt any potential political mobilization toward freedom and equality.

According to an urban African services report of 1961, the biggest obstacle to the "detrribalization" of Africans in mining towns was the heterogeneity of a workforce comprised of a mixture of people of many different ethnic backgrounds from disparate geographical areas. The British authorities' main goal was to assimilate the Africans to Western leisure by introducing local welfare programs integrated into every aspect of Africans' daily lives in order "to help them enter more positively into the pattern of urban life."<sup>137</sup> As Hortense Powdermaker, the U.S. anthropologist who conducted research in

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<sup>134</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 8.

<sup>135</sup> William J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, *Sport in Africa: essays in social history* (New York: Africana, 1987), viii.

<sup>136</sup> Samuel Chipungu, Mwelwa Musambachime, Chipasha Luchembe, Fay Gadsden, Ackson Kanduza, Yona Seleti & Albert Matongo (Ed) "Introduction," in *Guardians in their time : experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1.

<sup>137</sup> Report from the Committee appointed to review the financing of services and amenities provided for Africans in urban areas, Ndola, 1961, 12.7.3B, Mining and Industrial Archives, Ndola.



Lunanshya's Roan Antelope Mines in the 1950s, explained: "Management through the activities of its Welfare Department was obviously playing an important role in the induction of Africans into Western Culture."<sup>138</sup>

The origins of colonial welfare schemes for Africans date back to the late 1920s. In Luanshya's Roan Antelope Mines, for example, welfare centers were introduced in June 1929; a club hall for Africans opened in 1930, and a full-time welfare officer was employed. As part of this broader provision and regulation of African welfare, regular soccer and other ball games were organized, often with compound officials in attendance.<sup>139</sup> Similar social programs were successfully implemented in Johannesburg and Durban, South Africa, and Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, in the late 1920s and 1930s. These initiatives shared a belief that vigorous physical activities provided a "civilized" outlet for potentially violent behavior and offered an effective and inexpensive means of social control of newly urbanized African workers.<sup>140</sup>

During the post-War period these social projects expanded considerably. The Minister of Labor and Social Services instructed the Secretary of Native Affairs to form a Central Native Welfare Advisory Committee. Tasked with coordinating welfare work for African miners on the Copperbelt, the committee recommended the appointment of A. H. Elwell in 1944 as social welfare organizer. Elwell structured welfare activities by engaging qualified European welfare officers and increasing the number of activities offered in centers. This effort laid a strong foundation for African welfare services in Copperbelt mining towns. Through this restructuring process, Roan Antelope Mines in 1955 received

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<sup>138</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 112.

<sup>139</sup> Roan Antelope Mines Compound Manager's monthly report, Luanshya, 1941, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>140</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 61.

one qualified European welfare officer with a bachelor's degree in social sciences. Subcommittees such as the African Welfare Advisory Board arose in every mining town, usually working together with the African Urban Advisory Councils to give Africans a chance to participate in the operation of their own welfare activities in mining compounds.<sup>141</sup> Each compound was divided into "community units" made up of about 3000 to 5000 people that were served by one welfare center.

Welfare centers fell under the African Personnel Department, which employed senior welfare officers—usually white men aided by several black welfare assistants responsible for different sections. Welfare centers in mining townships provided a wide range of amenities, including sporting grounds, concert halls, community centers, facilities for handicrafts, domestic science classes, libraries, movies, radio broadcasts, and both childhood and adult education classes.<sup>142</sup> In Luanshya's Roan Antelope Mines welfare centers and elsewhere, "the most popular activity of all was sport, particularly football."<sup>143</sup>

Welfare centers paid more attention to sports probably because most of the colonial administrators were graduates of English public schools and universities where sport was believed to be central in building character. Historian Richard Holt argues that, "though public school sport was in the first instance not specifically intended to train the lieutenants of the Empire, it came rapidly to be seen in this light."<sup>144</sup> There is no doubt that English public schools maintained, administered, and generated imperial enthusiasm, with head teachers of the schools being the main agents of the hegemonic stimulus of the "games

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<sup>141</sup> Report of the Sub-Committee of the Central Native Welfare Advisory Committee, Kitwe, 1945-51, WP 1/5/1 Loc. 5266, National Archives of Zambia.

<sup>142</sup> Report of the Sub-Committee of the Central Native Welfare Advisory Committee.

<sup>143</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 107.

<sup>144</sup> Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a modern history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13.

ethic.”<sup>145</sup> While British colonial and mining officials, well-versed in the “game’s ethic,” intended to use the game to control Copperbelt workers’ labor and leisure, African miners had already appropriated the sport and were enjoying it in their compounds. As Allen Guttmann reminds us, while the “culturally dominated have often had sports imposed on them; they have also—perhaps just as often—forced their unwelcome way into sports from which the dominant group desired to exclude them.”<sup>146</sup> African miners on the Copperbelt forced their way into soccer before their European superiors introduced it to them. As Alegi points out, in many ways the history of soccer in Africa is the story of how Africans wrestled the control of the game away from Europeans who intended to use it as a “means to inculcate the values of colonial capitalism and the empire.”<sup>147</sup>

Around the same time as colonial and mining authorities were introducing welfare schemes on the Copperbelt, similar proceedings were taking place in the neighboring Katanga region in Belgian Congo. According to Alegi, the copper-mining giants Union Minière du Haut-Katanga (UMHK), the colonial government, and the Catholic Church formed a “colonial trinity” that sought to create a “disciplined, efficient, moral and healthy African working-class.”<sup>148</sup> Just as on the Zambian side of the Copperbelt, this political, economic, and religious alliance built around an ideology of “good health, good spirits and high productivity” projects that fostered the growth of Congolese soccer through the 1950 formation of the Elisabethville Football Association.<sup>149</sup> The colonial powers in Katanga and

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<sup>145</sup> James A. Mangan, *The Games ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal* (New York: Viking, 1986), 41.

<sup>146</sup> Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, 179.

<sup>147</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 15.

<sup>148</sup> Peter Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg: a History of the First sub-Saharan African Football Championship, 1949-50,” *African Historical Review* 31, no. 1 (1999): 56

<sup>149</sup> Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 57.

Zambian Copperbelt shared much not only copper mining technique, but also on how to control African labor to maximize copper production. On both sides of the border, the commercial and political authorities aimed to prevent political agitation, to “detribalize” the people, and to prohibit certain African leisure activities such as beer drinking and idling in the streets to ensure the stability of the labor force.<sup>150</sup>

Mining capital and colonial authorities formed local African Welfare Advisory Boards that worked with African Urban Advisory Councils to support the implementation of social welfare activities. While in many cases Africans resisted Europeans’ encroachment into their leisure time and space,<sup>151</sup> African miners on the Copperbelt accepted welfare programs because they were useful for organizing sports. They also used welfare structures to demand for the development of the game in their communities. Furthermore, local leaders could use these structures to question, challenge and rework the application of harsh colonial policies, as is illustrated in the anecdote below.

In one of the African Urban Advisory Council meetings in Ndola, an interesting and revealing interchange took place between the District Commissioner, R. T. Chickens, and Moses Mubiana, an African member of the council. During the meeting, Mubiana stated that, “welfare work in Ndola was dead” because soccer activities that were taking place earlier at welfare centers no longer existed. In his response, the District Commissioner explained that the problem with football at welfare centers in Ndola was that goalposts nets and soccer shoes were difficult to obtain. R. T. Chickens wondered why the game was not being played without nets. He also argued that even the lack of soccer shoes should not

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<sup>150</sup> Report of the Sub-Committee of the Central Native Welfare Advisory Committee, Kitwe, 1945-51, WP; Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 56.

<sup>151</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, “Leisure in African History,” 5.

be a problem because Africans play the game very well without shoes. The white official gave the example of a well-known player named John Kachozza who preferred playing without shoes and did so very well.<sup>152</sup>

Mubiana's question during this meeting reveals how Africans on the Copperbelt tried to work colonial welfare structures to their advantage by demanding football and basic social services and amenities in African communities. At the same time, the District Commissioner's response demonstrates the patronizing and racist attitudes of colonial administrators. It also calls attention to colonial aims of using welfare structures as avenues for diffusing tension and controlling Africans. The District Commissioner's comment is echoed in Phyllis Martin's work in French Equatorial Africa where French colonizers attempted to impose a ban on Africans wearing soccer shoes during matches in Brazzaville's segregated residential areas of Poto-Poto and Baongo to curb violence in African football after an African player broke a leg in an inter-club match and later died from complications resulting from the injury. Africans vehemently opposed this move, which almost led to the collapse of the European-led Native Sports Federation.<sup>153</sup>

Similarly in colonial Zambia, E. Sampa, a member of the African Urban Advisory Council, complained how the welfare officer in Kitwe did not draw up a proper program for soccer matches, and how he did not allow Africans to meet with him to tender their views on welfare matters. Lawrence Katilungu, another member of the council who later became the chairman of the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Union, supported Sampa, stressing that, "at present welfare was at low ebb and people did not know where and

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<sup>152</sup> Minutes of the Urban Advisory Council 1945-1947: "Dead Welfare Work, National Archives of Zambia", Ndola, 11 April 1946, WP1/1/4 Loc.5271, National Archives of Zambia.

<sup>153</sup> Phyllis Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 110.

when matches were to be played.”<sup>154</sup> The District Commissioner and meeting chair, P. D. Thomas, replied that it was about time when welfare should be taken over by committees made up of Africans. He proposed that the District Officer should hold meetings in all-African compounds to explain and set up these new committees. Katilungu rejected the Commissioner’s suggestion during the meeting, arguing that Africans should not be doing the work that a [European] welfare officer is paid to do. All council members supported Katilungu and the District Commissioner kept quiet on the matter.<sup>155</sup>

Football’s importance enabled Africans to hold welfare officers accountable for not providing proper programs. The exchange of words between Katilungu and the District Commissioner again demonstrates how at times Africans used the game to challenge colonial authority and rework the implementation of colonial policies. Despite the District Commissioner proposing that the responsibility for organizing soccer should be in the hands of African committees, Africans led by Katilungu rejected the proposal, demanding that European welfare officers should do the work that they were paid to do.

Structures such as the African Welfare Advisory Boards and the African Urban Advisory Councils gave Africans an opportunity to participate in the organization of their own social activities, including football. Participation in welfare activities also gave Africans essential leadership experience they needed later for the liberation movement. The network of African welfare centers on the Copperbelt not only laid a firm foundation for African soccer, but also transformed Copperbelt sports into training grounds for African political leaders.

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<sup>154</sup> Minutes of the Kitwe African Advisory Council: “Africans Have No Confidence in Kitwe area Welfare Officer,” 2 August 1951, WP1/1/21 Loc. 5266, National Archives of Zambia.

<sup>155</sup> Minutes of the Kitwe African Advisory Council: “Africans Have No Confidence in Kitwe area Welfare Officer.”

The network of African welfare centers led to the emergence of two powerful movements that troubled colonial and mining authorities: the union movement among African miners and African political parties. Anthropologist A. L. Epstein points out that trade unionism among mine employees attracted a lot of attention and to some extent alarmed mining and colonial authorities.<sup>156</sup> He stresses how leading members of welfare societies on the Copperbelt became key leaders in the African Mine Workers Trade Union that was established in 1949.<sup>157</sup> Lawrence Katilungu, for example, went from directly challenging the District Commissioner over soccer activities in Kitwe to assuming the mantle of leadership of the powerful and assertive Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Union<sup>158</sup> While Katilungu was not directly involved in the independence struggle, the network of African welfare centers helped to foster the leadership of the African mineworkers' union.

Another important figure was Godwin Mbikusita-Lewanika. A member of the Kitwe District African Urban Advisory Council and Welfare Advisory Board, he became the first president of the first political party in the country: the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, formed in 1948. Then there was Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, Lewanika's successor as president of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (until the late 1950s) who cut his political teeth on Copperbelt welfare structures, sat on the Kitwe Urban

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<sup>156</sup> A. L. Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life: Collected Copperbelt Papers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 42.

<sup>157</sup> Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life*, 47.

<sup>158</sup> The Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Union represented African miners on the Copperbelt, fought for the improvement of wages and working conditions and played an important role during the struggle for independence.

Advisory Council, and was also a referee for the Copperbelt African Football Association.<sup>159</sup>

Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of independent Zambia worked for the Welfare Department at Nkana Mine from 1947 to 1948.<sup>160</sup>

These prominent men exemplify why Africans on the Copperbelt did not reject the welfare scheme. Instead, certain individuals and interests used welfare structures for a variety of reasons: to foster soccer development; rework and occasionally challenge harsh colonial policies; and gain leadership experience crucial for the independence struggle.

#### THE COPPERBELT AFRICAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION: GROWTH AND CHANGE

The introduction of social welfare centers became a turning point in the social lives of many urbanized Africans on the Copperbelt. Mining companies persuaded miners to send their children and dependents to welfare centers in order to prevent what authorities deemed mischievous or disorderly activities, such as loitering in the streets, drinking alcohol, and theft.<sup>161</sup> The magnetism of soccer in welfare centers led to the emergence of several competing local clubs formed by miners and their dependents.

The clubs both symbolized and embodied the start of a new life for urbanized, wage-earning Africans. As in the mines of South Africa, workers in colonial Zambia “adopted British soccer to cope with the dislocations of urbanization and build vital alternative networks” in urban, industrial settings.<sup>162</sup> This social and economic change, from rural to

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<sup>159</sup> Giacomo Macola, “Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, UNIP and the roots of authoritarianism in nationalist Zambia,” in *One Zambia Many Histories: toward a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 20; Godwin Mwangilwa, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula: A biography of the old lion of Zambia*, (Lusaka, Multimedia Publications, 1982) 21.

<sup>160</sup> Elena Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence* (Oxford, 1974), p.92.

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Abraham Nkole, Mufulira, 11 June 2012.

<sup>162</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 19.



urban, also required men to re-create their identities and communities, which most did by relying on their ethnic and cultural links. This pattern of social change is reflected in Laura Fair's work on the game in Zanzibar, which showed how Zanzibari men were not just captivated by the sport, "but the way in which individual, neighborhoods, and community identities could be generated and expressed through sport."<sup>163</sup> Similarly, soccer on the Copperbelt helped Africans forge new networks and communities in the mining compounds.

The colonial government and mining employers regarded African miners as transitory visitors to the mines who remained attached to their "tribal land and institutions."<sup>164</sup> This led to the appointment of "tribal elders" in mining compounds and municipal townships to settle disputes involving cultural issues.<sup>165</sup> While there is no clear evidence linking colonial and mining officials with encouraging ethnic segregation within African mining compounds and leisure activities such as sports on the Copperbelt, most early African teams were organized along ethnic lines. Ginger Pensulo argues that there was serious ethnic segregation between different groups of African miners on the Copperbelt that was reflected in the game being played along ethnic lines. Pensulo stresses that the emergence of welfare centers played an important role in bridging these ethnic divisions in soccer in Luanashy's Roan Antelope African mining compound. This tendency helps explain why early African clubs were often named after the ethnic origins of the founders, for example, Kazembe represented miners from Mwata Kazembe's kingdom, Tanganyika the migrant workers from the Lake Tanganyika area, Nyasa the men from

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<sup>163</sup> Laura Fair, *Pastimes and politics: culture, community, and identity in post-colonial Zanzibar, 1890-1945* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 247.

<sup>164</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 202.

<sup>165</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 2002.

Nyasaland, Bisa those from Bisa-land and so on.<sup>166</sup> Pensulo remembers how Bisa and Kazembe dominated the African game in Luanshya. He stressed that there was great rivalry between these two clubs that attracted large numbers of supporters from the mining compounds and the government locations until the mid-1940s when ethnic clubs started diminishing—a process that will be described in more detail in the next section.<sup>167</sup>



Figure 3: Bisa No. 2 team of Luanshya. Source: *Mutende*, October 1937, p. 16.

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<sup>166</sup> "Football in Luanshya," *Mutende*, October, 1937 p 16.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

Copperbelt mining towns were inhabited by four groups of people: Europeans, who lived in privileged, developed and beautiful residential areas of each mining town, Europeans who lived in privileged municipal suburbs, African miners who were largely uneducated and lived in mining townships, and African municipality employees, clerks, teachers and house servants who lived in government locations. Occupations divided Africans into mining townships and government location dwellers.

According to Joseph Mwansa, who grew up in Wusakile mining township of Kitwe in the 1940s and 1950s, Europeans working for the municipality lived in Park Lands, while those working for the mines lived in Nkana East and Nkana West. Africans that worked for Europeans as house servants, sarcastically referred to as *bakaboyi* (house servants), lived in nearby government locations of Buchi and Kamitondo. African miners, on the other hand, lived in mining townships in Wusakile and Chamboli, not far away from the mining shafts.<sup>168</sup> Mining townships were usually less developed, overcrowded and either located near noisy mining shafts or smelters that produced smelly, overpowering sulfur dioxide locally known as *senta*. Government locations, on the other hand, were also crowded and usually in the worst areas of towns near smelly sewage streams or dams.

Scholars have argued that, “issues of economy, society and culture are inextricably intertwined.”<sup>169</sup> For example, Europeans living in Park Lands, a municipal suburb, played their sports and soccer at the exquisite Kitwe Playing Fields in Kitwe, while those living in the mine suburbs such as Nkana East and Nkana West, played their sport at the fine-looking Nkana FC grounds, later referred to as Diggers Rugby Club. African miners played their game at Rhokana Stadium in Wusakile Township, where they lived. Non-miners who

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<sup>168</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

<sup>169</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 52.

lived in the location played their game at Buchi Stadium. Interestingly, the two groups of Africans did not get along with each other. According to Joseph Mwansa, miners considered all those who lived in government locations as *bakaboyi* regardless of whether they were teachers, council employees, or policemen. Non-miners, on the other hand, referred to miners as “*fishimine*” associating miners with illiteracy and hard labor. These differences became very visible in local derby matches between archrivals Kitwe United FC, located in the Buchi government location, and Rhokana FC, located in Wusakile Mining Township.<sup>170</sup> These differing residential settings and soccer rivalries between miners and non-miners were visible in almost all Copperbelt mining towns from the 1940s to the 1960s.

Those who were miners had to juggle their mining jobs and soccer. Dickson Makwaza, the longest-serving national soccer team captain (1967-1975), told me how in the early 1960s as a young miner he shuffled from the mineshaft at Mufulira Copper Mines to Mufulira Mine Football Club grounds.<sup>171</sup> Around this time, mining companies provided their soccer-playing employees with transport to and from the mines to the sports fields, but little else. African clubs were self-supporting. They raised funds through membership fees, gate takings, and selling refreshments at big games. Sometimes a club chairman would use his money to purchase jerseys and other equipment from a local shop. On other occasions, chairmen made loans to the club to be repaid later out of money won in competitions, fundraising, gate takings, and even selling alcohol and foodstuffs during

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<sup>170</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

<sup>171</sup> Interview with Dickson Makwaza, Lusaka, 12 June 2012.

matches.<sup>172</sup> Players usually bought their own second-hand soccer shoes from Europeans until the mid-1960s after independence when Copperbelt welfare programs started supporting athletes with sports equipment such as boots and jerseys.<sup>173</sup>

According to historian Charles Ambler, the Northern Rhodesian colonial authorities passed a policy that prohibited locals' production and selling of grain beer as early as the 1930s. Grain beer was only to be brewed and sold by municipalities, and profits from the sales of beer were to be dedicated to the provision of basic amenities in African traditional areas in form of Beer Hall Amenities Fund. Ambler argues that, "in other words beer hall proceeds would foot the bill for maintaining a strict racial system of residential segregation" in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>174</sup>

As African miners' enthusiasm for the game grew, mining companies used the Beer Hall Amenities Fund to expand their support for the game in the mining areas. In addition to supplying equipment to welfare centers and clubs, a number of fenced soccer pitches were built, and nets and balls were purchased with funds from the Beer Hall Amenities Funds that were approved by the District Commissioner's office.<sup>175</sup> Therefore, the money that was used to finance soccer activities in Copperbelt mining towns came from miners' pockets through the Beer Hall Amenities Fund. Bennie Evans, Roan Antelope's Sports Officer, attributed the Copperbelt's success with sports to the availability of these sporting facilities provided by the mines in the towns. "Few places in the world can boast of such

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<sup>172</sup> Letter from Compound Manager to G. R. Onions District Commissioner, Luanshya, 1937, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>173</sup> Interview with Makwaza.

<sup>174</sup> Charles Ambler, "Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia," *Journal of African History*, 31 (1990): 296.

<sup>175</sup> Letter from Compound Manager to G. R. Onions District Commissioner, Luanshya, 1937, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

lavishly provided sports facilities at such a reasonable cost to sports men," he said in reference to European sports facilities.<sup>176</sup>

As competitive soccer began to thrive in African communities on the Copperbelt, in 1937 the Governor of Northern Rhodesia decided to start sponsoring the Governor's Cup.<sup>177</sup> In the past, the Governor had always attended the Cup final with an entourage of colonial administrators and mining company officials. Qualification matches for the Governor's Cup were played in each mining town (district), and then the winners played inter-district to decide the semifinalists and finalists.<sup>178</sup> Other important cup competitions at the time included the Colony Cup, Spearpoint Cup, and the Waddington Cup, which was named after Sir John Waddington, Governor of Northern Rhodesia from 1941 to 1947.<sup>179</sup>

The growing passion for the game among Africans and colonial investment through Beer Hall Amenities Funds led to the opening in 1948 of the Copperbelt African Football League (CAFL), with clubs from Ndola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Mufulira and Chingola. The newly formed league required each district to have two clubs.<sup>180</sup> At Roan Antelope, the best players were selected to form one big club called Roan African Football Club (Ginger Pensulo's team discussed earlier). Clubs in Luanshya's government locations formed Luanshya Buffaloes.<sup>181</sup> The first division Copperbelt soccer clubs featured Mufulira Tigers, Mufulira Styles, Chingola Dynamos, Chingola Orients, Kitwe Lions, Kitwe Tigers, Ndola Home Defenders and Ndola Black Follies.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Sundowner, "Football on the Copperbelt," *Horizon*, January 1963, p. 35.

<sup>177</sup> "The final of the Governor's Cup," *Mutende*, October, 1937 p 16.

<sup>178</sup> "The final of the Governor's Cup," *Mutende*.

<sup>179</sup> Mufulira Welfare Officer's Report, Mufulira, 1945-47, WP 1/9/1 Loc. 5277, National Archives of Zambia.

<sup>180</sup> "Copperbelt African Football," *Mutende*, 7 February 1950.

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>182</sup> Copperbelt African Football Association," *Mutende*, November 1969.

The Copperbelt African Football league increased competition and the demand for talented players, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, led to the end of ethnically divided in Copperbelt African mining townships. Talented players were highly sought by each club to strengthen and dominate the district and the province. The new clubs represented mining companies, mining compounds, government locations, councils, towns and districts. Players in these new clubs were predominantly talented low and middle-income miners, clerks, council workers and teachers who resided in either mining townships or government locations. By the end of 1958, the CAFL had expanded and the Copperbelt was divided into two regions with twelve clubs competing in each region.<sup>183</sup>

Colonialism, capitalism and the growth of cities in British Central Africa changed the nature of African leisure and introduced differences in the conceptualization and control of leisure time and space.<sup>184</sup> While urbanized Africans found wage employment beneficial, workers fought hard and contested colonial endeavors to redefine their leisure time and space.<sup>185</sup> “It was this combination of leisure as a site of activity and reflexivity in the context of colonial rule and capitalism,” historians Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler remind us, “that infused leisure with meanings that worried both capital and the colonial government.”<sup>186</sup> Consequently, the emerging popularity of the game on the Copperbelt became a concern for both the colonial government and the mining companies.

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<sup>183</sup> The first league was made up clubs such as Mufulira Mine, Luanshya All Blacks, Nchanga Mine, Kitwe Lions, and Ndola Black Follies and the second league was made up Rhokana United, Roan Mine, Mufulira Black Pool Bancroft Mine, Chingola Orphans, and Ndola.

<sup>184</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, “Leisure in African History,” 7.

<sup>185</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, “Leisure in African History,” 8.

<sup>186</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, “Leisure in African History,” 9.

In the late 1930s, this anxiety led to the formation of a committee to oversee and control African soccer.<sup>187</sup>

During the preparations for the Governor's Cup in 1936, the Senior Provincial Commissioner for Central Province proposed the formation of a committee to oversee the organization of the Governor's Cup and gain firm control over African soccer on the Copperbelt.<sup>188</sup> The all-white committee was comprised of C. F. Spearpoint, long-serving Compound Manager at Roan Antelope; H. J. Henderson, Compound Manager at Mufulira Mines; H. Franklin from Broken Hill, and G. S. Jones, from Ndola. The committee held its first meeting in Ndola on April 26, 1937, to plan how to supervise and manage African soccer. G. S. Jones, the secretary of the committee, wrote that:

This committee constitutes itself a committee for the control and organization of Native football in Western Province and the Broken Hill District of Central Province... League Football will be organized and controlled by local committees, which will include natives, cooperating with this central committee. All disputes, misconduct, breaches of the rules are to be referred to this central committee whose decision shall be final.<sup>189</sup>

In its initial phase, profits which colonial and mining authorities made from selling tea and other foodstuffs to African miners and their families at welfare centers' canteens financed the committee. Again, money from African miners' pockets was used to finance the Native Committee. Later, the funds came from a variety of sources, such as the Native Amenity Fund discussed earlier, District Football Associations' affiliation fees (Mufulira, Ndola,

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<sup>187</sup> Minutes, Native Football Committee, Ndola, 26 April 1937, SEC 2/174, National Archives of Zambia.

<sup>188</sup> Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Central Province, to the District Officer in charge of Luanshya, Ndola, 1936, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>189</sup> Minutes, Native Football Committee, Ndola, 26 April 1937, SEC 2/174, National Archives of Zambia.



Chingola and Luanshya), and gate takings from the Colony Cup, and local and international tournaments.<sup>190</sup>

The white-run Native Football Committee helped the Northern Rhodesian government to tightly monitor the game in black communities on the Copperbelt and also in Broken Hill, farther south. This evidence from colonial Zambia supports other historians' conclusions that, "by 1948 no other urban cultural practice in Africa matched soccer's force as a conduit for leisure, social control and popular expression."<sup>191</sup> White tutelage in soccer was hardly unique to Northern Rhodesia. In colonial Brazzaville, for example, French colonialists imposed tighter control on African soccer for fear that Africans would use soccer gatherings as an avenue for anticolonial rebellion.<sup>192</sup> Indeed, colonial and capital authorities were never able to completely control African leisure spaces, practices, and beliefs; "workers or commoners forged an alternative version of society, of time and space, and ideology that sought to comprehend the structures of colonial and capitalist exploitation."<sup>193</sup> Despite the intrusiveness and top-down control imposed by Europeans, urbanized Africans on the Copperbelt continued organizing and playing their own brand of the game.

Tom Mtine, probably the most prominent Zambian soccer administrator during the colonial and post-colonial period, said that despite European meddling in African soccer, the actual development of the game in African communities on the Copperbelt was initiated

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<sup>190</sup> Minutes, Native Football Committee, Ndola, 26 April 1937, SEC 2/174, National Archives of Zambia, Copperbelt African Football and Athletics Association Expenditure and Revenue, Ndola, 31 December 1951, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola

<sup>191</sup> Alegi, "Katanga Vs Johannesburg," 73; Akyeampong and Ambler, "Leisure in African History," 7.

<sup>192</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 105.

<sup>193</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, "Leisure in African History," 9.

and developed by Africans themselves.<sup>194</sup> He argued that the emergence of organized soccer in urban African communities on the Copperbelt was a result of massive interest in the game from the local people.<sup>195</sup> Mtine stressed that it was this interest and enthusiasm from individual Africans to organize and enjoy the game at higher levels that compelled “local authorities to get interested in the game and led to the creation of more clubs that either represented the interests of various local authorities or other stakeholders.”<sup>196</sup> In truth, Mtine’s view might be more applicable in Ndola, where mining companies had less of a presence. Unlike the urban areas on the Copperbelt, Ndola was not a full-time mining town. However, it is evident that even in major mining towns like Luanshya, people’s growing enthusiasm for the game compelled companies to fund the sport, as in the case of the formation of a Native Football Committee.

The Native Football Committee evolved to suit its purpose and the changing circumstances. In 1938, for example, it changed its name to Central Football Committee, probably to assert itself as the official African soccer committee in the region. While there was no other soccer organization that was challenging the Central Football Committee, it was important for the committee to include “African football” in its name to show that despite its being made up only of Europeans, it was in charge of the African game. In 1940, the committee changed its name again to the Copperbelt and Broken Hill African Football Association to distinguish itself from the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association that governed white soccer on the Copperbelt and parts of Katanga.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Interview with Tom Mtine, Ndola, 11 September 2008.

<sup>195</sup> Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 54; Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 73.

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Mtine.

<sup>197</sup> D. Coyle, “Big year for athletics and football on the Copperbelt,” *African Life*, December 1958.

As the Northern Rhodesian African soldiers of the East African Carrier Corps returned from WW II, the previously white-run Copperbelt and Broken Hill African FA allowed Africans to serve on the executive committee for the first time.<sup>198</sup> Then in 1949, the Broken Hill district of central province decided to withdraw from the association because the distance members had to travel made it difficult to attend meetings. (This led to the change of name from Copperbelt and Broken Hill African Football and Athletics Association to Copperbelt African Football and Athletic Association.) In 1960, the association eventually split into two separate soccer and athletics bodies: the Copperbelt African FA (CAFA) and the Copperbelt African Athletics Association.<sup>199</sup> CAFA became affiliated with the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association and became the ruling body of the local game from Kapiri Mposhi to the border with Katanga.<sup>200</sup> Around the same time, CAFA conducted elections and elected R. Howie as president, Jimmy Fleming as chairman, Ben Evans as vice-president, and Tom Mtine—the only African—as secretary.<sup>201</sup>

The institutional reorganization of Copperbelt African soccer brought a lot of positive changes. The association now required one European and one African to represent each of the six districts. This change opened doors for Africans like Tom Mtine, a renowned Ndola based businessman who was elected to the post of secretary of the association. It also allowed other African soccer administrators like Musa Kasonka, a former goalkeeper for Chingola Eleven Wise Men, to be elected as vice-chairman of the

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<sup>198</sup> Coyle, “Big year for athletics and football on the Copperbelt.”

<sup>199</sup> “Two bodies to organize athletics and football,” *African Life*, March 1960

<sup>200</sup> Draft Constitution for the Copperbelt African Football Association, Ndola, 5 March 1961, 15.1.7E Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>201</sup> “Two bodies to organize athletics and football,” *African Life*, March 1960.

association.<sup>202</sup> Kasonka was also team manager for the CAFA select team that toured Johannesburg in 1959.<sup>203</sup> It was not common at this time for an African to acquire a leadership position in an organization with Europeans. In fact, CAFA was one of the first institutions in colonial Northern Rhodesia to open leadership positions to both Africans and Europeans. This transformation gave Africans a taste of equality and strengthened self-confidence for asserting political independence.

#### SUPPORTERS CLUBS ON THE COPPERBELT

By 1956 Northern Rhodesia was ranked second only to the United States in world copper production.<sup>204</sup> At the same time, the British government created the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 by merging Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland into one administrative unit. The Federation was strongly resisted by Africans and only lasted ten years.<sup>205</sup> Meanwhile in 1953, the four largest mines of Rhokana, Nchanga, Mufulira and Roan Antelope entered their teams into the Copperbelt African Football League. These new entries boosted the competition.<sup>206</sup> These four mining teams would come to dominate the Zambian soccer scene for four decades.

As shown above, soccer was growing on the Copperbelt with several clubs playing matches every Sunday in the mining compounds and government locations. Two to three thousand Africans participated in soccer activities in mining compounds every Sunday as

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<sup>202</sup> "Vital African football conference," *Roan Antelope*, 4 February, 1961.

<sup>203</sup> Interview with Derrick Kasonka, Lusaka, 2 January 2014.

<sup>204</sup> Butler, *Copper Empire*, 194.

<sup>205</sup> Butler, *Copper Empire*, 194. As the Copperbelt was the richest region in the federation, it made substantial economic contributions to the running of the federal government.

<sup>206</sup> Letter from the Copperbelt African Football and Athletic Association to the Secretary N.R. Chamber of Mines, Kitwe, 1954, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

players, coaches, officials and supporters.<sup>207</sup> The game became an inescapable feature of social life on the Copperbelt. Miners and other residents played, watched and used soccer “to build patronage networks and alliances, as well as to legitimize their activities” such as hanging-out, beer drinking and even meeting after matches to strategize on how to cope with colonial oppression.<sup>208</sup>

Because of the game’s growth in popularity, the lack of enclosed sports grounds sparked a demand by the Copperbelt African Football and Athletics Association executive committee that each mining town should provide at least one such facility. This assertive demand compelled mining authorities to construct the first stadiums: Roan Antelope’s Kafubu Stadium; Rhokana’s Scrivener Stadium; Nchanga’s Gabbitas Stadium; and Mufulira’s Shinde Stadium.<sup>209</sup> Every weekend, more than 2,000 spectators frequented these newly built arenas to watch their favorite clubs in the Copperbelt league.<sup>210</sup> In 1958 David Coyle, the then-chairman of the Copperbelt African Football and Athletic Association declared that, “there is no sport today, which is more popular among Africans than soccer. Every Sunday afternoon, thousands of people in every copper mining camp flock to the local stadium to see football.”<sup>211</sup> Tom Mtine also boasted that, “my association has been in control of adult African football on the Copperbelt since 1937, and caters for the entertainment of something like 50,000 African spectators weekly.”<sup>212</sup> While the exact

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<sup>207</sup> Roan Antelope Mines Compound Manager’s monthly report, Luanshya, 1941, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>208</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 3.

<sup>209</sup> D. Coyle, “Big year for athletics and football on the Copperbelt,” *African Life*, December 1958.

<sup>210</sup> “Rhokana beat Mufulira in battle of giants,” *African Life*, December 1958.

<sup>211</sup> David Coyle: Chairman Copperbelt African Football and athletic Association, “Big Year for Athletics and Football on Copperbelt,” *African Life*, December 1958.

<sup>212</sup> Letter from Copperbelt African Football Association to the Secretary Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, Ndola, 1960.

figures are difficult to confirm, the massive popularity of the game was there for everyone to see. Powdermaker observed that sports, particularly soccer, track, and high jumping, were the most popular leisure activities.<sup>213</sup> Without question, by the 1950s the game had become a major part of African urban popular culture.

Local teams acquired large numbers of fans that formed powerful supporters clubs with intense rivalries between them. Joseph Mwansa, a former Rhokana United player in the 1950s, remembers intense rivalries between two Kitwe clubs: Rhokana United based in Wuzakile Township and Kitwe United based in Buchi, discussed earlier. Every time the two clubs met, the atmosphere was tense. At times this animosity resulted in fistfights between the two rival camps of supporters.<sup>214</sup> These violent incidences and the unruliness of soccer fans became worse in the early 1960s, resulting in serious injuries, and prompted the authorities to temporarily close some stadiums.

Although everyone was free to join supporters clubs, the majority of club members were male miners who lived in the compounds and a few men from government locations. According to Joseph Mwansa, very few women were registered supporters' club members in the 1950s. The women who did participate were usually close friends or girlfriends of senior mine officials, ticket sellers and mine clerks. Mwansa speculates that the reason behind the absence of women could have been linked to the fact that supporters' clubs were closely linked to miners' shifts and cohorts that excluded women. Miners inhabited a deeply masculine world in which soccer events on the weekends presented opportunities to continue debates and chats they had during the week in the mines. In this context, there

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<sup>213</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 107

<sup>214</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

were few chances for women to join in. Nevertheless, many women did join supporters clubs in the mid-1960s after independence.

While supporters' clubs got transport and some minimal support from the mines, they were independent bodies. Leaders for the supporters' clubs were elected based on their prominence and status in community and soccer affairs. Joseph Mwansa gives an example of how Rhokana supporters' elected Muhango, an illiterate man with a stand at Wuzakile Market who was very influential in the community. He sold tea and bread to miners on their way to a shift underground. Every morning, Muhango enthusiastically engaged almost every miner who passed by his stand on matters related to Rhokana FC. Muhango's daily conversations about the team's performance and pride in the club put him in high standing among the miners, which earned him election as chairperson of the supporters' club and respect from the soccer community and mine management.<sup>215</sup> While the initial goal of most supporters club was to make sure that their club was given the required cheering and encouragement during matches, they later assumed tacit responsibilities of making sure that players, coaches and mine management were doing their job to enhance the performance of the club.

Supporters' clubs and community members were crucial stakeholders in Copperbelt clubs. Binwell Chipasha, the former chairperson of Roan United Football Supporters' Club, explained in an interview how the wider community in Roan mine township helped to run Roan United FC. According to Chipasha, community members told coaches about players drinking too much alcohol or going out with women instead of attending training or pre-game retreats. Organized fans regularly met to dissect their team's performance; poor

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<sup>215</sup> Interview with Mwansa.

results would usually bring about recommendations to be forwarded to the coaching staff, the executive committee, and even mine management. If the executive committee disregarded this advice, it might be threatened with impeachment. If it were the mine personnel managers who were not providing the required support, supporters would demand an audience with the General Manager and perhaps appeal for the dismissal of the personnel manager.<sup>216</sup> The semi-autonomous nature of supporters' clubs put them in a good position to confront any stakeholder perceived to be letting the team down. Chipasha indicated that even the mine General Managers respected hard-core supporters for two main reasons: they wanted to have the most successful clubs and wished to avoid any serious confrontations with the fans.

Mining companies in the 1950s spread their tentacles to envelop individual soccer clubs by appointing representatives who dictated company interests to clubs.<sup>217</sup> Essentially, this meant that club committees had become powerless and were only there to implement mining companies' policies. The aggressive entry of the mines into the affairs of clubs meant that the game was not only used to control African miners' labor and leisure, but was also gradually becoming an arena for status competition between various mining companies. Similar to how mine managers in South Africa and in the Belgian Congo viewed sports as a low-cost production booster: according to Alegi, the "inexpensive costs of football [in South African mines] had an irresistible appeal for a mining industry bent on maximizing profit by keeping its production costs as low as possible."<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Interview with Binwell Chipasha, Luanshya, 18 January 2014.

<sup>217</sup> Letter from Mufulira senior welfare officer to the secretary Copperbelt African Football Association, Mufulira, 12 May 1960, 10.7.10C, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>218</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 40.



Recalling his experience in Kitwe, Joseph Mwansa argued that mining companies' interest in African soccer did stem from an interest in motivating miners to boost production.<sup>219</sup> When a local club won a match, Mwansa said, mines experienced a significant increase in copper production and fewer accidents seemed to occur, as most miners would be alert and motivated to work while discussing how well their lads performed. On the other hand, one can challenge Mwansa's assertions, arguing that soccer victories could have generated great celebrations and drinking with a negative effect to mining production.

For these various reasons, the copper mines pumped huge sums of money into the game, constructing and maintaining stadiums, enticing talented players from other clubs, buying equipment, grooming young players and providing transport and allowances for players. As others have shown, the mine personnel managers were directly responsible for overseeing the sports and recreation departments. The more proactive a personnel manager was, Mwansa remembered, the more successful the mine's soccer club would be. Personnel managers identified and recommended the acquisition of more competitive players to boost the effectiveness of their club. As all soccer clubs were semi-professional, mining companies enticed talented players with better-paying jobs and generous material rewards. This practice resulted in acute competition for skilled players among the mining companies.<sup>220</sup>

The lucrative subsidies soccer clubs received from mining companies came at a cost. Local people lost control and ownership as companies took over administration of the game and introduced an authoritarian (non-consultative) management approach.

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<sup>219</sup> Interview with Mwansa.

<sup>220</sup> Interview with Mwansa.

However, miners were not in a position to resist this transformation because it benefited clubs in a number of ways. Be that as it may, club executive committees became rubberstamps and implementers of mine management policies. This left supporters' clubs as the only structures with the willpower (and perhaps organizational strength) to question the decisions (if not the authority) of mine management. Fans demanded good results on the pitch and did their best to make club officials and mining authorities accountable to the people. Clearly, the case of supporters suggests how the sociability of ordinary Africans had political implications, at least in terms of the running of Copperbelt soccer.

Even though urbanized Africans continued with some of their traditional leisure activities, soccer matches became part of their new culture where they relaxed every weekend with friends, chatted, sang, danced and flirted. As Powdermaker puts it, a soccer match in Luanshya was "an occasion for showing off; often a player pirouetted with the ball, with an obvious eye to the impression he was making on the audience, particularly the females in it."<sup>221</sup> The game's conviviality cultivated camaraderie, and helped the urbanized Africans to create personal and social networks, demonstrating how "football sustained and gave social meaning to people's social lives."<sup>222</sup>

#### INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL ON THE COPPERBELT

The political, economic and social experiences of Africans on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt must be situated in the history of the broader south central African region. Most inhabitants of southern Africa are linked by basic similarities in language and culture,

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<sup>221</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 107.

<sup>222</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 54.

tracing their origins from the western Sudanic areas of Cameroon highlands. In the pre-colonial era, the wider region was linked through a network of trade routes linking the Swahili coast, the Zambezi Valley (Sena, Tete, Zumbo, Quelimane) in Mozambique, through to the trading ports of Angola. With the coming of European colonialism, the region was further dominated by Portuguese and British interests with stronger links forming during the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>223</sup>

One of the very first international matches among Africans in Northern Rhodesia took place in connection with the first known “unofficial sub-Saharan soccer championship” in 1950 in Elisabethville (Lubumbashi).<sup>224</sup> To help defray travel costs for the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association (JBFA) team’s trip to the Belgian Congo, South Africa’s white authorities scheduled matches on the Copperbelt and in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. After the tournament in Elisabethville in July 1950, the South Africans traveled by rail to the Copperbelt. There, the JBFA team beat a Chingola select side, and then played a Copperbelt select side at Scrivener Stadium in Kitwe, as well as other matches in Mufulira, Ndola, Luanshya, and in Lusaka on July 30, 1950 before making their way to Bulawayo.<sup>225</sup> Despite losing most of the matches against the visiting South Africans, the Copperbelt teams enjoyed the experience so much that the CAFA invited the JBFA back.

The South Africans returned in January 1959 and contested several matches in Copperbelt towns and Lusaka, winning most of them.<sup>226</sup> They returned the favor and

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<sup>223</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 56; Kevin Shillington, *A History of Southern Africa* (London; Longman, 1987), 1-10; Chipasha Luchembe, “Ethnic stereotypes, violence and labor in early colonial Zambia 1889-1924,” in *Guardians in their time: experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1992), 37.

<sup>224</sup> Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 56.

<sup>225</sup> “Copperbelt Football,” *Mutende*, 20 February 1951; Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 61.

<sup>226</sup> “Johannesburg Bantu Football Association tour of Copperbelt,” *African Life*, January 1959

invited the Copperbelt select team to visit Transvaal towards the end of 1959. The CAFA made their first tour of Transvaal in 1959, where Ginger Pensulo emerged as top scorer of the tour as earlier discussed.<sup>227</sup> The JBFA invited the Copperbelt select team for a second tour of Transvaal in 1961.

There was tremendous excitement in Copperbelt soccer circles when Tom Mtine announced that an African select team would depart from Ndola by rail on June 4, 1961, for a three-week second tour of Transvaal.<sup>228</sup> David Coyle, CAFA chairman and the only white man on the trip, led the tour of Johannesburg assisted by Tom Mtine and Musa Kasonka, the team manager.<sup>229</sup> Kasonka later became the first director of sports in independent Zambia. Mtine reported that the underdog Copperbelt select team surprised everyone and won every match in South Africa. At the new Orlando Stadium in Soweto, the CAFA team defeated the JBFA 5-1 in the first game and 6-2 in the second game. The Copperbelt team also beat the Pretoria Bantu Football Association and the Basotho XI at Pelindaba Stadium in front of more than 20,000 spectators.<sup>230</sup>

The South Africans toured the Copperbelt again in October 1961. In their first match of the tour, the JBFA beat a Chingola select side 4-2 at the Nchanga African Stadium in Chingola. The marquee match of the tour was against the Copperbelt select side on Sunday, October 2, 1961, at the Roan Antelope African Stadium in Luanshya. The match was a thriller watched by thousands of enthusiastic Copperbelt soccer fans. The hosts

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<sup>227</sup> "Ginger Pensulo: A Striker with magic feet," *Mining Mirror*, 4 March 1977.

<sup>228</sup> "Copperbelt to Play Jo'burg," *African Mail*, 9 May 1961,

<sup>229</sup> The Prominent players in the Johannesburg tour included Hubert Chime, Alfred Kaniki, Robson Jacob and James Malama from Rhokana, John "Ginger" Pensulo from Roan United and Samuel "Zoom" Ndhlovu from Mufulira.

<sup>230</sup> Thom Mtine, "Big Union Triumph: South Africa goes wild over Copperbelt side," *African Life*, June 1959, "Copperbelt shakes South Africans," *African Mail*, 20 June 1961.

played brilliant short-passing soccer, pinning down the visitors in their defensive end and showering them with goals: the final score was 6 – 1. Mufulira Wanderers' Samuel "Zoom" Ndhlovu scored two goals and emerged man of the match.<sup>231</sup>

The Copperbelt also had strong international soccer relations with the Katanga region of the Belgian Congo. The similarities between the Copperbelt and Katanga mining companies in the use of the game to "detrribalize" and neutralize political energies of newly urbanized African wage workers may have helped to bring together the two bordering regions. CAFA and the Elizabethville Football Association organized a series of matches in the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>232</sup> The Copperbelt select team even played matches as far away as Léopoldville (Kinshasa) in Belgian Congo. Invited by the Congo Football Association, the Copperbelt lost every game in 1951 in Léopoldville, but they were happy because the British Consul, Congolese officials and the Congo FA offered them a wonderful reception.<sup>233</sup> Apart from a wonderful reception, the Copperbelt Africans certainly had an adventurous social engagement traveling to Léopoldville.

Scholars have argued that foreign soccer tours in the 1940s and 1950s played an important role in building social networks, "links with wider processes of industrialization, urban migration, cultural exchange, and construction of social identities throughout southern Africa."<sup>234</sup> This big reception of the Copperbelt African select soccer team received in the Congo gives insights into big soccer diplomacy that could have been going on between the two neighboring copper-rich regions.

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<sup>231</sup> "Copperbelt Trounces Jo'burg in Test Match," *The African Eagle*, 10 October 1961.

<sup>232</sup> "Copperbelt Outclassed Congo in a Big Soccer Tussle," *The African Eagle*, 22 October 1957.

<sup>233</sup> Luanshya African Welfare 2<sup>nd</sup> Quarterly Report, Luanshya, June 1951, WP 1/5/1 Loc. 5266, Zambia National Archive, Lusaka.

<sup>234</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 100.

The Copperbelt also hosted matches and tournaments featuring teams from Bulawayo and Salisbury (Harare). Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia had an annual soccer competition called the Levy Cup.<sup>235</sup> From inception of this cup competition in the early 1950s, Southern Rhodesia dominated it until 1963 when the two territories drew 1-1 in the first round. Northern Rhodesia finally managed to beat their southern neighbors 4-1 and to win the cup for the first time in 1963.<sup>236</sup> Southern Rhodesia had well-organized and competitive clubs in the region. Most soccer clubs were made up of players from privileged working-class backgrounds drawn from Bulawayo, the largest and most successful soccer center in the territory, and other centers such as Salisbury, Umtali and Mrewa.<sup>237</sup>

The late 1950s and early 1960s also saw African soccer clubs making their private arrangements and visits to the Belgian Congo, Southern Rhodesia, and later Tanganyika (Tanzania). Alegi points out that the sustained interest in African international soccer competitions in the 1950s reflected the popularity of the game as “an expression of African urban popular culture.”<sup>238</sup> In addition, the sport became a way of creating social and cultural exchanges and building camaraderie among colonized Africans in a region that shared profound historical connections.

John Ginger Pensulo, the Copperbelt star of the 1950s and 1960s, points out that meeting, sharing cultural experiences, and playing the game with fellow Africans from neighboring countries was an exciting experience for Copperbelt players, coaches, officials,

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<sup>235</sup> “African Copperbelt Team win Football Trophy,” *Mutende*, 22 May 1951.

<sup>236</sup> Eric Cottell, “Soccer Round-up,” *Inshila*, 8 October 1963.

<sup>237</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 100.

<sup>238</sup> Alegi, “Katanga Vs Johannesburg,” 73.

and fans.<sup>239</sup> Pensulo also noted that the colonial authorities prohibited the sharing of political ideas and materials during these sporting encounters. He specifically recalled how senior colonial government officials addressed and warned them before their tour of Johannesburg that any discussion of politics with black South Africans caught in the web of apartheid oppression would lead to the banning of future international games. Despite political censorship and fear of punishment, Pensulo said that there was much unspoken commonality regarding African experiences of oppression under colonialism and apartheid.<sup>240</sup> Meeting different players from neighboring countries encouraged the forging of an “imagined community” of colonized “Africans united by a shared sporting experience.”<sup>241</sup>

The active participation of CAFA teams in international matches did not sit well with other associations in Northern Rhodesia. For example, L. J. Chakabva, then chairman of the Lusaka Football Selection Committee, charged that the CAFA “acted as though it did not recognize the existence of other soccer associations in Northern Rhodesia.”<sup>242</sup> He criticized the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association for failing to control the activities of the CAFA, which challenged the former’s theoretical status as the ruling body of the African game in the country.

The CAFA was accused of organizing and playing soccer matches against outside teams in the name of Northern Rhodesia without including players from other regions. This compelled African associations such as Broken Hill, Lusaka, and Livingstone to unite and form the Midlands Football Association, which sought to put pressure on the CAFA. L.

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<sup>239</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>240</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>241</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 62.

<sup>242</sup> “Soccer Bodies Combine into one Association,” *The African Eagle*, 21 March, 1961.

B. Ng'ambi from Lusaka African FA was elected first chairman of the Midlands and African Football Association.<sup>243</sup> This concerted pressure, however, did not have any effect in blunting the CAFA's dominance on and off the pitch.

In conclusion, the history of soccer on Copperbelt cannot be told without putting African miners center stage. Working men speaking many local languages and migrating from different rural regions appropriated the game from Europeans, propelled its growth in popularity, and enhanced its technical and organizational sophistication. African workers and officials used welfare structures introduced by colonial and mining authorities to demand greater access to resources for organized sports, especially soccer and athletics. In doing so, African miners, clerks, and other members of communities from a variety of ethnic backgrounds not only expanded their opportunities in sports, but also attempted, sometimes successfully, to rework the application of harsh colonial policies. Due to the exploding popularity of the game among colonial subjects, anxious European authorities moved to seize control of the sport through the formation of the Central Native Committee. As we have seen, these aggressive tactics did not succeed. Instead, African athletes, officials, and fans tenaciously sought alternative ways of organizing and enjoying their game.

The changing circumstances triggered an evolution of the Central Native Football Committee from an instrument of control to the Copperbelt African Football Association, one of the first institutions in colonial Northern Rhodesia to open its leadership positions to both Africans and Europeans. This process gave some citizens a taste of equality, strengthened their self-confidence, and provided ballast to anti-colonial movements'

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<sup>243</sup> "Soccer Bodies Combine into one Association," *The African Eagle*, 21 March, 1961.



demands for independence. Sports also opened a path to building vibrant urban networks and communities that sometimes replaced those left behind in the countryside. Ordinary men and women who founded and animated supporters clubs on the Copperbelt became a vocal constituency whose demands for sporting excellence compelled club officials and mining company managers to be more responsive and even accountable to African people. As Binwell Chipasha, former chairperson of Roan United Supporters' Club, told me: "We regularly had meetings to analyze the performance of our football club and demanded changes from authorities if there was need."<sup>244</sup> In the dying days of colonial rule, such assertiveness stood as evidence that the sociability of copper miners and other wage-earning Africans had important political and social implications.

In the immediate post-war period, what historians often call the "Second Colonial Occupation," African soccer on the Copperbelt overshadowed the game in the rest of Northern Rhodesia. Copperbelt teams traveled widely to compete in international matches that, among other things, built camaraderie and solidarity with fellow colonized Africans in neighboring countries. As the launch in 1962 of a non-racial semi-professional National Football League would illustrate, the Copperbelt would continue to dominate Northern Rhodesian soccer for decades to come.

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<sup>244</sup> Interview with Binwell Chipasha, Luanshya, 18 January 2014.

## CHAPTER 2: DERACIALIZING FOOTBALL, FROM THE 1950s TO INDEPENDENCE

From the time the game of soccer was introduced in Zambia, it was played on racial lines. However, informal interracial matches were sometimes played in different parts of the country despite disapproval from the Northern Rhodesia Football Association that governed whites-only soccer. These informal interracial matches later encouraged the ending of ethnicization in soccer and the establishment of a nonracial (racially mixed) semi-professional league in the 1960s.

This chapter explores aspects of the political and social history of the game in Zambia from the late 1950s to 1964. Specifically, it analyzes the conflicts between amateur and professional soccer, the formation of a nonracial professional league, and the game's pivotal role in nation building. I argue that the changing culture of the African game influenced the nationalist struggle by fighting racial segregation and promoting African leaders to highly visible and prestigious administrative positions as early as 1962, two years before independence. The chapter opens with a discussion of the emergence of racially organized sports, the formation of a nonracial National Football League, and the emergence of strong nonracial soccer clubs. It concludes by looking at how the game played an important, yet understudied, role in uniting people of different ethnic groups to establish a common Zambian cultural identity at the dawn of independence.

On Boxing Day, December 26, 1950, a soccer match was played in Lusaka at the Main Town Location between an African select team of colonial subjects and a European select team of colonial government employees. A crowd of more than two thousand Africans and Europeans watched the game, including the Governor of Northern Rhodesia,

Sir Gilbert Rennie.<sup>245</sup> The Lusaka Management Board Band, elegantly dressed in red tunics with dark blue trousers, provided musical entertainment. It was a spectacular day, and the crowd roared each time “the ball flashed by within inches of the uprights.”<sup>246</sup>

According to a reporter from the *Mutende* newspaper, the African team seemed to have the upper hand, but could not penetrate the solid wall of the European side’s defense. When the game ended in a goalless draw, it surprised both the players and spectators.<sup>247</sup> It is intriguing that despite the racial tensions in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s, inter-racial matches were common.<sup>248</sup> Ridgeway Liwena discusses how, despite the disapproval of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association, inter-racial matches had become very popular in various parts of Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s.<sup>249</sup> The fact that these matches between colonizer and colonized took place suggest a need to explore the political and social significance of the game in this part of colonial Africa. While such encounters were about leisure and recreation, they also narrowed the political and social gap between Europeans and Africans. Sporting exchanges also helped Africans build flourishing urban soccer clubs. The game thrived and was used to assert independence from colonial and mining capital along the railway line from the Copperbelt to Lusaka.<sup>250</sup> By the time the country gained independence in 1964, powerful local clubs had emerged. These included clubs such as Rhokana United, Kitwe United, Roan United, Mufulira Wanderers, Nchanga Rangers, Ndola United, Broken Hill Warriors and Bancroft North End.

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<sup>245</sup> “The Europeans-African Football Match at Lusaka,” *Mutende*, 13 February 1951.

<sup>246</sup> “The Europeans-African Football Match at Lusaka,” *Mutende*.

<sup>247</sup> “The Europeans-African Football Match at Lusaka,” *Mutende*.

<sup>248</sup> “The Europeans-African Football Match at Lusaka,” *Mutende*.

<sup>249</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 9.

<sup>250</sup> Eric Cottell, “Copperbelt soccer sides show their strength,” *Inshila*, 27 March 1962.

As discussed in Chapter 1, by the 1950s the game had gained roots in Northern Rhodesia, particularly on the Copperbelt where the Copperbelt African Football Association and Copperbelt clubs were even engaging in international matches with neighboring countries. Despite these developments and the interesting interracial matches being played, some Europeans in Northern Rhodesia still believed as late as 1955 that a racially integrated soccer league could not be organized. C. B. Bell, who was chairperson of the whites-only Lusaka Amateur Football Association, argued that, while mixed soccer attracted huge numbers of supporters, “there was no suggestion of having a multi-racial football league.”<sup>251</sup> Racism in colonial Northern Rhodesia existed not only in sports, it extended to workplaces, shopping areas, and residential neighborhoods.<sup>252</sup> The status quo, however, was about to change as Africans were becoming increasingly impatient with European political, economic and social domination.

#### THE COLOR BAR IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

As early as the 1940s, Rhodes Livingstone anthropologist Godfrey Wilson grappled with issues of color bar for urbanizing Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Color bar is a social system in which groups of people (typically black and brown) are denied access to the same rights, opportunities, and facilities based on skin color. Wilson analyzed color bar in terms of minority white skilled workers that were threatened by the rising skills and ambitions of the majority black unskilled workers, the urbanized Africans.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, Powdermaker attributed color bar on the Copperbelt mines to Europeans’ fears of losing

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<sup>251</sup> “Mixed Soccer Game to Raise Funds,” *Northern News*, 28 March 1955, 1.

<sup>252</sup> Matongo, “Popular Culture in a Colonial Society”, Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia”, 51.

<sup>253</sup> Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*, 20.

their jobs and their women to Africans.<sup>254</sup> She argues that nationality, class, occupation and idiosyncratic personality factors conditioned Europeans' attitudes towards Africans. Above all, most of the Europeans came "from South Africa or Southern Rhodesia and fear[ed] the encroachment of Africans in the sphere of skilled and semi-skilled work which they wish[ed] to maintain as their own preserve."<sup>255</sup> According to Julius Lewin, mine management did little to eliminate color bar within the Copperbelt mines, which began with wage discrimination. Europeans were paid about £70 per month while Africans earned £12, although those working underground earned £22.<sup>256</sup> Despite these unequal wages, some Africans were performing skilled work like their European counterparts.

Color bar in Northern Rhodesia was not limited to the work environment; it extended to shops, residential areas and other social amenities. According to Albert Matongo, copper mining companies heavily subsidized and supported the development of exclusive sports facilities that offered soccer, rugby, cricket, athletics, tennis and bowling in European residential areas. On the other hand, recreation centers that were constructed in African compounds were of poor quality and mine management was to a large extent reluctant to spend money on African welfare.<sup>257</sup> Matongo gives an example of how "tribal" representatives in Mufulira requested the compound manager to assist two African soccer teams with balls and nets. The compound manager responded that he was not disposed "to

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<sup>254</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town* 84.

<sup>255</sup> Julius Lewin, *The Color Bar in the Copper Belt* Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1941, 5.

<sup>256</sup> Lewin, *The Colour Bar in the Copperbelt*, 4.

<sup>257</sup> Albert B. K. Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society: Another Look at Mbeni and Kalela Dances on the Copperbelt," in *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1992), 187.

help [the African miners] until such a time as they helped themselves.”<sup>258</sup> While all this was happening, mining authorities were pumping huge sums of money into the whites-only Mufulira Mine Recreation Club, making it one of the best recreation clubs on the Copperbelt.<sup>259</sup> The reluctance of the mine management to finance and fully support recreation activities in the African compounds explains why African miners took the initiative of selling merchandise during matches to raise funds for their clubs, as discussed in Chapter 1. The situation only began to change towards independence when mining companies started investing a lot of resources in African sports clubs.

Apart from being the economic backbone of Northern Rhodesia, the Copperbelt was also the heart of the national liberation movements. The coming together of large numbers of Africans from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds in mining towns under white-minority domination inspired conflict, mass resistance and a spirit of self-determination.<sup>260</sup> The first forms of open mass resistance against Europeans occurred during the mineworkers’ strikes in 1935 over a sudden increase of poll tax.<sup>261</sup> The colonial government attempted to increase taxation levels for Copperbelt workers by 50 percent in an effort to discourage massive urbanization.<sup>262</sup> This poll tax increase, coupled with dissatisfaction over pay, work practices and racial discrimination, culminated in a large-scale strike that led to police shooting at the striking miners, killing six and wounding seventeen.<sup>263</sup> This was followed a few years later by the 1940 strikes that were sparked by

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<sup>258</sup> Matongo, “Popular Culture in a Colonial Society,” 187

<sup>259</sup> Matongo, “Popular Culture in a Colonial Society,” 187.

<sup>260</sup> Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1976), 201.

<sup>261</sup> Roberts, *A Short History of Zambia*, 203.

<sup>262</sup> L. J. Butler, *Copper Empire: Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, c. 1930-1964* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2007), 53.

<sup>263</sup> Butler, *Copper Empire*, 52.

complaints over low wages. Julius Lewin who visited the Copperbelt during the 1940 strike recounted that:

The actual disturbances occurred on the sixth day of the strike at Nkana when a crowd of 3,000 strikers tried to prevent a queue of 150 men, who had remained at work... The police and troops tried to stop the crowd, tear gas bombs being thrown without effect. The crowd was then infuriated and made a direct attack on the compound office in which all the Europeans had sought safety. The troops fired, killing 17 Africans and wounding 65.<sup>264</sup>

The strikes, killing and wounding of miners caused serious tension that shook mine management and marked a turning point in the history of the Copperbelt. As indicated in the introduction chapter, Albert Matongo and Terrence Ranger strongly suggest that Kalela dance could have facilitated the organization of this strike.<sup>265</sup> Matongo stresses that Kalela dance reflected the general response of urbanized African miners to the colonial situation. Looking at Kalela dance critically, one can see the role it played not only in the organization of the Copperbelt strikes, but also how it generally reflected how Africans shaped their struggle against colonial oppression.<sup>266</sup> The long-term effects of these strikes were also seen in the post-War period where the British government started using ideological and cultural elements to compliment colonial rule, which led to the expansion of African recreational and sporting amenities.<sup>267</sup>

Initially, the colonial state had interpreted the strikes as having a connection with industrial grievances and not political discontent.<sup>268</sup> For a long time, European colonial and mining capital wielded political, economic, and social power to pursue their interests

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<sup>264</sup> Lewin, *The Colour Bar in the Copperbelt*, 4.

<sup>265</sup> Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society", 138.

<sup>266</sup> Matongo, "Popular Culture in a Colonial Society", 209.

<sup>267</sup> Ferguson, "Mobile workers, modernist narrative," 603.

<sup>268</sup> Bizeck. J. Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: from Colonial Rule to the Third Republic, 1890-2001* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006), 94.

while disregarding the interests of Africans.<sup>269</sup> Bizeck Phiri argues that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland intensified and consolidated African nationalist activities.

Africans “were not willing to cooperate with the federal government that represented settler triumph and Colonial Office betrayal of African nationalist trust.”<sup>270</sup> While African nationalist activities were dominant in welfare associations, churches, mineworkers’ unions, and nationalist political parties, the game also inspired resistance against colonial domination in Northern Rhodesia. Interestingly, this effort is not fully recognized in the history of the country, providing another example of how “academic historians have overlooked the role of sport in African independence movements”<sup>271</sup> as seen in scholarly works on the Central African Federation and nationalism in Zambia.<sup>272</sup>

#### FOOTBALL AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

In the early 1950s, the successful inter-racial soccer matches had inspired enthusiasm in both Europeans and Africans in Northern Rhodesia. On the other hand, they had also triggered panic in the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA) camp, a body that was affiliated with the South African Football Association (SAFA) and governed whites only soccer in Northern Rhodesia. While some Europeans could have been interested in formalizing non-racial soccer, the NRFA’s affiliation to SAFA made it difficult to accept inter-racial soccer in Northern Rhodesia. This was because article 28 of the SAFA constitution stated that, “all members of associations and clubs under the jurisdiction of

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<sup>269</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, 93.

<sup>270</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, 94.

<sup>271</sup> Peter Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 36.

<sup>272</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*; Robert I Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa; the Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola, *Living the End of Empire: Politics and Society in Late Colonial Zambia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).



associations affiliated to [SAFA] must be amateurs of true European descent.”<sup>273</sup> This clause caused a lot of frustrations among those who were involved and interested in nonracial soccer. The beginning of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 made some members of the NRFA start wondering which was better, continuing affiliation with SAFA, or forming a new federal soccer body together with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the new federation.<sup>274</sup>

With the Central African Federation in full swing, plans of forming a whites-only Federal Control of Sports involving the three territories in the Federation started gaining momentum. Each territory was to be given its own provincial color similar to those “governing the award of provincial colors in South Africa.”<sup>275</sup> Len Pinshow, who was the chairperson of the Northern Rhodesia Olympic and Empire Games Association, the Northern Rhodesia Amateur Athletics Association and the Rhodes Centenary Games, tabled the proposal of developing a common body to control Federal sports.<sup>276</sup> The implication of this proposal was that Northern Rhodesia’s racially segregated sports structure was to continue and be strengthened. This explains why African sportsmen (and women) in Northern Rhodesia resented the Federation, as they feared that linkage to Southern Rhodesia could worsen racial segregation in Northern Rhodesia. They saw the Federation as a clear “example of strengthening white domination” in the region.<sup>277</sup>

Around the same time, a group of liberal European and African businessmen was strategizing on how to end segregated soccer and create a mixed professional league. On

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<sup>273</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 3.

<sup>274</sup> “Marsh’s Annual Report,” *Central African Post*, 9 February 1955.

<sup>275</sup> “Federal Control of Sport Proposed: Provincial Unions Would Be Affiliated,” *Northern News*, 8 May 1953, 1.

<sup>276</sup> Eric Cottell, “Copperbelt soccer sides show their strength” *Inshila*, 27 March 1962

<sup>277</sup> Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*, 94.

Tuesday, February 21, 1961, black and white Ndola based businessmen met to discuss the formation of a nonracial soccer league that was to include clubs from Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in what was to become the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League.<sup>278</sup> The main purpose of this league was to organize and control professional soccer competitions throughout Northern Rhodesia, and create inter-racial cooperation.<sup>279</sup> Lusaka-based businessmen were also holding similar meetings and strategizing on the launching of a professional soccer league. Ken Fox, one of the first members of the nonracial Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League, argued that a nonracial professional soccer league is “a good business venture.”<sup>280</sup> This idea of a nonracial professional soccer league could have originated from South Africa, where the whites-only National Football League began in 1959 and the nonracial South African Soccer League in 1961.<sup>281</sup>

On the other hand, the idea of a nonracial professional league was met with serious disapproval from conservative Europeans because it threatened their privileged positions of power and authority over the sport. Changing from amateur to professional soccer did not only mean moving to a new system that did not guarantee their jobs, but it also signified giving social and political power to Africans and possibly setting up a platform for African independence.

During an annual general meeting of the Northern Rhodesia African Football Association, Jimmy Fleming, the white chairman, issued a “keep-off” warning to the

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<sup>278</sup> “Ndola Businessmen Will Discuss Multi-racial Soccer Team,” *Northern News*, 21 February 1961.

<sup>279</sup> R. Howe, “The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League (PVT) LTD,” 26 January 1961, 15.1.7E Sports Clubs and Councils, Mining and Industry Archives, Ndola.

<sup>280</sup> “Soccer’s Easter Egg Will Be Cracked on April 3,” *Northern News*, 15 May 1961, 1.

<sup>281</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 117. More details in *Laduma!* chap. 8.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League that was being formed.<sup>282</sup> He told E. G. Hayes, president of the Northern Rhodesia Football Association (NRFA), that:

My association strongly objects to the League and I advise you not to commit us in any way during negotiations with them... African football must be run for the benefit of Africans and no one else... we can close those grounds to teams under our jurisdiction as was done at Ndola for two years. And we can ban our players from playing against teams that use them... Big time professional soccer would have a detrimental effect on African footballers; crowds and African welfare officers will not gladly see it introduced.<sup>283</sup>

Fleming clearly preferred amateurism and was afraid of a professional league on the grounds that it would not only eliminate his position and privileges, but also promised the financial empowerment and autonomy of Africans, which was bad for the colonial system. The quote also expresses Flemings' attachment to the old "White Man's Burden" idea of sport in colonial Africa where Europeans decided what was good for Africans without engaging them.<sup>284</sup>

Bill Coyle, who was chairperson of the Copperbelt African Football Association (CAFA), declared that none of the 16 African clubs on the Copperbelt would join the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Football League.<sup>285</sup> Many welfare officers, who managed African mine teams, also supported Cole's view that professional soccer on a grand scale would not serve the interest of African employees.<sup>286</sup> During the Copperbelt African Football Association annual general meeting in January 1961, Coyle insisted that, "we cannot afford

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<sup>282</sup> "African F.A. Chairman Issues a 'Keep Off' Warning to Rhodesia and Nyasaland League," *Northern News* 15 May 1961, 1.

<sup>283</sup> "African F.A. Chairman Issues a 'Keep Off' Warning to Rhodesia and Nyasaland League," *Northern News*.

<sup>284</sup> "White man's burden" is an expression taken from Rudyard Kipling's famous expression, which meant teaching African, converts and colonial subjects about the virtues of Christianity, capitalist commerce, and western civilization. Alegi, *African soccer*, 1.

<sup>285</sup> "Copperbelt African F. A. Clubs Will Not Join R. N. F. L.," *Northern News*, July 22 1961, 1.

<sup>286</sup> "Mine Companies Wont Sponsor Multi-racial Soccer Teams on the Copperbelt," *Northern News*, 16 February, 1961, 1.

to lose players to [the national professional] league.”<sup>287</sup> After considerations, CAFA members came up with a solution. They agreed to make amendments to their constitution to make sure that clubs that were willing to join the league could do so without leaving the CAFA. This assured the leaders in the association that clubs would not desert them to the new National Football League. This decision made CAFA members less threatened by the coming new nonracial soccer league. They finally agreed to delete all references to amateur in the CAFA constitution.<sup>288</sup>

According to veteran soccer administrator Peter Mashambe, conservative Europeans were not the only ones opposed to the idea of a nonracial soccer league. The idea of nonracial sports was also strongly opposed by some African nationalists who felt that playing the game together with Europeans could paint a picture of cordial relations between Europeans and Africans in Northern Rhodesia and prolong the struggle for independence from Britain.<sup>289</sup> Mashambe argued that some African nationalists were very suspicious of Europeans and preached for separate sports, arguing that there were no good Europeans, “the only good European is one who is dead.”<sup>290</sup> Africans who played soccer together with Europeans or leaders like Tom Mtine, who worked together with Europeans in the CAFA, were seen as compromised traitors who were only interested in their own status and pleasures. This reveals the complexities that characterized the struggle for non-racial soccer in Northern Rhodesia.

From as early as the late 1950s, Tom Mtine had already been working together with Europeans in CAFA, and in the early 1960s, he became a strong proponent of a nonracial

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<sup>287</sup> “Vital African football conference,” *Roan Antelope*, 4 February 1961.

<sup>288</sup> “Vital African football conference,” *Roan Antelope*.

<sup>289</sup> Interview with Peter Mashambe, Ndola, 4 October 2008.

<sup>290</sup> Interview with Mashambe, Ndola.

National Football League. When asked on how he was managing to work with Europeans amidst accusations that those who worked with Europeans were traitors, Mtine replied that he had experienced racial discrimination and it did not worry him at all. In the *Horizon* magazine of 1964, he argued that, “people who discriminate are stupid irrespective of their race.”<sup>291</sup> It was this audaciousness that made Mtine one of the most important actors in Zambian soccer, both in the colonial and postcolonial period.

The fight for a non-racial soccer league in Northern Rhodesia became even more difficult because the two major mining companies on the Copperbelt, Anglo-American and Rhodesian Selecting Trust, were not ready to financially support the newly formed soccer league. The two organizations stated clearly that neither would sponsor racially integrated professional soccer.<sup>292</sup> Organizers of the nonracial league applied for financial support to the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, but the response was also not very positive. The Chamber of Mines only contributed one hundred pounds, arguing that while promoting non-racial soccer had become an important contribution to better race relations on the Copperbelt, the fact that the league embraced teams from outside as well as within the Copperbelt area made it difficult for them to justify the commitment of more financial resources.<sup>293</sup>

This position raised important questions about the provenance of financial sponsorship for the professional soccer clubs with an African majority membership. The formation of a mixed professional league, therefore, defined divisions between liberal and conservative Europeans. Still, African players and officials were determined to seize the

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<sup>291</sup> “Tom Mtine,” *Horizon*, December 1964, 17.

<sup>292</sup> “Mine Companies Wont Sponsor Multi-racial Soccer Teams on the Copperbelt,” *Northern News*.

<sup>293</sup> Letter from the Rhodesian Selection Trust to the Copperbelt African Football Association, 1 June 1962, 15.1.7E Sports Clubs and Councils, Mining and Industry Archives, Ndola.

opportunity, not only for financial gain but also because of the equality it was predicated upon. Players, coaches, referees, and administrators fully appreciated how sport could deliver wider recognition based on their technical and organizational skills and accomplishments rather than skin color.

#### THE NONRACIAL NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE

On February 6, 1961, the Copperbelt European soccer body, the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association, held its annual general meeting. The association ratified a previous decision to amend Article 16 of the constitution, which required that players be amateurs.<sup>294</sup> However, consensus could not be reached on the issue of nonracial professional soccer; various clubs such as Bancroft, Mufulira, Roan, and Nkana expressed opposition to nonracial soccer because they still believed in racial segregation. The president of the NRFA, E. G. Hayes, also expressed his opposition. On the other hand, E. S. Magrath, a lifetime member of the association, argued in favor of racial integration. He averred that, “the introduction of professional football meant the breaking of racial barriers on the field.”<sup>295</sup> It was the efforts of liberal Europeans like Magrath, as well as the determination of Africans to control their own sport, that led to the demise of segregated soccer in Northern Rhodesia.

Following this growing pressure from stakeholders, the NRFA held a meeting in Broken Hill towards the end of July 1961, in which the Northern Rhodesia African Football

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<sup>294</sup> “Football Association Opens the Door to Professionalism by Amending the Rule,” *Northern News* 6 February 1961, 1.

<sup>295</sup> “Football Association Opens the Door to Professionalism by Amending the Rule,” *Northern News* 6 February 1961, 1.

Association was considered and accepted with full membership.<sup>296</sup> This meant that the African and European associations were to become affiliates of the NRFA with equal rights. It also meant that Africans, for the first time in the history of the territory, now had the opportunity to be awarded national colors, represent the territory, and fly the national flag. This also implied that Northern Rhodesia was eligible to become a member of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), free to play against overseas teams, and enter the World Cup competition and the Olympic Games.<sup>297</sup> At this same meeting, E. G. Hayes revealed that the following season the new National Football League would be open to any interested team.<sup>298</sup> This was not only a major achievement for Northern Rhodesia soccer, but also a meaningful step toward political independence.

On March 18, 1962, the National Football League opened under the aegis of the NRFA,<sup>299</sup> “comprising 13 clubs ranging from Lusaka to Bancroft, with almost all of them playing as semi-professional teams.”<sup>300</sup> However, the Rhodesia Nyasaland Football League could not function longer because transportation of the clubs to matches in the three territories became too costly. A few friendly matches were played under the league and it was evident that clubs were not going to manage to pay for flight tickets to away matches and meetings. While Southern Rhodesia responded well to the Rhodesia Nyasaland Football League, the response from Nyasaland was not very enthusiastic due to funding issues. The dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963 also marked the demise of the regional league.

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<sup>296</sup> “Soccer Groups Fix Parity,” *African Mail*, 1 August 1961, 16.

<sup>297</sup> “Soccer Groups Fix Parity,” *African Mail*.

<sup>298</sup> “Soccer Groups Fix Parity,” *African Mail*.

<sup>299</sup> Eric Cottell, “Copperbelt Soccer Sides,” *Inshila*, 27 February 1962, 26.

<sup>300</sup> Eric Cottell, “The New Soccer Season Has Great Promise,” *Inshila*, 13 May 1962, 34.

The departure of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland left only Northern Rhodesian clubs in the league.<sup>301</sup> The National Football League became one of the five affiliates of the NRFA that included the Rhodesia Congo Border Football Association (conducting European soccer on the Copperbelt and parts of the Katanga region), the Copperbelt African Football Association, the Livingstone and District Football Association, and the Midlands Football Association.<sup>302</sup> Tom Mtine became the National Football League's first chairman, with A. E. Johnson as secretary, H. Swindell treasurer, and A. Hendry as registrar.<sup>303</sup> It was highly unusual for a black man to take a leadership position during the colonial era in an organization that included Europeans.

According to *Inshila* newspaper of 1962, Mtine was the right man for the job because he was the best-known African public figure on the Copperbelt.<sup>304</sup> As a young man, Mtine went to Munali School in Lusaka where he did his secondary education. While at Munali, he met Kenneth Kaunda, who later became the first president of the country. During his time at Munali, he developed an abiding love of the game. This love for the game spurred him to participate in various soccer programs on the Copperbelt, from club level to provincial administration.<sup>305</sup> He later on became a respected businessman and civic leader who served Ndola town from the early 1950s through the 1960s and 70s in various capacities as Governor, Councilor, and Mayor.

This popularity made Mtine to be nominated as the first person to head the National Football League. He also became the first African to lead a national soccer body for both

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<sup>301</sup> Eric Cottell, "The New Soccer Season Has Great Promise," *Inshila*, 13 May 1962, 34.

<sup>302</sup> Sundowner, "New Look Soccer Is a Success in the North," *Horizone*, May 1962, 34.

<sup>303</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 72; Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*; Sundowner, "New Look Soccer is a Success in the North," *Horizone*, May 1962, 34.

<sup>304</sup> "Mr. Football," *Inshila*, 27 March 1962, 22.

<sup>305</sup> "Tom Mtine," *Horizon*, December 1964, 17.



Africans and Europeans in Northern Rhodesia. The active presence of Africans in local soccer administration, as in the case of Tom Mtine and other Africans, projected an image of Africans gradually gaining control of not only their soccer institutions, but their political institutions as well.

Tom Mtine was not the only African that played a significant role in the development of the National Football League. Other Africans such as Musa Kasonka, Jethro Ngwane, Julius Sakala, Eliya Mwanza and Benjamin Bwalya also made noteworthy contributions in the development of the game in terms of steering their clubs and districts toward nonracial soccer despite resistance from conservative Europeans and some African politicians.<sup>306</sup>

There were also Europeans such as Bennie Evans, Arthur Davies, Jackie Sewell and Tony Castela who dedicated their lives to the development of the game in the Copperbelt and Lusaka African communities. For example, Bennie Evans was a well-liked sports officer in Luanshya's Roan Antelope Mines who played an important role in the formation of Roan African Football Club where he was president and life member. Later, after the formation of the National Football League, Evans played another important role of bringing Africans and Europeans together during the formation of racially mixed Roan United Football Club.<sup>307</sup>

After the first National Football League (NFL) matches took place early in 1962, Mtine felt that the league had started on a good note. He stressed that; "people should not expect wonders from the league immediately. We have our teething troubles. We will make

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<sup>306</sup> Interview with Dickson Makwaza, Luanshya, 16 July, 2014.

<sup>307</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

mistakes just like any other organization—and then see that the mistakes are rectified.”<sup>308</sup>

The NFL was fairly successful from its inception, despite some initial fears about racially mixed soccer. Each district, Ndola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Mufulira, Chingola and Bancroft, were given an opportunity to enter two teams in the league. The teams registered to the NFL were to be nonracial. This meant that clubs could welcome any new members in their club, regardless of race or color of their skin.

However, in some clubs, players of one race dominated the membership. But such clubs had to convince the NFL that players of all races were welcome to join. For example, black players dominated Mufulira Wanderers with very few Europeans. Similarly, white players dominated Nchanga Sports Football Club, and the club was accused of using strategies that eliminated African players such as demanding high membership fees.<sup>309</sup> In some cases, two or more clubs combined forces and formed a completely new club like Roan United and Rhokana United.<sup>310</sup> In other cases, a brand new team such as Queen’s Park of Lusaka emerged and joined the league.<sup>311</sup> Teams were restricted to thirteen-player rosters to ensure that only the best players in each district participated in matches to raise the standard of the game and keep costs low.

The first NFL clubs included; Rhokana United, Kitwe United, Roan United, Mufulira Wanderers, Mufulira United, Nchanga Rangers, Nchanga Sports Club, Ndola Football Club, Ndola United, City of Lusaka, Lusaka Queen’s Park, Bancroft North End, and Broken Hill Warriors.<sup>312</sup> Most of these clubs were situated in African townships where communities

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<sup>308</sup> “Mr. Football,” *Inshila*, 2.

<sup>309</sup> Kevin Flanagan, “Footballers vote for Africans,” *Nchanga News*, 25 January, 1963.

<sup>310</sup> Sundowner, “New Look Soccer is a Success in the North,” *Horizon*, May 1962, 34..

<sup>311</sup> Eric Cottell, “The New Soccer Season Has Great Promise,” *Inshila*, March 13 1963, 35.

<sup>312</sup> Sundowner, “New Look Soccer Is a Success in the North,” *Horizon*, May 1962, 34.

that surrounded training grounds and match venues laid a foundation for the game that would soon propel the country to the top of southern African soccer.<sup>313</sup>

In 1962, the league was mostly semi-professional, with many players holding full-time jobs, though some were full professionals. Signing-on pay for players was around £10, while the minimum wage was £1, and maximum £2 per week. Appearance and victory bonuses were £1, a draw ten cent. Overall, a player would earn about £4 a week and an average of about £100 per year, roughly half of an average miner's wage of around £200 per year.<sup>314</sup> While mining companies had initially been reluctant to sponsor nonracial professional soccer, they changed their minds along the way, possibly because of massive community interest in soccer, and also as a way to provide recreation for their miners. Joseph Mwansa, who played for Rhokana United in the 1960s, revealed how the game had gained great support from the mines in Kitwe.<sup>315</sup> Mines, councils, and companies such as Rhodesian Railways provided communities with welfare officers who were in charge of grassroots development of the game, training facilities, uniforms and training equipment.<sup>316</sup>

The NFL brought significant changes to Northern Rhodesian soccer. While players and teams could do almost anything they wanted during amateur soccer, professional soccer required commitment and discipline to improve the standards of the game.<sup>317</sup> This raised the standards of the game, making Northern Rhodesia the first colony to practice

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<sup>313</sup> Paul Darby, "8 A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster, 1993," *Soccer and Society* 5, no. 2 (2004): 248–264.

<sup>314</sup> Eric Cottell, "Selectors Do a Good Job with N. Rhodesia XI," *Inshila*, 22 May 1962, 38; Sundowner, "New Look Soccer Is a Success in the North," *Horizon*, May 1962, 34.

<sup>315</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 9 September 2008.

<sup>316</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 9 September 2008.

<sup>317</sup> Players that failed to turn out for practice or for a game were fined and teams that failed to fulfill their obligations during the season were also fined one hundred pounds.

non-racial soccer in the region. This, in a small way, played a role in bridging the racial gap between whites and blacks as seen in the formation of Roan United Football Club in Luanshya.

#### EMERGENCE OF ROAN UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB

Prior to the formation of the NFL, there were two parallel soccer groups in Luanshya under the Roan Antelope Copper Mines. One was the Roan Antelope Association Football Club, exclusively for Europeans playing soccer at the whites-only Luanshya Recreations Club, popularly known as REC. The other was Roan African Football Club (Ginger Pensulo's club discussed in Chapter 1), made up of African miners living in the Roan Antelope mine compounds and playing soccer at Roan African Stadium.<sup>318</sup> With the coming of a nonracial professional soccer league, Roan Antelope mine management spent thousands of pounds in 1961 to renovate the Roan African Stadium, whose name was changed to Kafubu Stadium. After renovations, Kafubu became one of the best stadiums in the country and hosted a number of important national soccer matches.<sup>319</sup>

When the non-racial National Football League was formed, Roan Antelope Association Football Club (for Europeans) and Roan African Football Club (for Africans) merged in February 1962, to form Roan United FC. The new club chose black and white as the official colors of the club's uniforms to represent the unity between the black and white races in the club.<sup>320</sup> A. J. Hendry, who had been chairperson of the European club, was elected chairperson of the new Roan United FC, and Boniface Koloko from the African club

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<sup>318</sup> "Roan United A.F.C comes into being," *Roan Antelope*, 17 February 1962, 15.

<sup>319</sup> "Professional football is here," *Roan Antelope*, 4 March 1961.

<sup>320</sup> "Roan United A.F.C comes into being," *Roan Antelope*.

was elected vice-chairperson, with Harry Swindells as secretary. The newly formed committee for the club appointed Romie Miller as team manager, assisted by Edward Mutale and former Portuguese national team player Tony Castela as player coach.<sup>321</sup> Castela had over ten years of professional soccer experience and had also played several World Cup matches for the Portuguese national team.<sup>322</sup>

The two clubs (Roan Antelope Association Football Club & Roan African Football Club) put together two hundred pounds as affiliation fees to the National Football League, and each club also contributed one hundred pounds in order to give Roan United FC two hundred pounds working capital. A player selection committee made up of both Europeans and Africans was formed. They called both European and African players for trials at Kafubu Stadium. At the end of the trials, five European players and ten African players were selected to start the Roan United Football Club team.<sup>323</sup>

This pattern of forming semi-professional soccer clubs was repeated in many other mining towns on the Copperbelt. For example, two clubs in Kitwe, Rhokana FC for Africans and Nkana FC for Europeans, selected their best players to form Rhokana United FC in 1962.<sup>324</sup> In Mufulira, Mufulira Mine Football Club, which was the most dominant club in town, got a few players from Mufulira Blackpool and formed Mufulira Wanderers in 1962, a team that later came to dominate the National Football League.<sup>325</sup>

Ginger Pensulo, who was among the players that were selected to play for Roan United FC when the club was formed in 1962, revealed that playing together with

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<sup>321</sup> "Roan United A.F.C comes into being," *Roan Antelope*.

<sup>322</sup> Sundowner, "New Look Soccer is a Success in the North," *Horizon*, May 1962, 36.

<sup>323</sup> "Roan United A.F.C comes into being," *Roan Antelope*.

<sup>324</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

<sup>325</sup> "Mufulira's new club gets down to serious soccer training," *Mufulira Star*, January 1962.

Europeans was a little challenging in the initial days. He said this was because both African and European players were cautious with how they related with each other. However, it was not long before skin color became a nonissue in the club. Pensulo argued that both black and white players were paid the same allowances, ate the same food, slept in the same rooms, and enjoyed the game together on the same field. He stressed how Roan United FC was the first nonracial soccer club that seemed to bond quite well without serious differences. In one of their matches, they beat a conservative, all-white Nchanga Sport Football Club 4 – 0 in Chingola. Ginger Pensulo scored two goals, and after the match, the chairperson for Nchanga Sports FC invited Pensulo for dinner at his home. During the dinner, the chairperson attempted to entice Pensulo to remain in Chingola to join Nchanga Sports FC, but he refused.<sup>326</sup>

As Northern Rhodesia was moving towards independence, Roan United FC remained one of the very few clubs with a good number of European soccer players in the league. In my interview with Leonard Koloko, who grew up in Luanshya and supported Roan United FC, and whose uncle was vice-chairperson for the club from its inception, attributed the assimilation between black and white players in Roan United FC to an enabling non-racial environment that was created by Bennie Evans, who was Roan Copper Mines Sports Officer and president of the club. Other Roan United FC committee members such as Johnston Malama and Boniface Koloko also played an important role in supporting this nonracial environment in the club.<sup>327</sup>

As Kafubu Stadium became home field for Roan United FC, Europeans that were selected to play for the club had to crossover the copper-smelters and stream to the Roan

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<sup>326</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>327</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

African mine compound where Kafubu Stadium was located. This discouraged a few European supporters that were not keen to interact with Africans in Roan Mine Township. This aversion made them switch to other sports such as cricket and rugby that were not popular among Africans.<sup>328</sup> The labeling of soccer as a blue-collar or black sport was also seen in South Africa in the early 1900s where Afrikaners abandoned the game for rugby.<sup>329</sup> Thus despite the intervening years and the creation of a nonracial NFL, racial discrimination was still a problem in Northern Rhodesia sports in the early 1960s.<sup>330</sup>

The 1962 season was one of the most important seasons in the history of the game in the country because it was an inaugural season of the NFL. Thousands of soccer fans all over the country flocked to their favorite grounds to watch their new non-racial soccer clubs play in the new semi-professional soccer league.<sup>331</sup> Tony Castela player coach for Roan United FC guided his team through a very successful first season to the NFL championship game. Although Roan United FC placed second to Bancroft North End FC in the Heinrich Cup, they managed to win the 1962 NFL Championship after thrashing City of Lusaka 3-1 in a final match, played at Kafubu Stadium in Roan Mine Township, Luanshya.

As undisputed champions of the game in Northern Rhodesia, Roan United FC qualified to represent the country in a five thousand pound Castle Cup match against Bulawayo Rovers of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>332</sup> Bulawayo Rovers was one of the most powerful clubs in Southern Rhodesia, having won the Matabeleland division one championship twenty six times. In the 1962 Castle Cup, Roan United dominated the whole match against

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<sup>328</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 96.

<sup>329</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 16.

<sup>330</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 16.

<sup>331</sup> Erick Cottell, "The new soccer season has great promise," *Inshila*, 13 Match 1962, 35.

<sup>332</sup> Eric Cottell, "Roan United were the League team of the season," *Inshila*, 6 November 1962.

Bulawayo Rovers, but narrowly lost 0 – 1 to the Southern Rhodesian champions.<sup>333</sup> Ginger Pensulo relished the experience he had with his club in Bulawayo despite losing to the Bulawayo Rovers. He remembered a long convoy of cars that carried both black and white Roan United FC supporters to Bulawayo and the carnival atmosphere that prevailed at the hotel where the club lodged in Bulawayo.

The excellent performance of Roan United FC in the inaugural season of the NFL can be attributed to the success of non-racial soccer that helped to bring together both African and European players such as Tony Castela and Ginger Pensulo. Tony Castela introduced a style of making short quick passes, making Roan United FC the only club that never made long passes. This earned the club the nickname Stylish Roan United, as the club came to be popularly known. The special system of play gave the club a lot of popularity among both African and European enthusiasts, and helped in creating a huge fan base that filled the Kafubu Stadium at every home game.<sup>334</sup>

Boniface Koloko, who was vice-chairperson of the club, commented that the whole of Luanshya was proud that Roan United emerged champion in the inaugural season of the NFL and that it had reached the final of the Castle Cup competition. He stressed that, “the major achievement we feel, has been that the club has furthered good relationship between the two races.”<sup>335</sup> While racial divisions were still deep between Africans and Europeans in Luanshya, Koloko’s comment showed that Roan United FC had, in a way, played an important role in bringing Africans and Europeans together. A club from outside the Copperbelt that emerged in a similar manner was the City of Lusaka FC in Lusaka.

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<sup>333</sup> “Cup final a clash of giants,” *Roan Antelope*, 10 November 1962.

<sup>334</sup> Eric Cottell, “Roan United Head League,” *Inshila*, 5 June 1962, 36.

<sup>335</sup> Letter from Roan Antelope Football Club to the Assistant Personnel Manager R. Howie, Luanshya, 4 January 1963, 12.7.3B, Mining Industry Archive Ndola.



## RACE AND CLASS IN THE NFL'S CITY OF LUSAKA FOOTBALL CLUB

As already discussed, the Copperbelt clubs continued dominating the game in the NFL with Roan United FC winning the inaugural season of the league. From the midlands, only City of Lusaka, Broken Hill Warriors FC, and later Zambia Army FC, managed to challenge the Copperbelt soccer hegemony.<sup>336</sup> Out of the interracial matches that were played on Lusaka's Kabwata football field in the early 1950s discussed in the introduction of this chapter, there emerged City of Lusaka FC. From inception, City of Lusaka FC asserted itself and dominated the game in the midlands.<sup>337</sup>

Former chairman of City of Lusaka FC, Simata Simata, told me in an interview that from the beginning, City of Lusaka FC was cognizant of racial issues despite the club being dominated by Europeans. Just like Roan United FC, they also chose black and white as the club's home ground jersey to symbolize the presence of both Africans and Europeans in the club.<sup>338</sup> City of Lusaka FC first played its home matches in the Showground. Later the club moved to the municipal sports club that was known as Queensmead Stadium, although it was not really a stadium as it only had a playing field. Queensmead was located in the Longacares area and was also home field for Queens Park FC; a brand-new soccer club that was formed in 1962 and later failed to perform, dissolved and joined City of Lusaka FC.

After constructing an eight thousand capacity Woodlands Stadium located in the middle of Woodlands suburb in 1964, City of Lusaka left Queensmead for its own new stadium.<sup>339</sup> While Woodlands Stadium was located in the middle of a low-residential area,

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<sup>336</sup> "Soccer Bodies Combine into one Association," *The African Eagle*, 21 March, 1961.

<sup>337</sup> "The Europeans-African Football Match at Lusaka," *Mutende*, 13 February 1951.

<sup>338</sup> Interview with Simata Simata, Lusaka, 1 August 2011.

<sup>339</sup> Eric Cottell, "15 years of Northern Rhodesia Soccer," *Inshila*, 14 July 1964.

it was also not far away from Chilenje, Kabwata, and Libala Townships, which were strategically developed to supply house servants for the Europeans in the Woodlands suburb and clerks for the civil service. This population gave City of Lusaka FC both white and black players and fans that filled Woodlands Stadium during home matches.<sup>340</sup>

Similar to Roan United, which recruited former Portuguese national team player Tony Castela, City of Lusaka had Jackie Sewell as a player coach. Sewell had played several matches for the England national team and had been star player for Nottingham County. He managed to lead City of Lusaka FC to win the Northern Rhodesia Castle Cup in 1961.<sup>341</sup> In 1964, the year of independence, City of Lusaka FC won both the NFL Championship and the Castle Cup.<sup>342</sup> Ridgeway Liwena argues that Jackie Sewell played a prominent role in the building of both City of Lusaka and the Northern Rhodesia national soccer team, where he played the roles of captain, coach, and manager.<sup>343</sup> In the inaugural season of the NFL, City of Lusaka FC finished the league with a 2-1 victory over Nchanga Sports to take a runners-up position to Roan United FC, as stated above.<sup>344</sup> Apart from Sewell, the club also had great African players such Peter Mulenga, Lucas Bwalya and Amons Mushipe. The club even crossed the Zambezi River and recruited professional stars such as Amos Maponga from Salisbury and Juma Chipeta from Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>345</sup> With the departure of many Europeans after independence, it was not long before African players outnumbered Europeans in City of Lusaka FC and the whole NFL.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, 17..

<sup>341</sup> Eric Cottell, "Copperbelt Soccer Sides," *Inshila*, 27 March 1962, 26.

<sup>342</sup> Eric Cottell, "Fine Finish to League Battle," *Inshila* November 1964, Liwena, *Zambian Soccer Scene*, 17.

<sup>343</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 17.

<sup>344</sup> Eric Cottell, "Roan United were the League team of the season," *Inshila*, 6 November 1962.

<sup>345</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 18.

<sup>346</sup> Eric Cottell, "The New Soccer Season Has Great Promise," *Inshila*, 13 March 1962, 35.



Figure 4: City of Lusaka FC in 1962, Jack Sewell third in the front row from left, source: Liwena 1983, p. 96.

City of Lusaka remained Lusaka's only influential NFL club until Matero United joined the league in 1967.<sup>347</sup> Following the establishment of Matero Township in 1952 as one of the earliest and largest working-class compounds for urbanized working-class Africans in Lusaka, the Matero Welfare Community Department formed Matero Youth Club in 1953. The following year 1954, the Matero Youth Club merged with Chinika, Kamwala and Kabwata to form a strong soccer club they named Matero United FC.<sup>348</sup> In 1962, the council approved the construction of Matero Stadium that became the second stadium in

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<sup>347</sup> High Court injunction between Lusaka Tigers Football Club and Lusaka Urban District Council, Lusaka, 1 April, 1985.

<sup>348</sup> High Court injunction between Lusaka Tigers Football Club and Lusaka Urban District Council.

Lusaka and home field for Matero United FC, which later changed its name to Lusaka Tigers FC in 1967 when it entered the NFL.<sup>349</sup> Unlike City of Lusaka, Africans dominated Lusaka Tigers FC, as it was located in the middle of Matero Township.

Matero Township was the hub for political agitation during the colonial period, and this militancy was also translated into soccer. According to Peter Makembo who played for the club, great rivalry existed between City of Lusaka FC and Lusaka Tigers FC from the 1960s stretching to the 1980s. Apart from soccer and politics, the rivalry was also about social status, as City of Lusaka FC was seen to be made up of upper-middle class people that included Europeans living in the Woodlands suburb, locally known as *mayadi*, while Lusaka Tigers FC was made up of township dwellers who lived in the middle of a township known as *komboni*, which had no proper sanitation or road networks.<sup>350</sup> This setting increased the tension and rivalry between the two clubs. Fights were common during this local derby, which resulted in a number of supporters being arrested by police for causing violence.<sup>351</sup> Despite occasional resistance from Lusaka Tigers FC, City of Lusaka FC continued dominating Lusaka soccer until after independence when the club started declining due to the departure of some Europeans who were major stakeholders, and the emergence of Zambia Army FC, discussed in chapter 4. City of Lusaka is another example of a successful non-racial club under the NFL.

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<sup>349</sup> Sports Stadium: Matero Suburbs Earthworks and Drainage works, LUDC 1/2 101 Loc. 602 Contracts 23/1962 Sports stadium Matero Suburb Earth work and Drainage.

<sup>350</sup> Interview with Peter Makembo, Lusaka, 30 December 2013.

<sup>351</sup> Interview with Makembo.

## FOOTBALL AND THE ZAMBIAN NATION

The introduction of professional soccer and emergence of powerful clubs, particularly on the Copperbelt, led to a great increase in the size of crowds attending matches in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>352</sup> Harry Swindells, who was treasurer of the National Football League, stated that; “there has been a very noticeable increase in keenness among both players and spectators since the introduction of the league. Soccer gates have increased tremendously, and several thousand people pay to watch football matches on Sunday afternoons on the Copperbelt.”<sup>353</sup>

In order to attract the huge African spectator base and raise finances for the league, authorities decided to schedule the majority of matches to be played at African township fields.<sup>354</sup> As the matches were played in their communities, this raised the game’s enthusiasm among African spectators and led to the construction of solid urban black soccer clubs along the main rail line from Kitwe to Livingstone. Most of these powerful clubs were built around playing fields or stadiums in major towns.<sup>355</sup>

Before the Independence Stadium was constructed, Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in Ndola on the Copperbelt hosted most important matches, while Kafubu Stadium in Luanshya occasionally staged some contests. During the colonial era, the Ndola Playing Fields Association constructed what became Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in honor of the Swedish Secretary-General of the United Nations, who died on September 18, 1961 in a

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<sup>352</sup> Eric Cottell, “Copperbelt Soccer Sides,” *Inshila*, 27 March 1962, 26.

<sup>353</sup> Sundowner, “New Look Soccer Is a Success in the North,” *Horizon*, May 1962, 234.

<sup>354</sup> Eric Cottell, “The New Soccer Season Has Great Promise,” *Inshila*, March 13 1963, 35.

<sup>355</sup> Such as Kenneth Mackay ground in Bancroft which was home ground for Bancroft North End, Scrivener Stadium in Kitwe home ground for Rhokana United (popularly known as Red Devils), Shinde stadium in Mufulira home ground for Mufulira Wanderers, Gabittas stadium in Chingola home ground for Nchanga Rangers, Kafubu stadium in Luanshya home ground for Stylish Roan United and Queens Mead ground in Lusaka home ground for City of Lusaka before they moved to Woodlands stadium.

plane crash near Ndola. Hammarskjöld was en route to Katanga to discuss a ceasefire between “non-combatant” UN forces and secessionist Katangese troops under Moise Tshombe when his plane crashed for reasons unknown, killing all 16 passengers on board.<sup>356</sup> After independence, the stadium was donated to the Ndola City Council and became the home ground of Ndola United (formerly Home Defenders).

The NFL’s development and rising popularity led to Northern Rhodesian players attracting the attention of British professional clubs. For example, in October 1963, Leeds United, having already signed two “Coloured” South Africans (Gerald Francis and Albert Johanneson), invited Roan United players John Ginger Pensulo and Kenny Banda for trials in the United Kingdom.<sup>357</sup> The duo traveled to Leeds with Bennie Evans, secretary for Roan United, but their trials were unsuccessful.<sup>358</sup> Two other African players from Broken Hill Warriors, Mizzi Mkanda and Claude Matenga, were also invited for trials with Aston Villa, but failed to make the overseas journey because their clubs delayed facilitating their passports and travel arrangements. By 1964, the year of Zambian independence, Samuel Zoom Ndlhlovu (Mufulira Wanderers), Emmment Kapengwe (Kitwe United), John Ginger Pensulo, and Kenny Banda (Roan United) had asserted themselves as big names in the local game and thousands of fans idolized them.<sup>359</sup>

The large number of soccer followers, the game’s success in fighting racial segregation, and the emergence of black administrators like Tom Mtine in the early 1960s made an important contribution towards asserting black power and independence in the

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<sup>356</sup> “Dag Stadium needs K70000 facelift – Sakala,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23 December 1975.

<sup>357</sup> Eric Cottell, “Soccer Round-up,” *Inshila*, 8 October 1963, 28.

<sup>358</sup> “Big chance ahead,” *Northern News*, 9 October 1963, 11.

<sup>359</sup> “Northern Rhodesia Pit the Strongest Side yet Against Nyasaland,” *The Zambian News*, 13 October 1963, 30; “Big Chance Ahead,” *Northern News*, 9 October 1963, 11; Eric Cottell, “Soccer Round-up,” *Inshila*, 8 October 1963, 28

country. To paraphrase Marissa Moorman, it was through the popular urban culture of soccer that men and women “forged the nation.”<sup>360</sup> As discussed in chapter 5, mass media, particularly radio, played an essential role in broadcasting competitions, results, top scorers and news. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the midst of stadium noise on the Copperbelt, Broken Hill, and Lusaka, thousands of people started actively imagining and experiencing freedom, independence, and a sense of common Zambian-ness.

#### *UFULU* (FREEDOM) FOOTBALL TOURNAMENTS

When the country gained independence on October 24, 1964, there were already vibrant and flourishing soccer clubs and a professional league. Zambians speak about 73 different languages, so the game provided a “neutral” cultural medium that most people could identify with and enjoy together. As has been shown elsewhere, the game’s deep roots in urban African popular culture made it a powerful coagulating force and “a rare form of ‘national culture’ in post colonial Africa.”<sup>361</sup>

In 1964, the 30,000-capacity Independence Stadium was constructed near the earliest working-class compound of Matero, discussed in earlier paragraphs. In this concrete bowl, people of all races joined Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of the Republic of Zambia, his cabinet ministers, and other dignitaries to celebrate the country’s Independence Day.<sup>362</sup>

The stadium was accessible to the majority of city dwellers and provided sporting entertainment to thousands of middle-class and low-income residents of Matero. The stadium design and architecture created different categories of seats; section D was the

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<sup>360</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 208, 2.

<sup>361</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 54.

<sup>362</sup> Eric Cottell “Stadium Progress,” *Inshila*, 28 July 1964.



most affordable, the most crowded and famous for displaying the strongest support. The construction of this stadium in Lusaka was part of a larger trend which saw many newly independent African nations build soccer stadiums in their capital cities as “symbols of modernity and pride.”<sup>363</sup> In line with Alegi’s argument connecting stadiums to national identities, Independence Stadium in Lusaka became the home field for the national team. It turned into an “extremely valuable public space ... where, potentially disaggregated social actors found a common symbol, language, history and purpose.”<sup>364</sup>



Figure 5: The Independence Stadium in 1964. Source: National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

The first change that independence brought to the game was the name of the football association. At a special soccer General Meeting in July of 1964 the name of the

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<sup>363</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 55.

<sup>364</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 55



Northern Rhodesia Football Association was changed to the Zambia Football Association, and later changed to Football Association of Zambia.<sup>365</sup> There was also a change in administration office holders in the new association; John Kelly won the post of president, taking over from Ernie Hayes, who had led the associations for over fourteen years, while Tom Mtine continued as National League chairman. Hayes had been part of the transformations that had taken place in the game from a racially divided amateur sport to a nonracial semi-professional league.<sup>366</sup>

Like other African nations, Zambia used soccer matches “as part of ... independence celebrations . . . [to assert] full membership in the international community.”<sup>367</sup> In preparation for his inauguration, Kenneth Kaunda assigned his cabinet to play a soccer match against a select side at Scrivener Stadium in Kitwe on April 18, 1964. A crowd of over 4,000 people watched the match.<sup>368</sup> Kaunda (then Prime Minister) led his team onto the field “amid thundering cheers and laughter from spectators.”<sup>369</sup> The match was thrilling. The select side scored four quick goals in the first half, but the ministers made changes and responded in the second half (or possibly the select side was reprimanded during halftime). Chimba, Minister of Labor and Mines, banged in three goals and Ranken Sikasula scored two goals, forcing a memorable 5-5 draw!<sup>370</sup>

As the first territory in the British Central African Federation to regain independence on July 6, 1964, Malawi might have provided a model for Zambia because Tanganyika and Zambia were invited for the *ufulu* (independence) tournament held in two

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<sup>365</sup> Eric Cottell, “15 Years of NR Soccer,” *Inshila*, 14 July 1964, 36.

<sup>366</sup> Eric Cottell, “Ghana Beat All Comers,” *Inshila*, 3 November 1964, 38.

<sup>367</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 54.

<sup>368</sup> Eric Cottell, “Ministers Draw Crowds,” *Inshila*, May 5, 1964, 40.

<sup>369</sup> Cottell, “Ministers Draw Crowds,” 40.

<sup>370</sup> Cottell, “Ministers Draw Crowds,” 40

Malawian towns Zomba and Blantyre. All the national team players played for NFL clubs, which gave them an edge over Tanganyika and Malawi in the tournament. They beat Tanganyika 3-0 in the first match. The final match was a historic encounter between Zambia and Malawi at the Central Stadium near Blantyre. The visitors spoiled Malawi's independence party celebrations by beating the hosts 5-0.<sup>371</sup>

Initially, the government and the Zambia Football Association planned for an *ufulu* tournament featuring Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Ghana.<sup>372</sup> Along the way, things changed; Nigeria and Ethiopia could not make it to Lusaka for the tournament and were replaced with Kenya and Uganda.<sup>373</sup> The tournament started on October 20, 1964, with Zambia against Uganda at Kafubu stadium in Luanshya. Just as Zambia had done to Malawi in their *ufulu* celebrations, Uganda spoiled the hosts' celebrations by beating them 2-0. According to the *Northern News* match report, during the match at Kafubu stadium, "hardly a cheer escaped the lips of 3,000 home supporters. They might have been watching an execution!"<sup>374</sup> The report emphasized that; "this was one of the worst performances to come from our national soccer team in years."<sup>375</sup> Ghana thrashed Kenya 7-1 to qualify to the final. Zambians attempted to redeem themselves in the second match against Kenya at Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in Ndola, but lost 3-2. Despite losing most of the preliminary matches, the Zambians were scheduled to meet Ghana in a final match on Independence Day as a climax of their independence celebrations.

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<sup>371</sup> Eric Cottell, "15 Years of NR Soccer," *Inshila*, 14 July 1964, 36.

<sup>372</sup> Eric Cottell, "Uhuru Soccer Tournament," *Inshila*, 7 April 1964, 36.

<sup>373</sup> "The North is Humbled," *Northern News*, 21 October 1964, 11.

<sup>374</sup> "The North is Humbled," *Northern News*.

<sup>375</sup> "The North is Humbled," *Northern News*.

Celebrating independence was a massive event for the country. According to David Gordon, preparations for the day were done in liaison with British authorities familiar with hand-over processes recently completed elsewhere in Africa as colonies gained independence.<sup>376</sup> The Union Jack was lowered and the new Zambian flag was raised at midnight on 23 October 1964, in a ceremony attended by the Princess Royal (Great Britain's Princess Mary) at the newly constructed Independence Stadium.



Figure 6: Lowering of The Union Jack, at midnight October 23, 1964 in the Independence Stadium and the raising of the new Zambian Flag to proclaim independence.

The following day was set for independence celebrations. “Events at the stadium ended in the early evening and gave way to a range of other festivities and ceremonies: a state ball, a beauty pageant, and [the final] football match” between Zambia and Ghana.<sup>377</sup> The final match of the *ufulu* tournament between Zambia and Ghana in the new

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<sup>376</sup> Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, 157.

<sup>377</sup> Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, 157.

Independence Stadium was electrifying.<sup>378</sup> The hosts played an excellent game with Jackie Sewell, Zoom Ndhlovu and Emmment Kapengwe scoring a goal each; but they were defeated 3-4 by the Black Stars of Ghana, who were the African champions.<sup>379</sup> In the following years, the game continued to play an important role in social and political agendas of the country, not least because of President Kaunda's personal interest in the game; he played, supported, and attended soccer competitions, which helped to boost the people's enthusiasm toward the game. As David Goldblatt puts it, "Kenneth Kaunda was a rarity."<sup>380</sup>



Figure 7: President Kaunda greeting the Princess Royal in Independence Stadium during independence celebrations, October 24, 1964. Source: National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

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<sup>378</sup> "The North is Humbled," *Northern News*, 21 October 1964:12.

<sup>379</sup> Eric Cottell, "Ghana Beat All Comers," *Inshila*, 3 November 1964, 38.

<sup>380</sup> David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: a Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008).

In conclusion, soccer had become popular in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s, leading to the emergence of fascinating inter-racial matches between Africans and Europeans. With the coming of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, plans were underway to form a whites-only body to oversee federal sports that aimed at securing and strengthening white political and social domination. The ideas of forming this body were crushed by a combination of Africans and European liberal businessmen who were interested in nonracial semi-professional soccer.

At a time when Northern Rhodesian society was still experiencing widespread racial discrimination and segregation, sportsmen (and women) successfully fought amateurism and segregation in the game despite resistance from conservative Europeans and some African politicians. This led to the formation of the racially integrated National Football League, a powerful symbol for the larger nationalist struggle. Powerful nonracial clubs emerged that dominated the game on the Copperbelt and played a role in bridging racial differences between Africans and Europeans. Top African players proved their equality to their European counterparts and acquired rights and opportunities to wear national colors, represent the territory in international matches, and fly the national flag. By the early 1960s, African leaders emerged who not only governed the game, but also challenged European power and authority. As seen in the *ufulu* celebrations following independence, soccer played an important role in uniting Zambians of different ethnic backgrounds around a common form of popular culture.

### CHAPTER 3: KAUNDA'S ONE PARTY-STATE: FOOTBALL AND POSTCOLONIAL POLITICS IN THE 1970s

The game of football continued playing an important role in the lives of people in the country as seen in the formation of a nonracial National Football League and emergence of powerful nonracial football clubs. This chapter explores the politics of soccer in Zambia after independence by examining how local people and politicians interacted in football affairs. It looks at how the game's widespread popularity triggered a decisive move by President Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) to control soccer and use it as a tool for political propaganda. Faced with unpredictable outcomes and other difficulties, politicians soon became concerned that their political opponents might use the game as a vehicle for expressing dissent and, perhaps, outright rebellion. The chapter concludes with the argument that the UNIP government never gained total control over the game, not least because ordinary citizens forced politicians to respond to their dissatisfaction with the local game on and off the pitch.

The early 1970s announced Zambia's arrival on the international scene as a formidable football nation. In 1973, the country won every game in its qualifying group and finished second to Zaire (formerly Democratic Republic of Congo) in the 1974 African Cup of Nations in Cairo, Egypt. This success extended to the World Cup qualifications, just narrowly missing qualifying for the 1974 World Cup in West Germany, again to rivals Zaire.<sup>381</sup> However, the Zambians' success seemed short-lived. In 1975, they beat Uganda 2-1 in a qualifier for the African Nations Cup at the Independence Stadium in Lusaka, but lost

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<sup>381</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1995 by the Director of Sport Musa Kasonka to the Minister of Labor and Social Services, Lusaka, 10 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive, Lusaka.

0-3 in the return match in Kampala and were eliminated from the competition.<sup>382</sup> Towards the end of 1975, they hosted the East and Central African Challenge Cup, a regional competition. Zambia lost both its matches: 1-2 to Kenya and 0-1 to Uganda, and was out of the tournament.<sup>383</sup> This shocking early elimination from the East and Central African Challenge Cup sparked sharp reactions, criticisms and protests from the public. Angry fans demanded the disbandment of the national team and called for the “Zambianization” of the post of national team coach held at the time by Ante Buselic from Yugoslavia.<sup>384</sup>

Fearing that people would direct the anger and dissatisfaction toward the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government, Dingiswayo Banda, Minister of Labor and Social Services, assured the nation that government was going to take drastic measures to reorganize soccer administration.<sup>385</sup> He stressed that the reorganization would improve the national team’s performance in future international competitions.<sup>386</sup> He immediately dissolved both the National Football League (NFL), the institution in charge of the domestic premier league (see chapter 2), and the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ), the governing body of the game in the country. Banda appointed a caretaker body to run soccer during the period of restructuring.<sup>387</sup> The above developments reveal what soccer meant to the local people in social and cultural terms. Banda’s intervention and the reorganization of the domestic game also underscore the newly formed government’s fear of the potentially unsettling political role soccer fans wielded after independence. As in

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<sup>382</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, “Zambia Kicked out of African Cup,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28 July 1975.

<sup>383</sup> Kalwisha, “Zambia kicked out of African Cup.”

<sup>384</sup> Kalwisha, “Zambia Kicked out of African Cup.”

<sup>385</sup> “Banda to revamp national team,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5 November 1975.

<sup>386</sup> “Banda to revamp national team,” *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>387</sup> Youth and Sports Committee emergency meeting, Lusaka, 6 November 1975, 8/6/17-24(1), UNIP Archives Lusaka.

most other African nations, the game exposed the newly independent country “to the gravitation pull of the idea of a nation.”<sup>388</sup> The country’s defeats in 1975, coming so soon after heady success, threatened a “vigorously masculine understanding of the nation,” which resulted in sharp reactions from citizens and government alike.<sup>389</sup>

## THE UNIP AND THE DRIVE TO CONTROL FOOTBALL

The UNIP under President Kenneth Kaunda took control of Zambia at independence with strong political support from most parts of the country.<sup>390</sup> However, by 1966 cracks started to show in the UNIP as some party members from Western Province broke away in 1968 to form the United Party (later banned). By this time, the UNIP was losing popularity as citizens became impatient with nationalist politicians’ failure to fulfill promises they made during the anti-colonial campaigns in the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>391</sup> Despite President Kaunda’s calls for “One Zambia – One Nation,”<sup>392</sup> class inequalities, regional rivalries, inflation and shortage of consumer goods were ever increasing in the country.<sup>393</sup> Cracks in the ruling party continued to widen. In August 1971 the national and party Vice-President Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe set out on his own and formed the United Progressive Party (UPP).<sup>394</sup>

Historian Giacomo Macola argues that President Kaunda and the UNIP evolved an authoritarian brand of nationalism that viewed minority and other political parties with

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<sup>388</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 55.

<sup>389</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 55.

<sup>390</sup> Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 242.

<sup>391</sup> Miles Larmer, “Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980,” in *One Zambia Many Histories: toward a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 102.

<sup>392</sup> One-Zambia-one-nation was a slogan that was coined by President Kenneth Kaunda and his UNIP government to call for unity among the 73 ethnic groups that formed Zambia at independence.

<sup>393</sup> Andrew Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 240.

<sup>394</sup> Larmer, “Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980,” 98.



great suspicion.<sup>395</sup> This trend developed into a tendency to identify any opposition to the UNIP as “illegitimate and treasonable.”<sup>396</sup> The UNIP started losing by-elections and local elections and accusing rival political parties of causing conflict and violence. Using these claims, as well as the country’s vulnerability as a “frontline” state surrounded by hostile apartheid-style neighbors such as Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa, Kaunda appointed a National Commission to develop a one-party constitution in February 1972.<sup>397</sup> This constitution was approved by Parliament and in 1972 ushered in Zambia’s Second Republic. In this so-called “one-party participatory democracy,” the UNIP and the state were popularly referred to as the party and its government.<sup>398</sup>

The coming of the one-party rule in Zambia, Macola argued, brought “gradual reduction of toleration for internal dissent and general contraction of civil liberties.”<sup>399</sup> This step marked President Kaunda’s move towards autocratic leadership; it encouraged concentration of political power in his hands and in those of a few UNIP top leaders who made decisions on almost all sectors of the society, including football.

The popularity of the game as a national sport made it attractive to national politicians and political parties. This was particularly true of the ruling UNIP. During the Second Republic under Kaunda (1973 to 1991), the UNIP was essentially synonymous with the state.<sup>400</sup> The UNIP structures prioritized sport because it was understood to be an important vehicle for party propaganda. According to Davies Banda, the Central

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<sup>395</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 18.

<sup>396</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 18.

<sup>397</sup> Giacomo Macola, “Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, 244.

<sup>398</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 244, Larmer, “Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980,” 98.

<sup>399</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 17.

<sup>400</sup> Davies Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” *International Journal of Sport Policy*, 2 (2010): 242.

Committee that was “the party’s supreme policy making body for both the party and government had a Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport responsible for all sport policy related matters.”<sup>401</sup> Banda stresses how all government sports officials were answerable to the Sub-Committee on Youth and Sport, which had the mandate and power to hire and fire them.<sup>402</sup> Remarkably, the Minister of Labor and Social Services (where sport belonged at the time) reported to the chairman of the ruling party’s Youth and Sports Committee.<sup>403</sup> The Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport and Youth Brigade were also directly linked to the UNIP Youth League, creating a synergy strategically aimed proselytizing and inculcating Kaunda’s Zambian humanism among the UNIP youth.<sup>404</sup>

President Kaunda believed that his one-party system would be a lifeless institution without a philosophy. Just like many other leaders of newly independent African states that adopted African Socialism, Kaunda adopted Zambian humanism as the national political philosophy and officially introduced it to the people of the country on April 19, 1968.<sup>405</sup> At a luncheon honoring the country’s sports associations in 1976, Kaunda declared that, “the philosophy of Humanism will remain incomplete without Zambia making her mark in the field of sport.”<sup>406</sup> Kaunda stressed that the country’s biggest achievement in the field of sport was in soccer. The national team had managed to win the hearts of spectators

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<sup>401</sup> Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” 242.

<sup>402</sup> Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” 242.

<sup>403</sup> Youth and Sports Committee, annual report for 1975.

<sup>404</sup> Minutes of the 5<sup>th</sup> Youth and Sport Committee Meeting, Lusaka, 1 June 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive, Lusaka.

<sup>405</sup> A. I. Phiri, “The Current Situation in Zambia,” *African Affairs* 72 (1973): 323-325. Zambian humanism was an ideology that President Kenneth Kaunda adopted as Zambian national ideology and philosophy after independence in 1964. Similar to Julius Nyerere *Ujamaa* in Tanzania, Zambian Humanism was a form of African socialism with a combination of African traditional values and Christian values. The ideology put God and the human person at the center — creating a strong connection between God and humans.

<sup>406</sup> “Without sport, humanism is ‘dead,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 December 1976.

because of their discipline despite inadequate funding and other challenges. He stressed that soccer players “have always shown exemplary behavior and developed a good spirit of knowing how to lose well and win well.”<sup>407</sup>

Kaunda’s great interest in the soccer and sports in general seemed genuine. After all, he had played the game for his school during his days at Munali School in Lusaka.<sup>408</sup> As President, Kaunda made time in his very busy schedule to play and referee matches. While officiating at the Rothmans Championship final in 1964 between City of Lusaka and Mufulira Wanderers, Kaunda pointed out that a country without sport was half-dead. Deploying the colonial and missionary “games ethic” view, Kaunda stressed that sport “is good for the body, for our health, for team spirit and patriotism.”<sup>409</sup>

As president, he often attended important matches, before which he would walk on to the pitch and display his football juggling and heading skills to the delight of the crowd and assembled media.<sup>410</sup> Kaunda also created a tradition of feting national team players on the eve of their departure for major international tournaments. This high-level support for the game earned President Kaunda the title of “soccer fan number one.”<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> “Without sport, humanism is ‘dead,” *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>408</sup> Arthur Yoyo, “He is called Zambia’s number one soccer fan,” *Zambia Daily Mail* special supplement, 28 April 1974. It is interesting to note that Tom Mtine attended the same school around the same time.

<sup>409</sup> Yoyo, “He is called Zambia’s number one soccer fan.”

<sup>410</sup> Yoyo, “He is called Zambia’s number one soccer fan.”

<sup>411</sup> “KK to fete World Cup squad,” *Times of Zambia*, 6 July 1974.



Figure 8: President Kenneth Kaunda with his cabinet of ministers' soccer team in (n. d.) Source: National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

Kaunda's interest in soccer stirred a lot of enthusiasm for the game in the corridors of power. Following the independence celebration soccer matches (described in chapter 4), Cabinet Ministers continued playing regular matches with select teams. In 1965, they played a match against Copperbelt Mayors at Scrivener Stadium in Kitwe. Kaunda refereed this match, which ended in a 2-2 draw and was almost spoiled by rains that flooded the pitch.<sup>412</sup>

Zambian parliamentarians extended their soccer activities to their counterparts in the neighboring countries. In 1972, for example, they hosted Tanzanian Members of Parliament for a match in which the visitors thrashed the hosts 9-1.<sup>413</sup> Two return

<sup>412</sup> "Your Ministers Everywhere!" *Inshila*, 8 October 1965

<sup>413</sup> "MP's team off to Dar," *Times of Zambia*, 5 July 1974

matches were played in Tanzania; Zambian parliamentarians won the first one and lost the second one to the Tanzanians.<sup>414</sup> Similar matches continued to be played between Zambian, Zimbabwean and Tanzanian parliamentarians.<sup>415</sup> The parliamentarians used these sport gatherings to enjoy the game, share political experiences, and strengthen their regional bonding and camaraderie. The game also helped the country's political elite project an image of a class in touch with the passions of ordinary men, women, and youth in the country.

While parliamentarians' football activities can be understood as a deliberate populist tactic to encourage a sporting culture in the country, they can also be seen as a reflection of a soccer culture that had sunk its roots in independent Zambia. People of all ages in both rural and urban areas spared time to play the game. Dickson Mudeene, a peasant farmer among the Tonga people of Southern Province, told me how cattle herders east of Monze organized themselves and played competitive soccer matches during the dry season after harvesting their crops.<sup>416</sup> He claimed that no village existed in his area that did not boast a soccer team in the 1970s and 1980s. Official matches were often played on Sundays and attracted large numbers of supporters that included men and women of all ages. While these village contests provided an opportunity for young men to showcase their soccer skills, they also provided valuable entertainment to the villagers. It gave local

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<sup>414</sup> "Team back," *Times of Zambia*, 12 July 1974.

<sup>415</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Secretary of Defense and Security on Speaker's briefing meeting to Zambian Parliamentary Soccer team, Lusaka, 19 October 1984, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>416</sup> Interview with Dickson Mudeene, Mazabuka, 20 April 2014.

people an opportunity to sell sweets, fritters (a form of doughnuts popular in Zambia), drinks, and other items.<sup>417</sup>

Hand in hand with the fading away of some of the local religious and traditional practices as a result of the conversion to Christianity for most locals, the adoption of the civil religion of football extended beyond the urban and industrial contexts and became a rural phenomenon as well. This transformation helps to further explain why the UNIP government identified the game as an important vehicle to project the party's political values and ideology.

While Kaunda probably had a genuine love for sports, clearly he sought to capitalize on the fans' passion and interest in the game for political reasons. In a paper presented to the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport meeting in 1976, Dingiswayo Banda (Minister of Labor and Social Services) stated that youth active participation in sport was very important because it was going to "help in making 'One Zambia One Nation' a reality."<sup>418</sup> Andrew Mutemba, chairman of the powerful Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport, pointed out that, "Sport can be used as an effective tool to widen contacts and cooperation between people of different groups."<sup>419</sup> He also warned the audience: "Let us not forget that our enemies could use our failure to organize sports up to international standards as a vehicle for inciting anti-party elements."<sup>420</sup> Mutemba's comment shows that the ruling party and the government did not only see sport as a good tool for political propaganda, but also

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<sup>417</sup> Interview with Mudeene.

<sup>418</sup> Minutes, Youth and Sports Committee meeting, 2 March 1976, Lusaka UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive. President Kenneth Kaunda created the motto of "One Zambia One Nation" with the aim of embracing all the 72 different ethnic groups to create peace and harmony in the new heterogeneous country.

<sup>419</sup> Minutes, Youth and Sports Committee meeting, 2 March 1976.

<sup>420</sup> Minutes, Youth and Sports Committee meeting, 2 March 1976.

feared that their opponents might take advantage of the huge numbers of people interested in soccer and possibly use it to challenge or overthrow the government.

The UNIP wanted to make the success of the national soccer team to be seen as a direct result and an indication of their good policies and fitness to rule. The naming of the national team as the “KK XI” (after Kenneth Kaunda) symbolized the game’s intimate connections to the UNIP and the country’s political leadership.<sup>421</sup> As a result of this politicization of soccer, the party and the government were much less willing to tolerate any losses or failures in international matches. In addition, the value Kaunda and the UNIP attached to the game persuaded government and parastatal companies to support the game in a number of ways. All government controlled primary and secondary schools were inspired to offer physical education and sports programs that exposed a number of boys and girls to quality, organized soccer at a young age as players and fans.

## SCHOOL SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL LINKS

The development of soccer in the late 1960s and 1970s cannot be discussed without properly considering the role of expanding physical education and sport programs in schools. Lewis Shambulo played for the schools national team, City of Lusaka Football Club and coached the under 20 national team. He attended Libala Secondary School in Lusaka just after independence and told me that the development of the game was a result of competitive leagues formed from primary school to secondary school levels during that period.<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Davies Banda, “Sport and the Multisectoral Approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia. Unpublished thesis submitted at Loughborough University,” (2014).

<sup>422</sup> Interview with Lewis Shambulo, Lusaka, 24 July 2011.



Figure 9: An unknown Primary School football team (n. d.) Source: National Archives of Zambia.

Ponga Liwewe, who is a soccer commentator and analyst (son of veteran soccer commentator Dennis Liwewe), said that from the 1960s to the late 1980s, school football was the foundation on which the game was built on. This was because schools had good sports infrastructures such as playing fields, equipment and support with motivated teachers.<sup>423</sup> Once a year, secondary school teachers brought together their best players to select a schools national team.<sup>424</sup> This team played against youth national teams from neighboring countries such as Malawi, Tanzania, Southern Rhodesia, and occasionally even

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<sup>423</sup> Interview with Ponga Liwewe, Lusaka, 25 July 2011.

<sup>424</sup> Interview with Lewis Shambulo, Lusaka, 24 July 2011.



youth teams from England. Zambia had mutual soccer exchanges with English youth clubs such as Leicester City, Wolverhampton Wanderers, and Newcastle United, which visited the country and played against the schools national team.<sup>425</sup> The schools national team became a talent pool from which the country's major clubs recruited their young talents.

Football contacts between Zambia and Britain did not end at the youth level. There were several programs at club and national team levels that involved visits of coaches and professional clubs. Immediately after independence, two influential British players, Phil Woosnam and Fred Goodwin, visited the country for a two-month coaching program. Woosnam coached Copperbelt clubs while Goodwin coached Midlands clubs.<sup>426</sup> Around the same time, former Manchester United full back Ian Greaves arrived and signed a three-month contract with Rhokana United as a player-coach, joining other renowned former European players such as Jackie Sewell and Tony Castella, who were coach players for local clubs.<sup>427</sup> Additionally, British clubs such as Middlesex Wanderers, Leicester City and Cardiff City made soccer tours and played against local clubs and the national team.<sup>428</sup> The Football Association of Zambia and the government believed that inviting British coaches and clubs would improve the quality and standard of the local game.

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<sup>425</sup> John Musukuma, "Riot Mars Leicester Visit," *Inshila*, 14 June 1968, "Wolves say yes to Zambian tour," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6 February 1971, "New Castle flew in for big clash" *Times of Zambia*, 25 April 1974.

<sup>426</sup> Ex-UK international to be Roan's New Coach" *Inshila*, 5 May 1964. On Phil Woosnam's life (1932-2013) and football career, see <http://www.socceramerica.com/article/52762/obituary-phil-woosnam-1932-2013.html>; <http://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2013/jul/26/phil-woosnam-west-ham-aston-villa-america>; and <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/22/sports/soccer/phil-woosnam-pioneer-of-north-american-soccer-dies-at-80.html>.

<sup>427</sup> "Visits by the stars? If we behave!" *Inshila*, 19 May 1964.

<sup>428</sup> "Hail Zambia's Conquering Heroes!" *Inshila*, 2 July 1965; John Musukuma, "Riot Mars Leicester Visit" *Inshila*, 14 June 1968; Alfred Mulenga, "Cardiff win a brawl of a match" *Times of Zambia*, 2 June 1969.

However, the country's soccer links with Britain came to a sudden halt in 1974 after Britain failed to stop the British Lions rugby tour of South Africa.<sup>429</sup> African countries were pushing for the isolation of apartheid South Africa from global sports.<sup>430</sup> Following the British Lions tour of South Africa, the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (formed in Bamako Mali by thirty-two African nations in December 1966) called for all-African boycott of British sports. Football played a leading role in isolating apartheid South Africa and pressured countries that supported the white minority regime to change their ways.<sup>431</sup>

In the wake of the apartheid sports boycott and the severing of soccer links with Britain, Zambians quickly turned to Brazil and Soviet Russia for football cooperation.<sup>432</sup> Brazil's Operario and USSR's Dynamo Minsk played matches in the country in 1974.<sup>433</sup> At the same time, FAZ strengthened relationships with clubs from neighboring countries, such as T. P. Mazembe and Lupopo from Zaire (DR Congo), which exchanged several soccer tours with Copperbelt clubs.<sup>434</sup>

Towards the end of 1974, FAZ chairman Tom Mtine even announced that, "FAZ would like to entertain the idea of having more international matches with neighboring countries than with European countries".<sup>435</sup> Mtine's comment was not only influenced by the brief boycott of British sports, but also by the country's vulnerable position as a

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<sup>429</sup> George Kanyanta, "Hunt for new sports contacts begin," *Times of Zambia*, 24 May 1974.

<sup>430</sup> Alegi, *Soccerscapes*, 75. On the sports boycott, see also Douglas Booth, *The Race Game* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), among many other sources.

<sup>431</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* esp. chapters 7-9.

<sup>432</sup> George Kanyanta, "Hunt for new sports contacts begin," *Times of Zambia*, 24 May 1974.

<sup>433</sup> "Brazilian club flies in," *Times of Zambia*, 21 September 1974, Miks Wasa, "Russia Club beats Zambia," *Times of Zambia*, 2 December 1974.

<sup>434</sup> "Ndola FC leaves for Zaire tour," *Times of Zambia*, 22 November 1974; "We are here to win, declare Lupopo," *Times of Zambia*, 4 February 1981; "Congo team impressed," *Times of Zambia*, 2 April 1981.

<sup>435</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, "FAZ plans to go 'local'" *Times of Zambia*, 21 December 1974.

“frontline” state.<sup>436</sup> They could have seen the British failure to use military force to crush Ian Smith’s 1965 unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia and secure African majority rule as treacherous. Britain, which still had the sovereign power in Rhodesia, preferred the use of economic sanctions. As Rhodesia’s links to the outside world were also Zambia’s, the “sanctions designed to isolate Rhodesia would also isolate Zambia.”<sup>437</sup> However, the sporting relationship between Zambia and Britain resumed towards the end of 1974 after Britain denounced the Lions’ tour of South Africa.<sup>438</sup>

The enthusiasm that people developed for the game compelled the Ministry of Labor and Social Services and FAZ to hire a foreign coach for the national team. After looking at all available options, the selection team hired Ante Buselic, a Yugoslav physical education instructor.<sup>439</sup> Buselic was given the task of molding local players into a team that would meet international standards. After building his new team for a few months, Zambia lost twice to Malawi in friendly matches in Blantyre and Lilongwe respectively. Fans immediately demanded the termination of Buselic’s contract and the dismissal of the whole squad.<sup>440</sup> Despite criticism from the fans and the media, Buselic gradually built a successful team (as noted at the beginning of the paper).<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 17.

<sup>437</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 227.

<sup>438</sup> “Soccer champs leave for brush up today,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5 October 1978; “Stoke beat Zambia 3-2,” *Times of Zambia*, 13 August 1984.

<sup>439</sup> Memorandum by Chairman of Youth and Sports Committee on Soccer Administration in Zambia, Lusaka, 1 December 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive, Lusaka.

<sup>440</sup> “Buselic must go,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23 March 1971.

<sup>441</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1995 by the Director of Sport Musakasonka to the Minister of Labor and Social Services, Lusaka, 10 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive

Some experts have argued that Buselic's 1974 African Cup of Nations team featured the best crop of players the country has ever produced.<sup>442</sup> "There is no decade that produced naturally talented players as the 1970s," journalist Daniel Kaoma said in an interview; "and anyone who has not seen Zambian football in the 1970s has not seen great Zambian soccer."<sup>443</sup> Kaoma stressed that good administrators such as Jimmy Fleming (from Nchanga Rangers) and Musa Kasonka laid a strong foundation for grassroots soccer by focusing on primary and secondary schools. The school's soccer project was complemented by the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines welfare programs, which trained youngsters in centers like Chawama Hall in Mufulira and Kafubu Stadium in Luanshya. These initiatives supplied clubs and the national team with many skillful young players.<sup>444</sup>

Lewis Shambulo agrees with Kaoma's assessment that the 1970s players were a spectacle to behold: the best players the country has ever produced.<sup>445</sup> Shambulo argued that his generation honed their soccer skills in townships where they played the game on very rough grounds for long hours everyday using tennis balls. He argues that the rough environment made the young players very creative and helped them to polish their individual skills such as ball control.<sup>446</sup> This resonates with Peter Alegi's work in South Africa's African, Coloured and Indian communities. In these segregated areas, young people played with tennis balls and makeshift balls in narrow streets and sandlots where they refined "ball control, individualism, toughness and improvisation"—skills that became

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<sup>442</sup> Buselic's important players 1971-1974 included J. Chomba, E. Mwape, A. Nkole, P. M'hango, E. Musonda, A. Musenge, D. Chama, D. Makwaza, D. Yobe, E. Mbaso, B. Simutowe, J. Simulambo, J. Mapulanga, M. Simwala, S. Kaushi, G. Chitalu, B. Chanda, B. Sinayangwe, W. Phiri, P. Kunda, B. Mulenga and R. Stephenson.

<sup>443</sup> Interview with Daniel Kaoma, Lusaka, 13 July 2011.

<sup>444</sup> Interview with Kaoma,

<sup>445</sup> Interview with Lewis Shambulo, Lusaka, 24 July 2011.

<sup>446</sup> Interview with Shambulo.

useful in adult soccer.<sup>447</sup> Many elderly fans argue that the spectacular individual skills of top local players in the 1960s and 1970s made the game very exciting to watch. It was these entertaining skills that attracted huge numbers of fans and filled stadiums on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka during this period.

#### AFRICAN HUMANISM, POPULIST LEADERSHIP, AND THE 1974 AFRICAN CUP OF NATIONS

After qualifying for the ninth edition of the African Cup of Nations finals in Egypt, Zambia was drawn in a group with the host nation, Ivory Coast and Uganda.<sup>448</sup> As per tradition, President Kenneth Kaunda invited the national team and staff for a sendoff dinner at State House (the president's residence). Kaunda usually used such opportunities to propagate his Zambian Humanism philosophy. He pointed out that the whole entourage that was traveling to Cairo was going there as ambassadors. He stated emphatically, "We send you to go and win and bring the Cup. But in case things do not go well, know that in humanism, we know how to win well and to lose well."<sup>449</sup>

Kaunda saw the African Cup of Nations as an opportunity to announce his country's arrival on the continental soccer scene. He also recognized the tournament as an opportunity to showcase the political ideology of African humanism and to strengthen his popularity and political power in the country, if not the continent. Kaunda was not the only one who used the game to advance his political agenda and visibility. Other African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast also used soccer to bolster their political popularity and power. Nkrumah ardently believed that the

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<sup>447</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 57.

<sup>448</sup> "We are still in the race," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5 March 1974.

<sup>449</sup> "Be tough but not rough," *Times of Zambia*, 16 February 1974.

game had power to “transcend ethnic, linguistic, regional, religious, and generational barriers” in postcolonial Ghana and exploited this power of the game to the fullest.<sup>450</sup>

Coach Ante Buselic left for Cairo with Godfrey Chitalu, Boniface Simutowe, Dickson Makwaza, Dick Chama, Brighton Sinyangwe and Bernard Chanda in top form.<sup>451</sup> In the first match, Zambia lost to Egypt 3-1, but then beat Uganda 1-0 under the watchful eye of President Kaunda and thousands of Egyptian fans in Cairo. They reached the semi-finals where they beat Congo Brazzaville 4-2.<sup>452</sup>

During the March 12 final against Zaire, a tense atmosphere prevailed back at home. Almost all soccer fans were glued to legendary soccer commentator Dennis Liwewe’s live radio broadcast from Cairo. Everywhere, “in offices, streets and houses, soccer fans kept their ears glued to their radios long to listen to the commentary.”<sup>453</sup> As soon as Liwewe announced that the game was over and they had drawn 2-2 with Zaire, people poured into the streets of Lusaka in jubilation while motorists sounded their horns in excitement. There was euphoria in the whole country as if they had won the African Cup of Nations. Tom Mtine (FAZ chairman) recalled the pleasant surprise of drawing the match since Zambia was trailing by a goal in the dying minutes of extra time.<sup>454</sup> In an era that predated penalty shootouts, the final was replayed two days later at Nasser Stadium. Zambia lost 0-2 to Mobutu’s Zaire.<sup>455</sup> Despite the disappointing result, Mtine stated, “the performance of

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<sup>450</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 58-59. See also Craig Waite, “Ghana’s Black Stars: A Fifty-Year Journey to the World Cup Quarterfinals,” in P. Alegi and C. Bolsmann, eds., *Africa’s World Cup: Critical Reflections on Play, Patriotism, Spectatorship, and Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 99-108.

<sup>451</sup> “Good Luck!” *Times of Zambia*, 21 February 1974.

<sup>452</sup> “Kapita put us near African Cup,” *Times of Zambia*, 7 March 1974.

<sup>453</sup> “Huge audiences listens,” *Times of Zambia*, 13 March 1974.

<sup>454</sup> “Huge audiences listens,” *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>455</sup> “Tough Luck!” *Times of Zambia*, 15 March 1974

the team as a whole in Cairo has shown that Zambia is among the greatest countries in African football.”<sup>456</sup>

In recognition of this accomplishment, Kaunda’s government paid for the entire team to travel to Munich, West Germany, to attend the 1974 World Cup final. Kaunda stressed that, “although the team did not win the African Cup of Nations in Cairo, they succeeded in projecting a good name for the country.”<sup>457</sup> He also made use of this opportunity to appeal to ministers, party officials, and managing directors of major parastatal organizations to provide financial assistance to develop sports in the country. “It is true football is the most popular sport in the country,” Kaunda said, “but efforts should be made at all levels to develop other spheres of sport to the same extent.”<sup>458</sup>

Newly nationalized parastatal conglomerates like Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), and Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) responded by pouring huge sums of money into various soccer projects.<sup>459</sup> Davies Banda argues that in 1974 the new government parastatal corporations played a central role in providing sports opportunities for both community and elite sports. He added that different government-controlled corporations owned about 65 percent of elite soccer clubs in the country.<sup>460</sup> In the same year, INDECO began its sponsorship of the Chibuku Cup, Castle Cup, and the Challenge Cup.<sup>461</sup>

The 1974 African Cup of Nations injected great enthusiasm into the development of sports in the country. The ruling party and government took advantage of this national

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<sup>456</sup> “We lost, but we lost with honor,” *Times of Zambia*, 15 March 1974.

<sup>457</sup> Sam Sikazwe, “Government honors our soccer heroes,” *Times of Zambia*, 8 May 1974.

<sup>458</sup> Sam Sikazwe, “KK calls for sport ‘revolution,’” *Times of Zambia*, 9 May 1974.

<sup>459</sup> James Mwambazi, “Offers pour in after KK’s call,” *Times of Zambia*, 22 May 1974.

<sup>460</sup> Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” 239.

<sup>461</sup> “Indeco’s new soccer plan,” *Times of Zambia*, 12 June 1974.

mood and created an ambitious program to re-organize the game in the country. In the beginning of 1980, Zeniah Ndhlovu, Minister of State, announced in parliament that government would ensure that all youth clubs and schools would be encouraged to participate in sports. This enthusiasm resulted in an annual Industrial and Mining Cooperation (ZIMCO) Football Cup for youth.<sup>462</sup> The government also ordered each town to form a team made up of well-coached young people, and promised to support the FAZ with grants to develop the youth game.<sup>463</sup>

Following the government's proclamations on sport development, machines started roaring in Lusaka in an area behind the Showground. There, parastatal organizations launched a major project of constructing sports and recreational centers for their employees.<sup>464</sup> The Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZISC), Shell and British Petroleum (BP Zambia), and the Bank of Zambia engaged an Italian company, Brunelli Construction, to build huge multipurpose sports complexes in the heart of Lusaka in order to be in good standing with government.<sup>465</sup> Other corporations such as Barclays Bank and Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) also followed suit and funded the construction of similar sports complexes in the showground area. Noticeably, soccer fields were a main feature in all the new sports facilities.

Kaunda's government found itself entangled in the web of sports politics. While corporate sector construction of sporting amenities for employees was in line with political pronouncements from the top, it also contradicted the government's proclaimed pro-poor policies in line with the humanism ideology. Public funds went to large structures

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<sup>462</sup> "State draws soccer program," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 7 February 1980.

<sup>463</sup> "State draws soccer program," *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>464</sup> Moses Walubita, "Firms put up sports centers," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23 February 1980.

<sup>465</sup> Walubita, "Firms put up sports centers."



constructed far away from the most impoverished areas of Lusaka such as Kalingalinga, Mtendere, and Chawama townships. The facilities were going to benefit company employees, but not poor communities in Lusaka. Rupiah Banda, who was Munali Member of Parliament and later the country's fourth president, criticized the new complexes as elitist.

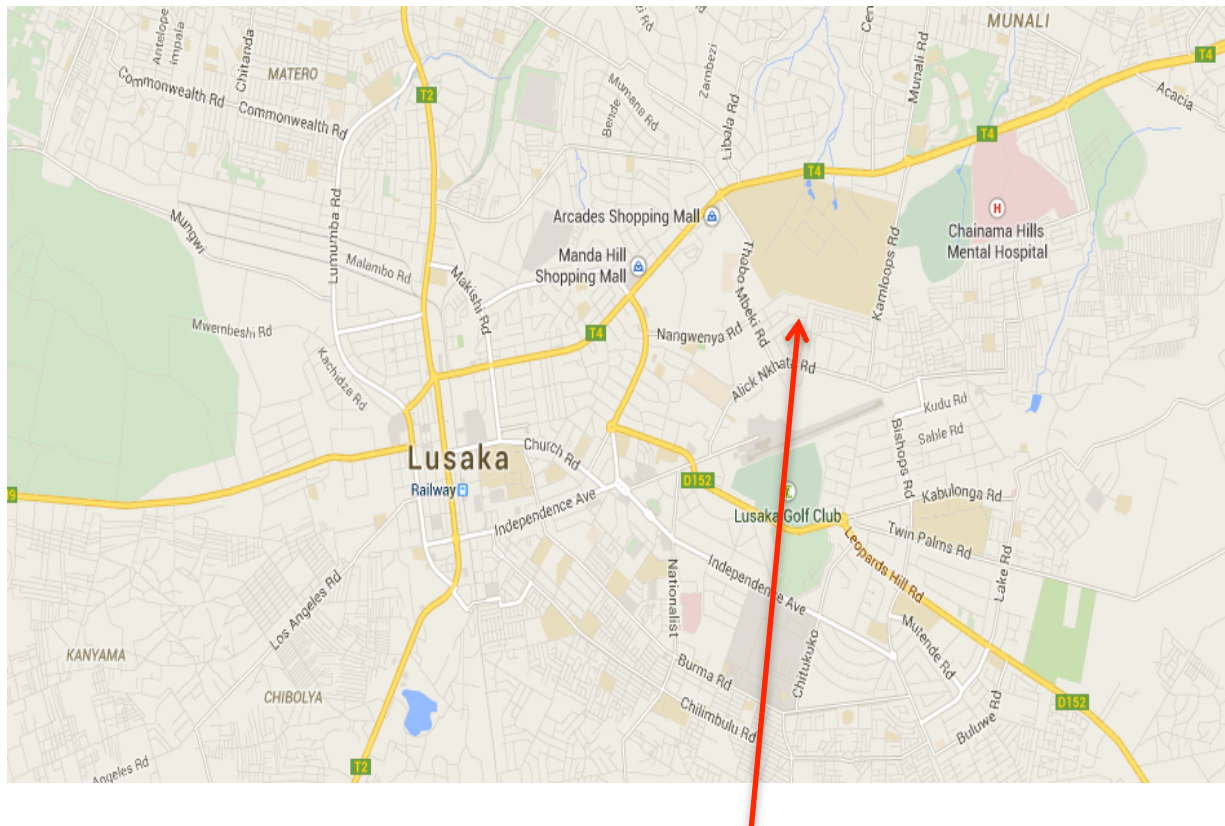


Figure 10: Part of Lusaka Showground area where 7 multipurpose sports centers were constructed in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

He argued that the project was against the 1968 economic reforms that stressed putting wealth, “in the hands of the common man.”<sup>466</sup> Banda added that the complexes were never going to benefit the masses and encouraged the Prime Minister (who was also chairman of ZIMCO) to use his office to control this elitism.<sup>467</sup> Apart from this perceived

<sup>466</sup> Simon Mwale, “Scrap elite clubs – MP,” *Times of Zambia*, 19 March 1981.

<sup>467</sup> Mwale, “Scrap elite clubs – MP.”

inconsistency, the UNIP government was also accused of lack of transparency, corruption, and undemocratic tendencies that continued to gnaw away at its popularity.

Possibly to appease President Kaunda's emphasis on football diplomacy, the *Times of Zambia* reported that after the loss to Zaire in the 1974 final, the feeling throughout Egypt was that Zambia was among the most friendly and disciplined teams in Africa.<sup>468</sup> This report probably pleased Kaunda, who genuinely believed in the game as a medium for disseminating the positive values of African humanism and enhancing the prestige and international visibility of the country. The public media, Zambia National Broadcasting Services, Zambia Daily Mail and Times of Zambia, played an important role in the development of the game in the postcolonial era through live radio broadcasting and newspaper analysis and match results. The media also played a central role in propagating Kaunda and the UNIP's soccer politics. Kaunda sent a message congratulating the Zairian dictator Mobutu Sese Seko. In reply to Kaunda's message, Mobutu replied:

We are deeply touched by your message of congratulations, which you sent to the entire Zaire nation following the victory of the Leopards at the ninth African Nations Cup finals. We warmly thank you for your usual enlightened manner of approaching issues, which is identical to ours. Namely, that sport should be regarded as a means to bring peoples together and not to divide them, more so for the peoples in Africa.<sup>469</sup>

While the two heads of state were congratulating each other and praising the power of soccer in uniting African people, they had also turned into autocratic leaders. Both Kaunda and Mobutu had essentially transformed their respective national teams into personal properties to broaden their own popularity. Mobutu financed the Zaire national team and changed its name from Lions to Leopards to match his leopard-skin headgear, a self-crafted

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<sup>468</sup> Mike Wasa, "Big diplomatic coup for us," *Times of Zambia*, 19 March 1974.

<sup>469</sup> "Mobutu replies to KK's message of praise," *Times of Zambia*, 20 March 1974. After a disappointing 1974 World Cup, Mobutu later withdrew his support for Zaire's national team.

“African” symbol of power and authority.<sup>470</sup> Similarly, Kaunda treated the national team as his property as was seen from its popular moniker: the “KK XI.”<sup>471</sup>

The national team and soccer in general, therefore, received a great deal of attention from the UNIP government because the game gave them an opportunity to garner popularity and legitimacy among citizens. The country’s impressive results in the early 1970s were often equated with the “success” of the UNIP government. As seen in the buildup to the 1974 African Cup of Nations, President Kaunda not only saw the game as a tool to win the hearts of many Zambians who loved the game, but also as an opportunity to publicize his ideology of African humanism across the African continent. However, this project required the UNIP government to pay closer attention to the administration of soccer in the country.

#### FOOTBALL POLITICS AND THE STATE: THE DISSOLUTION OF FAZ AND THE NFL

After independence, there were two soccer bodies that administered the game in the country, the National Football League (NFL), led by Jimmy Fleming, and the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) led by Tom Mtine. Power jurisdictions between the two bodies were somewhat unclear and this often resulted in differences, and even conflicts. Eventually, the squabbles between the NFL and FAZ became serious enough to warrant the government’s intervention.<sup>472</sup> In July 1974, Fleming recommended that only one body should manage the game in the country; he also criticized government, particularly the Directorate of Sports, for interfering and contributing to the problems in soccer

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<sup>470</sup> Paul Dietschy, “Football Players’ Migration: A Political Stake,” *Historical Social Research*, 31 (2006): 31-41.

<sup>471</sup> Hikabwa Chipande, “Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 84.

<sup>472</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, “Closer Government interest in football administration” *Times of Zambia*, 15 January 1968.

administration.<sup>473</sup> Following these statements, FAZ suspended Jimmy Fleming in July 1974 for three months for operating outside football's statutory framework.<sup>474</sup> While both Fleming and Mtine were seasoned and respected sport administrators, tension between the NFL and FAZ persisted for a long time. This antagonism may well have been exacerbated by racial considerations since Fleming, a white man, had to report to Mtine, a black African.

Interestingly, after FAZ suspended Fleming, the UNIP Central Committee declared that a single body should run the game in country.<sup>475</sup> The chairman of the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport, Andrew Mutemba, underscored how "one of the problems in running football under present two bodies was that power was spread between the two bodies," and this brought conflict to the organization of the game.<sup>476</sup> Mutemba ordered the Minister of Labor and Social Services, Dingiswayo Banda, to dissolve the two bodies and appoint a caretaker body to run the game and facilitate the election of a new organization to administer the game in the country. The UNIP government had made a concerted, visible move towards gaining a firm grip on the governance of the country's most popular sport.

Following directives from the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport, in January 1975, Dingiswayo Banda announced sweeping changes in soccer administration. He dissolved both FAZ and the NFL and appointed an interim executive headed by Tom Mtine as chairman and Ernest Mate as his General Secretary to oversee the transition of soccer administration to one governing body.<sup>477</sup> Ironically, the interim committee was made up of members of the defunct FAZ that initially opposed the establishment of a single soccer

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<sup>473</sup> Ridgeway Liwena "I write what I like," *Times of Zambia* 12 July 1974.

<sup>474</sup> "Fleming suspended for 3 months for his statements," *Times of Zambia*, 24 July 1974.

<sup>475</sup> "One body should run soccer, says Party," *Times of Zambia*, 10 August 1974.

<sup>476</sup> "One Soccer Body: How it will work," *Times of Zambia*, 22 August 1974.

<sup>477</sup> Jackie Lumbwe, "Its one soccer body-at last," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13 January 1975.

body. In fact, former NFL chairman Jimmy Fleming expressed pleasure that his idea had at last been put to practice.<sup>478</sup> Fleming's exclusion from the interim body must be seen within the context of the Zambianization of the game, which meant replacing Europeans with African leaders in important leadership positions in the country.

A new soccer-governing body was formed and renamed Football Association of Zambia (FAZ). When the time came for electing a new FAZ executive to take over from Tom Mtine's led interim executive, the government (through the Ministry of Labor and Social Services) announced that only four candidates approved by the UNIP Central Committee would be allowed to run for FAZ chairmanship in elections on December 28, 1975, at the President's Citizenship College in Kabwe.<sup>479</sup> These handpicked officials were Wilfred Wonani, Joseph Chileshe, David Lewanika and Fanwell Lumpa. This manipulation of FAZ elections angered clubs. They accused government of interfering in FAZ constitutional rights and making the election process undemocratic.<sup>480</sup> Eventually, prominent Lusaka lawyer David Lewaniaka was elected new president of FAZ and Kabwe Warriors Football club administrator Wilfred Wonani became Vice-Chairman.<sup>481</sup>

The UNIP and government interference in soccer administration reflected the abuse of authority and curtailment of civil liberties that characterized President Kaunda's one-party rule in the Second Republic. Anyone who represented independent thinking and was not a UNIP political cadre was labeled anti-UNIP and prevented from assuming any leadership position. The doctoring of the list of candidates who participated in the 1975

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<sup>478</sup> Jackie Lumbwe, "Its one soccer body-at last," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13 January 1975.

<sup>479</sup> "Four candidates picked to stand for FAZ host seat," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16 December 1975.

<sup>480</sup> "Choice of 4 to FAZ poll angers clubs," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17 December 1975.

<sup>481</sup> James Mwambazi, "Lewanika elected FAZ boss," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28 December 1975.

FAZ elections was evidence that the UNIP had managed to put the game under its control by eliminating individuals perceived as enemies of the ruling party.

The soccer leadership crisis coincided with the country's struggles on the pitch. Consecutive losses to Malawi and Uganda in 1975 led the chairman of the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport, Andrew Mutemba, to call an emergency meeting on November 6, 1975, to discuss the crisis. Mutemba pointed out that members of the Central Committee were aware that the game was the country's favorite sport, that it attracted millions of people, and that the national team's losses had "caused an outcry from members of the public and demands that the coach Ante Buselic be retired."<sup>482</sup> Mutemba summoned Dingiswayo Banda and Musa Kasonka, Director of Sports, to come and "explain fully why the performance of the national team had deteriorated."<sup>483</sup> Banda blamed the team's poor performance on the bickering between the two now-dissolved bodies. He stressed that even after dissolving the NFL and FAZ, the interim executive committee under Mtine had failed to bring order in the sport.<sup>484</sup>

The setting of a high-level emergency meeting by the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport and summoning the Minister and Director of sports to discuss soccer results was indicative of the sport's political centrality in the country. Having made considerable political investments (and to some extent financial investments) in the national team's fortunes, the UNIP came to fear that losses in international competitions ran the serious risk of being understood as a symbol of the political bankruptcy of Kaunda's government.

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<sup>482</sup> Youth and Sports Committee – Objectives of the Committee by A. B. Mutemba Member of Central Committee (MCC) Chairman of the Youth and Sport Committee, Lusaka, 12 January 1976, UNIP 8/6/12-16, UNIP Archive, Lusaka.

<sup>483</sup> Sports Committee Emergency Meeting, Lusaka, 6 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive.

<sup>484</sup> Sports Committee Emergency Meeting.

On the one hand, Musa Kasonka, the Director of Sport, attributed the poor results on the pitch to the players' complacency and lack of discipline. Kasonka charged that it was becoming common for players to disappear after payday, miss training sessions, and resurface when they were broke. Using a quasi-Victorian upper-class sense of sporting amateurism, he claimed players were putting monetary gain before national interest, and this resulted in a lack of discipline and weak national pride.<sup>485</sup>

On the other hand, Kasonka took advantage of the soccer crisis by using the emergency meeting to attack his opponents. He alleged that some club officials were anti-party and government and were using sport structures to fight the UNIP government. He stressed that football's popularity was such that, "if not carefully guided, anti-party and government elements can easily rise to key positions within the party and government institutions and cause trouble of any nature."<sup>486</sup> Kasonka lobbied intensively to exclude so-called anti-party elements from taking up leadership positions in soccer. Consequently, a large number of people interested in contesting the December 1975 FAZ elections were barred from doing so.<sup>487</sup>

This tactic of blocking and harassing people labeled anti-UNIP became a common practice during the First and Second Republics. Like Kasonka, other self-interested individuals in various sectors of government and parastatal organizations accused their opponents of being anti-party, leading to their exclusion from leadership positions. Miles Larmer has revealed how state and parastatal personnel who were suspected of being

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<sup>485</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1995 by the Director of Sport Musa Kasonka to the Minister of Labor and Social Services, Lusaka, 10 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive, Lusaka.

<sup>486</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1995 by the Director of Sport Musakasonka.

<sup>487</sup> "Choice of 4 to FAZ poll angers clubs," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17 December 1975.

members of the United Progressive Party (led by Simon Kapwewe) lost their jobs, while businessmen labeled as anti-party had their enterprises attacked and their operating licenses revoked.<sup>488</sup>

The Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport used the emergency meeting to strengthen the UNIP's grip on soccer in the country. Party leaders ordered the interim FAZ executive to draft a new constitution to give the Minister of Labor and Social Services "more power to administer football legally and efficiently."<sup>489</sup> One of the main requirements in the new constitution was that government should be given powers to unilaterally dismiss both the national team coach and the chairman of the Football Association of Zambia.<sup>490</sup> Meanwhile, FAZ and the Ministry of Labor and Social Services were also reminded by the party's supreme organ that they had to consult the Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport before implementing any major decisions in soccer.<sup>491</sup> These decisions cemented the UNIP's control over the game in the country. Meanwhile, the political hot-button issue of Zambianizing the post of national team coach did not fade away.

#### ZAMBIANIZATION: THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL TEAM COACH

At independence, the country's copper-dependent economy was regarded as one of the richest and most promising economies in Africa.<sup>492</sup> Following the colonial legacy of a huge inequality in income distribution, local people had high expectations that Kaunda's

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<sup>488</sup> Larmer, "Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980," 106.

<sup>489</sup> Sports Committee Emergency Meeting, Lusaka, 6 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP Archive.

<sup>490</sup> Confidential report on National Football Squad performance in 1995 by the Director of Sport Musakasonka.

<sup>491</sup> Sports Committee Emergency Meeting, Lusaka, 6 November 1975.

<sup>492</sup> James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 2.



socialist-leaning policies would solve the problem of economic inequities.<sup>493</sup> After a few years of independence, many unemployed people who had been promised a good life after independence started losing patience. The failure of the UNIP government to deliver on independence promises resulted in tension in most work places, particularly in companies with large numbers of foreign workers from neighboring countries such as Malawi, Southern Rhodesia, and Congo. In 1965, it became common to see “gangs of jobless Africans touring factories and offices demanding that employers kick out foreign workers” and offer them the jobs that they were promised during the quest for independence.<sup>494</sup>

The UNIP government struggled to placate expectant citizens. Under this pressure, the UNIP government devised radical measures to address employment and income inequalities inherited from colonial practices.<sup>495</sup> Managerial and senior positions in government and corporate organizations were awarded to local people under a policy known as “Zambianization.” The Zambianization policy declared that all available, qualified, and competent local citizens were to be given senior positions.<sup>496</sup> Government formed committees to ensure that companies with European (or foreign) staff employed local people as understudies in preparation for taking over those managerial positions in the near future.<sup>497</sup>

While Zambianization was meant to uplift local men and women who had suffered from colonial oppression, it was not easy to implement it effectively. At independence, the

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<sup>493</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 2.

<sup>494</sup> “Kick Out Aliens, Workless Africans tell Employers,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23 February 1965.

<sup>495</sup> Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” 239.

<sup>496</sup> “Zambianization Committee: private and parastatal sector, government statement on Zambianization,” MLSS1/18/6 Zambianization Bureau, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

<sup>497</sup> “Zambianization committee announced,” Press release, MLSS 1/18/3 Zambianization Committee, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

country had only about 1,000 secondary school graduates and about 100 university graduates.<sup>498</sup> These poor education levels among the local people were much a result of the policies of the European colonizers who considered Zambia as a colony for white settlers, and an African labor reserve for the mines of the Copperbelt, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa.<sup>499</sup> The politics of Zambianization also extended to the post of national soccer team coach. Both fans and UNIP officials interpreted the issue of national team coach as failed decolonization whenever the national team performed poorly.

Following the 1975 repeated losses, hardcore fans became enraged and called for the dismissal of Buselic and the Zambianizing of his post.<sup>500</sup> Some supporters visited the Zambia Daily Mail newspaper offices supporting the sacking of Buselic, contending that the praises he got from the 1974 African Cup of Nations had made him bigheaded.<sup>501</sup> Tambatamba, Minister of State, Mines and Industry, wrote a confidential letter to Dingiswayo Banda stressing that the entire nation was unhappy and advocating the dismissal of Buselic.<sup>502</sup>

Following the calls for Zambianization, Buselic decided in 1975 not to renew his contract.<sup>503</sup> This decision forced FAZ to look for another foreign coach with a promise that he was going to be the last non-Zambian coach.<sup>504</sup> FAZ was strongly criticized for not appointing a local coach as an understudy to Buselic who would then be ready to take over

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<sup>498</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 239.

<sup>499</sup> Fay Gadsden, "Education and society in colonial Zambia," in *Guardians in Their Time : Experiences of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1992), 100.

<sup>500</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, "Zambia Kicked out of African Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28 July 1975.

<sup>501</sup> "Disband national squad and FAZ, demand angry soccer fans," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4 November 1975.

<sup>502</sup> Confidential Letter from M.M. Tambatamba Minister of State, Mines and Industry to D. Banda, Minister of Labor and Social Services, Lusaka, 4 November 1975, UNIP/8/6/17-24, UNIP archive.

<sup>503</sup> George Kanyanta, "FAZ is to blame for not having Zambian coach," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 August 1975.

<sup>504</sup> "FAZ to appoint full time shadow soccer coaches," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29 July 1976.

at the end of his contract, in line with the government policy of *Zambianization*.<sup>505</sup> At the same time, there was also a vocal camp of soccer supporters that argued that it was not the right time to engage a local coach for the national team because the job required expert knowledge and experience that the country did not have locally.<sup>506</sup> Under intense pressure, FAZ chief David Lewanika called for an executive committee meeting in November 1976 to make a decision on the matter.<sup>507</sup> In a very tense meeting, it was decided that the time was not right for the country to employ a local coach. Instead, the committee resolved to employ a foreign coach with a full-time local assistant coach.<sup>508</sup>

While searching for a new national team coach, FAZ appointed Ndola United coach Fred Mwila and Green Buffaloes coach Brighton Banda as caretaker coaches for the national team.<sup>509</sup> After the appointment of the local duo, veteran football administrator Julius Sakala pointed out that the FAZ “should not ‘water’ down the existing terms of employment that Buselic had because local coaches were also entitled to better conditions of service.”<sup>510</sup> Banda echoed these sentiments, saying that FAZ should give local coaches a chance to prove themselves. Hedging his bets and fearing another outcry from citizens if local coaches failed to deliver, Banda cautioned that should local coaches disappoint the nation, people “should not blame the party and its government.”<sup>511</sup>

The influence of *Zambianization* was not limited to the national team. In 1968, the contract of City of Lusaka player-coach Jackie Sewell (a white Briton) was terminated

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<sup>505</sup> “FAZ must employ *Zambian coach*, says Sakala,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16 November 1975.

<sup>506</sup> “FAZ must employ *Zambian coach*, says Sakala,” *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>507</sup> “*Zambian Coach* tops FAZ agenda,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19 November 1976

<sup>508</sup> “FAZ to employ expatriate coach,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22 November 1976.

<sup>509</sup> “Mwila, Banda to coach national team for EA Cup,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1 November 1976.

<sup>510</sup> “FAZ must employ *Zambian coach*, says Sakala,” *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>511</sup> James Mwambazi, “Minister backs call to employ *Zambian coach*,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18 November 1976.

because Lusaka City Council was in the process of Zambianizing the job of head coach. City of Lusaka FC chairman H. K. Mitchell argued that the club was Zambianizing the post of head coach because they were unable to pay Sewell.<sup>512</sup> On the Copperbelt, Mufulira Wanderers supporters also protested in January 1972, demanding the removal of all foreigners from the club's executive committee, suggesting a mixture of both self-determination and xenophobia. A spokesperson for the supporters' club pointed out that they were "tired of seeing the club being run by foreigners year after year. It is high time they were kicked out so that locals can take over."<sup>513</sup> While the committee had just been elected, rebel supporters argued that they did not attend the meeting when the foreigners were elected and demanded that another election be held.<sup>514</sup> These xenophobic protests were a common phenomenon in government departments and parastatal corporations in the early years of independence.

Before finding a coach, FAZ signed Edward Virba from West Germany as national team technical advisor, but soon fired him.<sup>515</sup> Brian Tiler, a Briton who had played with Fred Mwila and Emmet Kapengwe at Aston Villa (after the duo left Atlanta in 1968), became the next coach of the national team.<sup>516</sup> Tiler worked for two years and decided not to renew his contract. FAZ then appointed two locals: Dick Chama and Dickson Makwaza as caretaker coaches, before replacing them with Romanian coach Ted Dumitru. Ben Kakoma, new Minister of Youth and Sport, told Parliament that FAZ could not employ locals

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<sup>512</sup> Stephen Mpofu, "I shall Return – Sewell" *Times of Zambia*, 4 November 1968.

<sup>513</sup> "Boot out aliens from our clubs, shout Muf fans" *Times of Zambia*, 21 January 1972.

<sup>514</sup> "Boot out aliens from our clubs, shout Muf fans" *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>515</sup> "FAZ come to terms with coach," *Times of Zambia*, 27 April 1977.

<sup>516</sup> Expendito Chipalo, "I'll put Zambia in lead," *Times of Zambia*, 21 January 1978.

as full-time coaches until the game was fully developed in the country.<sup>517</sup> He argued that there were no qualified locals to coach the national team and there was no way such a sensitive high-profile job could be given to someone without adequate qualifications.<sup>518</sup> Kakoma's point came as a result of the intensification of Zambianization campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s, when a growing number of local people began to feel entitled to white-collar jobs regardless of their professional qualifications.<sup>519</sup>

In July 1981, General Kingsley Chinkuli was appointed new Minister of Youth and Sports and immediately dissolved the FAZ executive committee.<sup>520</sup> Accusing Lewanika's group of maladministration, Chinkuli brought back veteran administrator Tom Mtine as caretaker chairman until a new executive was elected. This was the second time the FAZ executive committee was dissolved following the disbanding of both the NFL and FAZ by Minister Banda in 1975.<sup>521</sup> After the removal of the FAZ executive in 1981, Dumitru resigned his post.<sup>522</sup> Mtine called Brightwell Banda to take the national team to the 1982 African Cup of Nations finals in Libya. Zambia reached the semifinal, losing 2-1 to host Libya.<sup>523</sup> Former coach Ante Buselic helped Banda in Libya as technical advisor, but he refused to sign a new contract with FAZ.<sup>524</sup>

After the continental tournament in Tripoli, FAZ terminated Brightwell Banda's contract and signed another foreign coach, Wieslaw Grabowski from Poland. Grabowski was fired after a short time, allegedly for being an attention-seeker and making press

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<sup>517</sup> "Zambia won't employ Zambian coach, Kakoma," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5 March 1980.

<sup>518</sup> "Zambia won't employ Zambian coach, Kakoma," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 5 March 1980.

<sup>519</sup> "Zambia won't employ Zambian coach, Kakoma," *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>520</sup> "FAZ executive sacked," *Times of Zambia*, 1 July 1981.

<sup>521</sup> "FAZ executive sacked," *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>522</sup> Moses Walubita, "FAZ de-Zambianise coaching post," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 29 December 1980.

<sup>523</sup> James Mwambazi, "Zambia or Libya," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16 March 1982.

<sup>524</sup> James Mwambazi, "Buselic Turns Down Coaching Job," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12 March 1982.

statements without the consent of FAZ.<sup>525</sup> After his dismissal, Grabowski was offered a job by the Zambia Railways sponsored Kabwe Warriors, but the deal failed because FAZ conspired with government to terminate his work permit to force him to leave the country. The dismissal of Grabowski caused an outcry from soccer fans that generally believed he was doing a fine job, and identified Mtine's FAZ executive committee as the source of the problem. Fans lobbied government to intervene and embarked on fundraising ventures to keep Grabowski in the country. Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma defended FAZ, arguing that proper procedures had been followed in the dismissal of the Polish coach. He demanded that the protests cease as Grabowski had already left the country.<sup>526</sup>

During this controversy, FAZ suggested to government in 1984 that it was considering the reappointment of Green Buffaloes coach Brightwell Banda as the first permanent national team coach.<sup>527</sup> Kakoma responded that the Zambianization of the coaching post was an extremely important decision that FAZ should not make unilaterally.<sup>528</sup> He demanded that the principle of collective responsibility should be observed, higher authorities (probably implying President Kaunda) should clear the matter, and that FAZ should consult with his office and the National Sports Council of Zambia. In a letter to Mtine, Kakoma stressed that:

All of us must handle the matter with extreme caution in order to avoid any explosive public reaction that might result in the breach of the public order act. We should be guided by (and avoid) the almost violent public reaction,

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<sup>525</sup> Meeting of the FAZ Executive Committee with Grabowski, Lusaka, 4 November 1983, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>526</sup> "State won't step in – Kakoma," *Times of Zambia*, 5 march 1984.

<sup>527</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Chairman of FAZ Tom Mtine on Zambianization of Post of National Soccer Coach, Lusaka, 14 June 1984, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>528</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Chairman of FAZ Tom Mtine.

which followed the sacking of the former national football coach, Mr. W. Grabowski.<sup>529</sup>

As the local media were under tight government control in President Kaunda's one-party state, Kakoma quickly liaised with the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, asking him to ensure that the press handled the story with sensitivity. He also wrote to the Prime Minister to update him on the matter.<sup>530</sup> After extensive consultation and maneuvering, in August 1984 Brightwell Banda was finally appointed as the new national team coach.<sup>531</sup> Banda's signing accomplished the goal of Zambianization. However, the debate on whether a local or foreign coach would be the best person to coach the national team never went away. To this day, the quasi-ideological debate reignites every time the national team hires a coach or does not perform according to expectations.

The demand for Zambianization reveals the tension that had developed between local and foreign workers. This same friction led to the departure after independence of many Europeans and other foreigners to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.<sup>532</sup> The exodus of foreigners in soccer also resulted in the downfall of clubs controlled by Europeans in the 1960s and 1970s, such as City of Lusaka.<sup>533</sup> As Larmer pointed out, the UNIP government's construction of schools, hospitals and roads in the First Republic (1964-1973) did not fulfill citizens' expectations. This dissatisfaction resulted in social, ethnic and regional conflicts in the Second Republic (1972-1991).<sup>534</sup> The UNIP government struggled to address the legacies of colonialism such as labor and economic inequalities

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<sup>529</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Chairman of FAZ Tom Mtine.

<sup>530</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to the Prime Minister on the Zambianization of the post of national soccer coach, Lusaka, 15 June 1984, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>531</sup> "New coach paves future soccer path," *Times of Zambia*, 4 September 1984.

<sup>532</sup> Hikabwa Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 78.

<sup>533</sup> "Its new-look City," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14 January 1974.

<sup>534</sup> Larmer, "Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980," 103.

because of “patronage, corruption and growing political authoritarianism” that emerged within their party.<sup>535</sup> Larmer argues that:

As UNIP failed to meet the expectations of many Zambians for post-colonial economic and social change, this discontent was expressed in part through demands made on senior UNIP politicians to deliver both state resources to their provincial bases and the appointment of political allies to positions in the growing state-parastatal bureaucracy.<sup>536</sup>

This suggests how the UNIP and the postcolonial state had become a direct replacement of the British colonial government that had denied civil rights and economically exploited the local people. As Frederick Cooper has argued, the end of colonialism in many African states was “a mere change of personnel within a structure that remain colonial.”<sup>537</sup>

In conclusion, the higher political stakes in football after independence sparked internal tensions and conflict. The UNIP government took advantage of the large numbers of people interested in the game and used it as a tool for propagating their political agenda and philosophy of humanism. The UNIP government forcefully took control of soccer to achieve its goals. The game’s massive popularity drew the attention of President Kaunda, a former player and active supporter of the game. He basically appropriated the national team, nicknamed KK XI. His substantial political investment in soccer, his support for schools and parastatal conglomerates to develop and popularize the game, and the complexity of the Zambianization process, demonstrate the extent to which the game had become enmeshed in postcolonial culture and politics.

The UNIP government’s deeper engagement in the game, however, did not forestall popular criticism of party leadership. Neither did it curtail the ruling party’s concerns that

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<sup>535</sup> Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula*, 2.

<sup>536</sup> Larmer, “Enemies within? Opposition to the Zambian one-party state, 1972-1980,” 103.

<sup>537</sup> Fredrick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past and Present* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 4.



political opponents, real or imagined, might use the game to mobilize people in protest and challenge the one-party rule. In the end, local people's vigilant attention and fierce criticism of the national team's weak performances and of football's mismanagement made it extremely difficult for the UNIP government to achieve its objectives. This history reveals, among other things, that despite the UNIP government's authoritarian tendencies in sport and politics, local supporters and other stakeholders in the game retained a significant degree of influence over the country's national sport.

## CHAPTER 4: PARASTATAL CORPORATIONS' PATRONAGE OF FOOTBALL IN THE 1970s AND 1980s

This chapter explores how Kaunda's UNIP government-owned corporations transformed the way football was organized, accessed, and played in postcolonial Zambia. It argues that despite the meltdown of the copper-dependent economy, which began in the 1970s and stretched into the 1990s, the mines and other parastatal corporations funded the creation of new sports development programs and facilities. These structures trained a generation of national team players and in 1989 inspired the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) to launch the first professional football clubs. The state's well-established interest in fueling the popularity of sport to build unity and consent, as well as to foster development and obtain international visibility, motivated the vigorous involvement of parastatals and the military in growing the game.<sup>538</sup> As the Fourth National Development Plan (1989-1993) put it, the state aimed to "develop effective [sport] participatory organs in industries as the principal investment for promoting sound industrial relations and higher productivity."<sup>539</sup> Kaunda and UNIP worked to make parastatal corporations "key providers of opportunities for both mass sport participation and elite performance."<sup>540</sup>

Zambian sports policy analyst Davies Banda argues that in the 1960s newly independent African governments regarded foreign ownership of companies or direct investment as a form of continued imperialism, hence these governments saw a need to nationalize major companies within their countries.<sup>541</sup> In colonial Zambia, the authorities

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<sup>538</sup> "Indeco's new soccer plan," *Times of Zambia*, 12 June 1974.

<sup>539</sup> "New economic recovery program: Fourth National Development Plan 1989-1993," Volume I and II, Office of the President National Commission for Development Planning, Lusaka, January 1989, page 392.

<sup>540</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 239.

<sup>541</sup> Davies Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," *International Journal of Sport Policy*, 2 (2010): 239

had established an Industrial Loans Board (ILB) in 1951. In the 1960s, the board was turned into a limited company and was given more powers to play an active role in the country's industrial development.<sup>542</sup> After political independence in 1964, the ILB changed its name to the Industrial and Development Agency (INDECO). Within one year the character of the corporation underwent major changes, as it moved away from providing loans to businesses and investing in the private sector to being "responsible for handling the government's equity investments in industry."<sup>543</sup>

State investments boosted INDECO rapidly, such that by the end of 1967, its total equity holdings increased from 6 million to 15 million Kwacha (\$14million).<sup>544</sup> On April 19, 1968, at the National Council for the United National Independence Party (UNIP), President Kaunda announced strong sweeping economic measures that aimed at ending foreign domination of the national economy, popularly known as the Mulungushi Economic Reforms.<sup>545</sup> Kaunda announced government takeover of 25 key companies stressing that "I do not want to create capitalism [. . .] I am tired of people who bring one Kwacha here from overseas and yet want to take three from the first year, and this I intend to stop by regulations."<sup>546</sup>

Furthermore, the UNIP government attributed "underdevelopment and backwardness" in the country to "a private-dominated economy."<sup>547</sup> To quicken the process of nationalization, Kaunda created the Ministry of Trade and Industry and appointed a Greek Cypriot trader, Andrew Sardanis, as Permanent Secretary to oversee the

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<sup>542</sup> "INDECO faces its Biggest Task," *Horizon*, October 1969, p.23

<sup>543</sup> "INDECO faces its Biggest Task," *Horizon*.

<sup>544</sup> The Kwacha is the currency of Zambia.

<sup>545</sup> "Govt. taking over 26 key companies," *Times of Zambia*, 20 April 1968.

<sup>546</sup> "Govt. taking over 26 key companies," *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>547</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 239.

government management in commercial enterprises.<sup>548</sup> Sardanis reported directly to the President. INDECO was entrusted with the task of handling all the take-over negotiations and absorbing the new acquisitions into the state's fast-expanding business empire.<sup>549</sup> The nationalization process eventually resulted in a state-dominated economy with the government acquiring a majority holding of 51% shares in major companies through INDECO.<sup>550</sup>

### KAUNDA'S NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES

The Zambian government between 1964 and 1993 formulated five National Development Plans (NDP) aimed at transforming the country's economy from capitalist to socialist, in line with the policy of Zambian Humanism advocated by Kaunda and UNIP.<sup>551</sup> The NDPs also functioned as cornerstones of UNIP sports policies and programs.<sup>552</sup> Under the jurisdiction of a new National Commission for Development, the First National Development Plan (1966-1970) focused on creating employment for the local people and diversifying the copper-dependent economy away by encouraging the growth of manufacturing and agriculture.<sup>553</sup> The president and the ruling party controlled government expenditures and introduced policies to encourage people to "go back to the land" in order to promote farming and also address massive urbanization rates.

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<sup>548</sup> Hugh Macmillan, "The devil you know: The impact of the Mulungushi economic reforms on retail trading in rural Zambia, with special reference to Susman Brothers & Wuulsohn," in *One Zambia Many Histories: toward a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 191.

<sup>549</sup> "INDECO faces its Biggest Task," *Horizon*, October 1969, p.23

<sup>550</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 239.

<sup>551</sup> Steward Brooker and Wim Hopper, *The Zambian Community and its Economy*, (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1986), 197

<sup>552</sup> "New economic recovery program: Fourth National Development Plan 1989-1993," Volume I and II, Office of the President National Commission for Development Planning, Lusaka, January 1989, page 392.

<sup>553</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 241.

Educational curricula also reflected these political agendas. Agricultural sciences were introduced as subjects in primary and secondary schools.

The Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) continued to emphasize economic diversification. This NDP also included the government's priorities for spending on sport, particularly football, as evidenced by the construction of new stadiums in provincial capitals.<sup>554</sup> £300,000 was set aside in the national budget for revamping the 30,000-seat Independence Stadium to meet international standards.<sup>555</sup> Building on the policy intentions towards sports articulated in the Second NDP, the Third NDP announced government's plans to establish a Ministry of Youth and Sport. In addition, it proposed to hire European coaches to train athletes and empower local coaches as well as sports leaders.<sup>556</sup> The Fourth NDP (1989-1993) featured the first National Sports Policy, which revealed a two-pronged approach to expand both "grassroots and elite participation."<sup>557</sup> It proved to be an effective strategy for state companies to lead the way in sports development, although football continued to receive favorable treatment compared to other sports.<sup>558</sup>

During the Mulungushi Economic Reforms of April 1968, President Kaunda stated that his government was going to bring together the best aspects of capitalism and socialism to ensure that government corporations and private companies cooperated to

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<sup>554</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 65.

<sup>555</sup> Letter from Permanent Secretary Ministry of Finance to Permanent Secretary Ministry of Cooperatives, Youth and Social Development on "Independence Stadium-Lusaka." LUDC 1/2 Loc. 602 Contracts – Sports Stadium, National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka.

<sup>556</sup> Banda, "Zambia: Government's role in colonial and modern times," 241.

<sup>557</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 66.

<sup>558</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 64.

help the national economy grow.<sup>559</sup> After quickly nationalizing 25 companies, Kaunda indicated that the government was not going to nationalize the mines because of their scale and complexity. However, the boom in demand for copper on the international market at the time, largely due to massive demand from the U.S. for ammunition to be used in the Vietnam War, instigated a change in policy and took decisive steps to increase its share of profits from high copper prices.<sup>560</sup>

Kaunda made another important speech at a hall in Matero Township, Lusaka, in August 1969 that outlined a cohesive plan later known as the Matero Reforms.<sup>561</sup> He announced the government's acquisition of 51 percent of shares in Zambia's copper mines. At first, Anglo-American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust, the two companies that owned the mines, were awarded managerial, technical consultancy, purchasing and metal sales agency contracts (these were terminated in 1974).<sup>562</sup> Historian Andrew Roberts suggested that the Matero Reforms might have been stimulated by global developments like Chile's nationalization of copper mines under President Allende.<sup>563</sup>

After gaining majority ownership of the mining sector, the UNIP government amalgamated a number of businesses managed by Anglo-American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust to form two companies: Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) and Roan Consolidated Copper Mines (RCCM).<sup>564</sup> The two companies were managed by INDECO and, later, the Mining and Industrial Corporation Limited (MINDECO).

Subsequently, both INDECO and MINDECO merged to form the mining giant Zambia

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<sup>559</sup> Brooker and Hopper, *The Zambian Community and its Economy*, 204.

<sup>560</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 229.

<sup>561</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 202.

<sup>562</sup> "The Story of NCCM and RCM," *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984.

<sup>563</sup> Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 230.

<sup>564</sup> "The Story of NCCM and RCM," *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984.

Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), which counted UNIP ministers as board members and President Kaunda as chairman.<sup>565</sup> Because of Kaunda's sporting enthusiasm and the strategic role of football in propagating and garnering support for UNIP policies and the ideology of Zambian Humanism (see chapter 3), ZIMCO expanded the sports infrastructure and welfare schemes introduced during the late colonial era and entrenched the Copperbelt's footballing dominance.<sup>566</sup>

#### THE MINING SECTOR'S SPONSORSHIP OF SPORT, 1964-1984

The colonial welfare centers were renamed recreational centers and continued to function as key places for mining township residents' access to sport and leisure opportunities. A unique feature of Copperbelt townships, these centers were rarely found in towns outside mining areas. NCCM and RCCM sports programs for miners and their families were well equipped to provide a variety of sporting activities; their success came thanks to coordination with Community Development Divisions personnel.<sup>567</sup> In the first two decades after independence NCCM and RCCM were unchallenged in the quality and quantity of performance, funding, and management of organized sports in Zambia.<sup>568</sup>

Colonial-era stadiums were renovated and modernized.<sup>569</sup> For example, Mufulira Division spent huge sums of money to upgrade Shinde Stadium in 1965. Its impressive new changing rooms could accommodate four teams and provided hot showers, one of the features that made the home of Mufulira Wanderers one of the most attractive grounds in

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<sup>565</sup> Brooker and Hopper, *The Zambian Community and its Economy*, 204.

<sup>566</sup> Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia," 61.

<sup>567</sup> Wam Kwaleyela, "ZCCM's 20 years of sports growth," *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984.

<sup>568</sup> Kwaleyela, "ZCCM's 20 years of sports growth."

<sup>569</sup> Kwaleyela, "ZCCM's 20 years of sports growth."

the country.<sup>570</sup> Abraham Nkole, a former goalkeeper who lived near Shinde Stadium, played in the 1970s and 1980s for Mufulira Wanderers and the national team. He recalled that Chawama Recreation Center, located near Shinde Stadium, also benefited from the renovations. Nkole learned how to play soccer as a child at Chawama Recreational Center before he was recruited to join Mufulira Wanderers. Nkole explained to me that most Wanderers players learned their football and honed their technical skills at recreational centers in mining townships. This account is consistent with anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker's work in Luanshya in the 1950s, which argued that welfare centers were hotbeds of sports culture on the Copperbelt.<sup>571</sup> It should be noted that some centers did not have playing fields and hosted indoor sports and games like table tennis, volleyball, basketball, squash, chess and other recreational activities such as movies. Even so, these leisure spaces functioned as places of sociability and networking for coaches and young athletes.

On weekends, miners, their spouses, and children visited nearby recreational centers to enjoy sports, dance, and films. As historian Charles Ambler has shown, "film shows, locally known as 'bioscope' were a well-established feature of Copper-mining towns and compounds" as far back as the 1930s.<sup>572</sup> The recreational centers in the postcolonial era played a vital role in creating a sense of community in mining townships—places where people from different ethnic backgrounds interacted and got to know one another. Abraham Nkole argued, much like colonial officials, missionaries and mine managers, had in the colonial era, that sports and leisure activities succeeded in preventing petty-crimes

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<sup>570</sup> "Shinde Stadium Improvements," *Mufulira Mirror*, 1 February 1965.

<sup>571</sup> Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 107.

<sup>572</sup> Ambler, "Popular Films and Colonial Audiences," 82.



by keeping township residents occupied during their free time.<sup>573</sup> During an interview with Davies Banda, renowned soccer commentator Dennis Liwewe also pointed out that keeping the families of miners healthy by participating in recreational activities was a way of grooming a workforce with a healthy mind for more productivity.<sup>574</sup>

Community Development Officers employed by the mines reported to Personnel Superintendents and managed the recreational centers. Each venue had several sports clubs overseen by individual members supported by sports officers.<sup>575</sup> The most talented athletes were offered fulltime jobs on the mines and some men secured jobs as sports officers and club leaders at the centers. For example, Mufulira Division employed popular soccer star Samuel “Zoom” Ndhlovu as a youth organizer in its center. Ndhlovu started playing competitive football in the late 1950s when he was selected for the Northern Rhodesia select side—essentially the black national team. He captained Mufulira Wanderers from its founding in 1962, then captained the Zambian team in the 1960s and was the first to be voted Zambian Sportsman of the year (in 1965).<sup>576</sup> By the mid 1960s, Ndhlovu’s prominence at Mufulira Wanderers probably helped him rise to the well-paid and socially honorable position of Chief Community Development Officer in Mufulira division.<sup>577</sup>

Each mine was interested in having the best football team in the country; this made the mines interested in improving the quality of the game. Mufulira Copper Mines Limited

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<sup>573</sup> Interview with Abraham Nkole, Mufulira, 11 June 2011.

<sup>574</sup> Davies Banda’s interview with Dennis Liwewe, Lusaka, 21 August 2008. I would like to thank Dr. Davies Banda for sharing with me oral interviews he conducted with Dennis Liwewe, Julius Sakala and Ridgeway Liwena.

<sup>575</sup> Interview with Nkole.

<sup>576</sup> “Sportsman of the year ‘Zoom’ Ndhlovu,” *Mufulira Mirror*, 9 April 1965.

<sup>577</sup> “Samuel ‘Zoom’ Ndhlovu – a soccer virtuoso,” *Mining Mirror*, 26 March 1982.

sponsored Zoom Ndhlovu for a two-month soccer-coaching course in England in 1966 where he also trained with Durham City, and then Blackpool.<sup>578</sup> Zoom Ndhlovu greatly benefited from this experience. It positioned him among the most accomplished local coaches. On his return from England, he commented that the experience “really gave me an insight of the game. How serious players are towards the game and how meticulously football arrangements are done in England.”<sup>579</sup>

Apart from supporting recreational centers, the mines also financed two football clubs in each mining town. Programs were developed to identify and promote talented young players from recreational centers to feed the top clubs in each town.<sup>580</sup> Michael Kapembwa, who played for Mufulira Wanderers and the national team in the 1970s and 1980s with Abraham Nkole, remembers how top coaches such as George Sikazwe, Zoom Ndhlovu and Dickson Makwaza would tour recreational centers in Mufulira to recruit promising young talents for Mufulira Wanderers. The young recruits would have to fight their way up from the C (third) team to the A (first) team. This club-based system of player development created competition between players at all levels. Kapembwa recalled how established players on the A team had to work very hard to retain their place in the squad in the face of up-and-coming young players.<sup>581</sup> Such competition raised the standards of the game on the Copperbelt.

Similarly, RCCM Luanshya Division bankrolled Roan United FC and Buseko FC. The company also spent huge sums of money to provide facilities for about 28,000 employees

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<sup>578</sup> “Samuel ‘Zoom’ Ndhlovu – a soccer virtuoso,” *Mining Mirror*, 26 March 1982.

<sup>579</sup> “Samuel ‘Zoom’ Ndhlovu – a soccer virtuoso,” *Mining Mirror*.

<sup>580</sup> Wam Kwaleyela, “ZCCM’s 20 years of sports growth,” *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984.

<sup>581</sup> Interview with Michael Kapembwa, Mufulira, 11 June 2011.

and their families in Roan and Mpatamatu Mine Townships recreational centers.<sup>582</sup> Sean Gallagher, a former RCCM Luanshya Division Sports Adviser, said that they developed a long-term program whose priority was developing potential in players under the age of fifteen. Moreover, six clubs were formed in Roan Mine Township and three in Mpatamatu Mine Township. Young boys were recruited and their parents encouraged familiarizing themselves with the sport to help their children get better.<sup>583</sup>

These programs helped the mining industry produce the best players in the country in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Dickson Makwaza, Tolomeo Mwansa, Fred Mwila, Dick Chama to name a few.<sup>584</sup> (Other great stars produced by the mines included Michael Musonda, Alex Chola, and Peter Kaumba. See Chapter 5.<sup>585</sup>) Even Zambia's most renowned star, Kalusha Bwalya, was groomed in mine programs. He started playing the game in Mufulira's recreational clubs in the late 1970s, and then went on to star for Mufulira Secondary School and Mufulira Blackpool before finally moving to Wanderers, where in 1984 he was voted Zambian Footballer of the Year. Four years later, he would become the first player from Zambia (and southern Africa) to win the African Footballer of the Year award.<sup>586</sup>

By 1976 the mining industry sponsored five First division clubs out of twelve as well as numerous second and third division clubs and other amateur teams. With such plentiful and powerful sponsors, it is no surprise that mine clubs dominated the Zambian league for many years. Mufulira Wanderers, Nchanga Rangers, Roan United, Nkana Red Devils, and

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<sup>582</sup> Eddie Shatembo, "Mine to spend K50 0000 on sport," *Mining Mirror*, 9 January 1976.

<sup>583</sup> Shatembo, "Mine to spend K50 0000 on sport."

<sup>584</sup> Leonard Koloko, "Linus Makwaza: Like Father, Like Son," *Mining Mirror*, 27 April 1990.

<sup>585</sup> "Kaumba, Chola off to Ivory Coast," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2 December 1983.

<sup>586</sup> Leonard Koloko, "Kalusha Bwalya – a soccer wonderboy," 2 February 1985.

Power Dynamos won many national championships and regularly represented the country in African competitions.<sup>587</sup>

President Kaunda, chairman of ZIMCO, certainly played a decisive role in encouraging the copious flow of sponsorship money from the mines to the football clubs. He also closely followed the performance of Copperbelt clubs, even traveling to the Copperbelt to watch important matches. Kaunda's personal passion for the game can further be seen in his decision to send Minister of Sports Kebby Musokotwane to discuss with Mufulira Wanderers officials about the club's disappointing performance in the African Champions Cup in the early 1980s.<sup>588</sup> Unquestionably, the Copperbelt was the country's economic heartland and many more resources were invested in community recreational services there than in any other region. Nevertheless, the mines were not the only institutions aggressively backing the game. Zambia Railways and other parastatal corporations also supported football, although on a much smaller scale.

#### ZAMBIA RAILWAYS' KABWE WARRIORS

The national rail company, Zambia Railways, based in Kabwe, a small, former lead mining town, had been sponsoring Kabwe Warriors FC for many years. Broken Hill Warriors FC, as the club was originally called, was one of the founding members of the National Football League in 1962. After independence, it was taken over by Zambia Railways and changed its name to Kabwe Warriors after Broken Hill was renamed Kabwe. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Kabwe Warriors became one of the big clubs outside the Copperbelt.<sup>589</sup> Just

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<sup>587</sup> Shatembo, "Mine to spend K50 0000 on sport."

<sup>588</sup> Interview with Michael Kapembwa, Mufulira, 11 June 2011.

<sup>589</sup> Sundowner, "New Look Soccer Is a Success in the North," *Horizon*, May 1962, 34.

like the mines, Zambia Railways management made sure that the company had total control of Kabwe Warriors, with the general manager and company secretary coopted to run the club.<sup>590</sup>

With influential chairman Eliya Mwanza at the helm, Warriors signed strong players from the Copperbelt by enticing them with better paying and safer jobs on the railways. In 1967 the club acquired Boniface Simutowe, a prolific striker, and Sandy Kaposa from Roan United of Luanshya, luring them with hefty salaries as a locomotive driver and fireman respectively.<sup>591</sup> This acquisition was a key factor in Warriors' winning their first league championship in 1968.

Two years later, Kabwe Warriors acquired another creative striker, Godfrey Chitalu, Zambia's footballer of the year in 1968.<sup>592</sup> He had started his career with Kitwe United and worked for the Kitwe City Council. After moving to Kabwe Warriors and getting a job with Zambia Railways, he was crowned footballer of the year in 1970, 1972, 1978 and 1979.<sup>593</sup> In the 1972 season Chitalu set an all-time league scoring record with an extraordinary 107 goals.<sup>594</sup> That year Chitalu and Simutowe formed a deadly attacking combination as Warriors swept every competition: the Charity Shield, Chibuku Cup, Castle Cup, Shell Zambia Cup, and the league championship.<sup>595</sup> In 1975, Zambia Railways invested more money in the club by providing K75, 000 (about \$30,000) for the construction of the ten

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<sup>590</sup> "Row Loom at Kabwe Club Vote" *Times of Zambia*, 11 January 1974.

<sup>591</sup> Sam Sikazwe, "The rise and fall of Kabwe Warriors Part II," *Times of Zambia*, 24 January 1979.

<sup>592</sup> "Chitalu gets last minute nod for Uganda tour" *Times of Zambia*, 7 October 1968.

<sup>593</sup> Sam Sikazwe, "The rise and fall of Kabwe Warriors," *Times of Zambia*, 24 January 1979

<sup>594</sup> Sikazwe, "The rise and fall of Kabwe Warriors."

<sup>595</sup> Sikazwe, "The rise and fall of Kabwe Warriors."

thousand capacity Railway Stadium, which was the biggest stadium in Kabwe, home ground for Kabwe Warriors and also used for other sports activities and events.<sup>596</sup>



Figure 11: Ucar Godfrey Chitalu, left and Jani Simulambo on the right (n.d.). Source: Times of Zambia Library.

Apart from funding and administering Kabwe Warriors and provincial teams, Zambia Railways also sponsored other soccer tournaments. For example, the company sponsored the 1984 Champion of Champions FAZ finals between Power Dynamos FC and Mufulira Wanderers. UNIP Secretary General Humphrey Mulemba watched, as Power Dynamos were crowned champions.<sup>597</sup> After the match, Mulemba wrote a letter to the

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<sup>596</sup> "Row Loom at Kabwe Club Vote" *Times of Zambia*, 11 January 1974.

<sup>597</sup> UNIP Provincial Political Secretary protocol, Lusaka, 2 January 1985, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

Zambia Railways Managing Director on behalf of President Kaunda, thanking the company for sponsoring the competition.<sup>598</sup>

Such prestigious acknowledgement by a top party and government official was valuable for parastatal directors because it put them in good stead with their appointing authority. All heads of parastatal corporations were political appointees and so it was critical for them to show loyalty and recognition to their bosses. Evidenced by the number of government corporations that sponsored football in Zambia, it is quite likely that competition between them increased. This development may have helped to attract more investments in the game and to further popularize it. The influence that President Kaunda's one-party state had in soccer sponsorship did not end with parastatal corporations. By the 1970s, the nation's football history was also being shaped by the police force and the army teams.

#### ZAMBIA ARMY FOOTBALL CLUB

According to retired Zambia Army Lieutenant-Colonel William Mbiya, who was Manager and subsequently chairman of the Zambia Army Football Club from 1970 to 1976, top Zambia Army generals formed the club and registered it with the Football Association of Zambia in 1968.<sup>599</sup> The main goal for forming the army side was to create a positive relationship between citizens and the armed forces, not an easy thing to do given the military's colonial history as the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Regiment and then as the Federal Army. Apart from trying to mobilize the game to create a friendlier, more trustworthy image for the army, the founders were also determined to "help promote the

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<sup>598</sup> Letter from UNIP Secretary General to Zambia Railways Managing Director, Lusaka, 26 March 1985, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>599</sup> Interview with Lt. Colonel William Harrington D. Mbiya, Lusaka, 8 June, 2014

popularity of football among the people so that more and more of them could take a keen interest in the sport as players, administrators and spectators.”<sup>600</sup> Julius Sakala, a FAZ executive committee member around the time Zambia Army applied to join the national league, told Davies Banda that, “there was a lot of objection from some civilian members of the committee: no we can’t have soldiers joining us.”<sup>601</sup>

This revealed the tense relationship that existed between the army and the civilians in the society. Apart from being unpopular and oppressive, Sakala argued that defense forces were also seen as a separate community that was supposed to continue with its own soccer leagues and activities.<sup>602</sup> Historian Antony Clayton reminds us that soldiers, particularly those trained in the British tradition, have generally attached high importance to sport.<sup>603</sup> Clayton argues further that for the British, sport was perceived “as an important part of the personal development of the soldier [in terms of] individual robustness and self-respect.”<sup>604</sup> Alegi also noted that team sports like football were popular among African soldiers who believed it enhanced their “self-discipline, aggressive masculinity, and camaraderie.”<sup>605</sup>

The Zambia Army FC joined the National Football League (NFL) and won the 1969 Division Two championship, gaining promotion to the top league. However, the army initially decided not to move up to Division One because they were still busy debating the rationale and implications of the army’s participation in a league dominated by civilians.

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<sup>600</sup> Buffalo, *Zambia Army Sports Club Magazine*, Vol 1, March 1974.

<sup>601</sup> Davies Banda’s interview with Julius Sakala, Lusaka, 3 September, 2008

<sup>602</sup> Banda’s interview with Julius Sakala.

<sup>603</sup> Antony Clayton, “Sport and African Soldiers: The Military Diffusion of Western Sport throughout Sub-Saharan Africa,” in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds), *Sport in Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987), 114.

<sup>604</sup> Clayton, “Sport and African Soldiers,” 114.

<sup>605</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 8.



The debates were resolved and the club returned to the National Football League in 1970.<sup>606</sup> Zambia Army won promotion to Division One in 1972, the same year Zambia Police FC, later rechristened Nkwazi FC, also won promotion to Division One.<sup>607</sup>

Zambia Army FC complemented Kabwe Warriors in challenging Copperbelt football hegemony.<sup>608</sup> In 1973 Zambia Army won the league title. That year Warriors represented the country in the African Champions Cup, where Simba Sports of Tanzania eliminated them in a match at Independence Stadium, with President Kaunda and Tanzanian High Commissioner to Zambia, Obed Katikaza, in attendance.<sup>609</sup> Zambia Army went on to cement its dominance of the soccer scene by winning the league championship again in 1974 and 1975.<sup>610</sup> However, the “army” label in the context of the Cold War attracted extra security scrutiny during international competitions where some feared the players could have actually been spies. This concern triggered a name change in November 1974. The Zambia Army FC became known as Green Buffaloes Football Club, a move aimed to soften its military image.<sup>611</sup>

The success of the army club, according to Mbiya, a leading official of Green Buffaloes during this period, was the result of efficient planning, rigorous discipline, and hard work. The army handpicked knowledgeable and experienced officers to lead the club. The selected officers took their leadership positions in sport very seriously, seeing them as an extension of their military command or staff duties “with no room for failure.”<sup>612</sup> Mbiya

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<sup>606</sup> Interview with Lt. Colonel William Harrington D. Mbiya, Lusaka, 8 June, 2014

<sup>607</sup> Interview with Mbiya.

<sup>608</sup> “It will be tough for novices” *Times of Zambia*, 11 February 1972.

<sup>609</sup> Sam Sikazwe, “Simba ‘roar’ overpowers Army,” *Times of Zambia*, 6 May 1974.

<sup>610</sup> Wellington Kalwisha, “Buffaloes are Champions,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17 February 1975.

<sup>611</sup> “Zambia Army change name to Green Buffaloes,” *Times of Zambia*, 25 November 1974

<sup>612</sup> Interview with Mbiya.

argued that they also adopted European professional clubs' management styles, devising and implementing a long-term training program that included fitness, skills, tactical approaches, discipline and proper time management.

In addition to a more scientific organization, Green Buffaloes toured Europe to expose their officials and players to high-quality European football. Mbiya stated that in this case, government resources, approved by the Commander-in-chief President Kaunda, were necessary for the success of Green Buffaloes. As full-time employees of the Zambia Army, players trained every day like professional soccer players despite their amateur status.<sup>613</sup> The informal professionalism of Green Buffaloes caught the attention of Copperbelt footballers eager to secure a stable, safe, and comfortable army job with sufficient free time to devote to training, competition, rest and recreation. At most other clubs, players had to take care of their usual day job duties and reported to the sports ground in the afternoon and often in facilities of inferior quality than those available to the armed forces. Around the same time, the Zambia Air Force also formed Red Arrows FC. It followed the same approach as Green Buffaloes as it signed top players from Copperbelt clubs by offering secure wage-earning jobs in the Zambia Air Force in exchange for their athletic commitment. (This trend of "semi-professionalism" was also seen in neighboring Zimbabwe in the early 1980s where star players in the domestic league were deserting their clubs to join the newly formed and more lucrative army team known as Black Rhinos FC.<sup>614</sup>)

Green Buffaloes' stellar success spiked enthusiasm for the game in Lusaka and the Midlands region. In the 1970s and 1980s, Green Buffaloes witnessed the growth of a

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<sup>613</sup>Interview with Mbiya.

<sup>614</sup> Praise Zenenga, "Aesthetics and performance in Zimbabwean soccer," *African Identities*, 9 (2011): 334.

passionate and loyal fan base in Lusaka's Arakan Barracks, home of the Zambian Army, and surrounding townships like Libala and Kamwala. Although not formally part of a supporters' club, soldiers and their families regularly attended Green Buffaloes matches in Lusaka.<sup>615</sup> Club officials organized transport in the form of military trucks to ferry interested fans from Arakan Barracks to the stadiums.

According to Mbiya, when Green Buffaloes Football Club traveled to the Copperbelt for away matches, they did not bring fans with them; instead Zambia Army communities on the Copperbelt eagerly provided the necessary support.<sup>616</sup> In towns where there was no Zambia Army community, the army team lured and gathered young people from townships to support them. Leonard Koloko, who grew up in Luanshya supporting Roan United FC, remembers how Green Buffaloes enticed young people with canned foods such as beef, beans and fruits whenever they arrived in Luanshya for matches. Koloko stresses that the Zambia Army's famous Magrus military trucks were also attractive to young people who also relished free entry into the stadium.<sup>617</sup>

In many ways, the Zambia Army achieved its goal of using Green Buffaloes to create a constructive relationship between the army and citizens, aimed at mending the bad reputation created by the colonial Federal Army. Green Buffaloes in the 1970s helped the army to win many hearts of Lusaka residents outside the barracks. Mbiya remembers how the club had to take care of one child that was chased away from his home by his guardians because he was supporting Green Buffaloes instead of supporting City of Lusaka FC, which was the popular club in the home. The club had to find a foster home for the young man for

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<sup>615</sup> Interview with Mbiya.

<sup>616</sup> Interview with Mbiya.

<sup>617</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

a few days before he reconciled with the family.<sup>618</sup> It is remarkable that soccer passions ran so high that a young man had to be placed temporarily in a foster home. While this also reveals some negative aspects of the game's emotional aspects, it also shows the profound meaning of club soccer among many local fans.

#### FOOTBALL'S FINANCIAL CRISIS DURING THE KAUNDA ERA

Despite President Kaunda's reliably substantial political and economic support for the game, football could not escape the economic crisis caused by the sharp fall of copper prices on the international market. The economic decline in the late 1970s and 1980s resulted in serious shortages of basic foodstuffs such as sugar, cooking oil, salt and most importantly *mealie-meal*, which is the main ingredient for making *nsima* (thick porridge), the country's staple food. Long queues for essential commodities became a common occurrence, creating agitation that led to food riots in 1986 in several cities.<sup>619</sup>

This desperate economic situation invaded the country's soccer culture. In 1985, President Kaunda hosted a party for the national team that won the East and Central African Senior Challenge Cup in 1984. During the reception, Kaunda assured all sports organizations of the government's full support, despite the severe economic problems the country was facing.<sup>620</sup> He stated that UNIP and the government were going to continue allocating reasonable funds in the national budget for sports activities: "it signifies the government's firm commitments to the cause of sport,"<sup>621</sup> stressed Kaunda.

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<sup>618</sup> Interview with Mbiya.

<sup>619</sup> Gewald, Hinfelaar & Macola, "Introduction," in *One Zambia Many Histories*, 2.

<sup>620</sup> Victor Chitafu, "KK pledges total support," *Times of Zambia*, 9 January 1985.

<sup>621</sup> Victor Chitafu, "KK pledges total support," *Times of Zambia*, 9 January 1985.

As if to reinforce the President's position, Zambia agreed to host the 1988 African Cup of Nations finals.<sup>622</sup> Mary Fulano, UNIP Member of Central Committee in charge of sports, announced that government was optimistic about hosting the prestigious tournament, although it recognized the need to quickly renovate both the Independence and Dag Hammarskjöld stadiums to acceptable standards.<sup>623</sup> In December 1986, parliament approved K12 million Kwacha (about \$900,000) as supplementary funding (via the Ministry of Youth and Sport) for stadium renovations.<sup>624</sup>

It thus surprised everyone when towards the end of the year; Youth and Sports Minister Frederick Hapunda suddenly broke the news that the Confederation of African Football (CAF) had accepted the government's request to withdraw from hosting the 1988 African Cup of Nations.<sup>625</sup> Hapunda explained the main reason for the withdrawal thusly: "the truth of the matter is that we, as a country felt it necessary to pass on the hosting to some other countries for economic reasons."<sup>626</sup> Morocco accepted hosting the 16<sup>th</sup> edition of the African Cup of Nations, but as punishment for withdrawing from hosting the competition at the last minute, CAF barred Zambia from participating in the tournament and fined the country K65, 000.00 (about \$5,000).<sup>627</sup> As the economic crisis deepened, Zambia also withdrew from hosting the 1989 Confederation of East and Central African Football Association (CECAFA) Senior Challenge Cup finals, again citing financial difficulties.<sup>628</sup> The Minister of State, Ben Zulu, pointed out that the government supported

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<sup>622</sup> "State nods to '88 African Cup finals," *Times of Zambia*, 17 January 1986

<sup>623</sup> "State nods to '88 African Cup finals," *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>624</sup> "Parly approves K12m for stadia," *Times of Zambia*, 18 December 1986.

<sup>625</sup> "CAF switches African Cup finals," *Times of Zambia*, 23 December 1986.

<sup>626</sup> "CAF switches African Cup finals," *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>627</sup> "Zambia fined K6500," *Times of Zambia*, 31 December 1986.

<sup>628</sup> "State backs FAZ backdown," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 May 1989.

FAZ on the withdrawal because there was no public money to stage the competition.<sup>629</sup> In the same year, the country also backed out of hosting the Confederation of Southern African Football Association (COSAFA) youth championship.<sup>630</sup>

The financial meltdown made it difficult for the country to justify spending scarce funds to build new stadiums or refurbish existing ones.<sup>631</sup> At the time, Minister of State Ben Zulu stated that the Independence Stadium, the country's prime venue for major sporting events, was a constant source of concern: "We always keep biting our nails whenever there is an international game, worrying whether the stadium will accommodate the big numbers of people that turn up," Zulu said.<sup>632</sup> The Dag Hammarskjöld stadium in Ndola was completely razed in 1986 to pave way for an ultra modern stadium seating 50,000 spectators in preparation for the 1988 African Cup of Nations.<sup>633</sup> Although Minister of Sport Frederick Hapunda had promised the nation that the government was going to rebuild the Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium, many fans and residents of Ndola protested the failure to reconstruct the venerable facility that had hosted international matches for years. The residents further demanded the punishing of all experts and government officials that recommended the demolishing of their stadium.<sup>634</sup> These protests were aggravated by the fact that the Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium had become a part of the local community and was associated with local people's identity, life stories, memories and their past. This

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<sup>629</sup> "State backs FAZ backdown," *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>630</sup> "Zambia fined \$5000," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19 September 1989.

<sup>631</sup> "Independence Stadium expansion shelved," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14 November 1989

<sup>632</sup> "Independence Stadium expansion shelved," *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>633</sup> "CAF switches African Cup finals," *Times of Zambia*, 23 December 1986.

<sup>634</sup> "Heads must roll over Dag – fans," *Times of Zambia*, 25 December 1986.

provides a brief example of how stadiums in postcolonial African cities “became almost sacred ground for the creation and performance of national identities.”<sup>635</sup>

Apart from failing to renovate stadiums, the country’s financial difficulties made it hard for the country to fulfill its national team matches. For example, the team nearly failed to travel to Egypt for the 1986 African Cup of Nations. President Kaunda and his Prime Minister Kebby Musokotwane had to quickly engineer a huge donation from government controlled Industrial and Mining Corporations (ZIMCO) to facilitate the team’s travel to Cairo.<sup>636</sup>

These material challenges compelled FAZ vice-chairman Rupiah Banda, a future President, to announce that football activities should be tailored to suit the prevailing economic situation in the country. Banda stressed that; “this could mean team players forsaking certain comforts while in camp, a reduction in the sizes of delegations on foreign trips, and a general tightening of belts by both FAZ and clubs.”<sup>637</sup> In April 1991, President Kaunda again came to the team’s aid with a last-minute donation of K700,000 (about \$5,000) after learning that the team was about to fly to Swaziland without allowances.<sup>638</sup> Unsurprisingly, Swaziland beat Zambia 2-1 at Samholo Stadium in Mbabane. Despite the national team’s insufficient preparations, fans were enraged about the defeat to such a minnow of African football. Many of them demanded the recruitment of a foreign coach, thereby reigniting the old debate (see Chapter 3).<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>635</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, p. 55.

<sup>636</sup> “State boosts FAZ coffers,” *Times of Zambia*, 6 February 1986.

<sup>637</sup> “FAZ to tighten belts,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12 January 1987

<sup>638</sup> “Kaunda’s gift bails out soccer players,” *Times of Zambia*, 25 April 1991.

<sup>639</sup> “Kaunda’s gift bails out soccer players,” *Times of Zambia*.

FAZ Chairman David Phiri requested that government completely takeover the responsibility of the national team preparations for international matches. He argued that this was how it was done in many other African countries and it would give the coaching staff no excuses for poor performance.<sup>640</sup> However, the government refused to take over the responsibility because it did not want to be blamed by fans for potential defeats.<sup>641</sup> This decision added more pressure on a government that was already struggling with critical shortages of essential commodities, high unemployment levels, and a general deterioration of the people's quality of life. On the other hand, football administrator Simataa Simataa argued in an interview with me that despite this refusal, the responsibility of flying the national football team to international competitions still fell on the government because FAZ had no financial capacity to do so.<sup>642</sup>

Meanwhile, mine managers resented the "poaching" of so many excellent players from the Copperbelt by Midlands clubs such as Kabwe Warriors, Green Buffaloes FC, and Red Arrows. They also resented how the same clubs had snatched soccer supremacy away from Copperbelt teams. As a result, the mines took a radical decision. Disregarding the financial crisis that enveloped the industry and the nation, starting in 1984 the companies invested enormous financial and other resources into their football teams for a decade in order to reclaim dominance of Zambia's soccerscape.

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<sup>640</sup> "Bail out Zambia FAZ tells State," *Times of Zambia*, 29 October 1991.

<sup>641</sup> Chris Kachingwe, "Firms offer K10m to bail out FAZ," *Times of Zambia*, 23 October 1990.

<sup>642</sup> Interview with Simata Simata, Lusaka, 3 July, 2014.



## ZCCM FOOTBALL PATRONAGE 1984-1993

As mentioned earlier, the government-owned Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) emerged in April 1981 as a result of the merger between NCCM and RCCM. ZCCM continued to be managed by ZIMCO, chaired by President Kaunda.<sup>643</sup> Kaunda then appointed Francis Kaunda (not related to the President) as chairman and chief executive of ZCCM. Possibly to please his appointing authority, Francis Kaunda immediately declared that, “ZCCM will continue to support the development of sport in the country even in the face of existing financial difficulties.”<sup>644</sup>

Francis Kaunda organized the first ZCCM annual sports festival in 1982. It brought together hundreds of ZCCM employees to participate in various sports activities with the goal of promoting unity and peace among employees.<sup>645</sup> Officiating at the first ZCCM sports festival, President Kaunda stressed that, “we will continue to hold sports festivals despite the nation’s ailing economy [. . .] because, we in ZCCM believe that hard work and social relaxation go together. They are complementary and not contradictory.”<sup>646</sup> Such statements by President Kaunda set the tone for parastatal corporations in Zambia; there would be no turning back as far as sponsoring sports was concerned, regardless of the impact of the economic crisis, probably in an effort to mask the deteriorating economic situation. ZCCM continued losing money due to low copper prices, Zambia’s external debt reached staggering levels, and citizens struggled to access basic necessities.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> “The Story of NCCM and RCM,” *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984.

<sup>644</sup> “Games to stay – ZCCM chief,” *Mining Mirror*, 25 June 1982.

<sup>645</sup> “New economic recovery program: Fourth National Development Plan 1989-1993,” Volume I and II, Office of the President National Commission for Development Planning, Lusaka, January 1989, page 392.

<sup>646</sup> “Games to stay – ZCCM chief,” *Mining Mirror*..

<sup>647</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 7.

ZCCM annual sports festivals were major company events; they injected entertainment and fun in the lives of many miners and their families. These festivals also gave ZCCM, President Kaunda, and the UNIP government an opportunity to divert attention from the country's grave economic problems, and perhaps instill hope in the citizens for a better future. President Kaunda always opened the sports festivals in a grand fashion with speeches that praised the mines for developing sports in the country. Towards the end of the 1980s, non-ZCCM corporations were also invited to participate in the annual sports festivals with the hope of making it into an annual national festival.<sup>648</sup>

Following the formation of ZCCM, a new department called Community Services Department was tasked to oversee all community service functions throughout the mining industry.<sup>649</sup> As ZCCM was to oversee all mining activities in the eight towns, divisions or districts, a Community Services Department could "ensure effectiveness and uniformity in the implementation of community services programs throughout the eight divisions."<sup>650</sup> While community services included various amenities and leisure activities (such as bars and cinemas), they were largely centered on recreational centers and sports — particularly football.

ZCCM actually developed a comprehensive soccer program that involved recruitment of sports advisers and fulltime divisional coaches employed by the Department of Community Services.<sup>651</sup> Experienced British football coach Jeff Butler, later a coach for Kaizer Chiefs and other South African professional clubs, was hired as Sports Adviser. His

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<sup>648</sup> "It's Pro soccer," *Mining Mirror*, 29 October 1989.

<sup>649</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>650</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984.

<sup>651</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984.

job was to offer guidance on effective planning and successful implementation of divisional sports programs, to conduct coaching clinics for newly employed local coaches.<sup>652</sup>

The mines also employed eight fulltime experienced football coaches for the eight ZCCM divisions.<sup>653</sup> The divisional coaches were not employed by specific clubs, but by ZCCM with the aim of promoting “the standard of football at divisional level and maintenance of players’ welfare to sustain high morale and standards.”<sup>654</sup> As the divisional coaches were ZCCM employees, they were subjected to rigorous appraisals and mine management procedures. All divisional coaches were given responsibilities that involved coaching, providing technical knowledge, talent identification and development, looking after the welfare of players, and fostering discipline in the game in each mining town or district.<sup>655</sup> With Butler’s support, each coach was expected to implement good planning for his division and build a strong pool of players by identifying and recruiting talented youths between the ages of 14 and 18. Divisional coaches were expected to work extremely hard to facilitate the smooth implementation of all planned soccer programs in their areas.<sup>656</sup> Butler subjected each coach to regular evaluations to help deliver quality programs.

Apart from being provided with the best available advisers and coaches, all ZCCM-sponsored clubs received sports equipment supplies on an annual basis. Each mining division had to offer its premier league clubs transportation for players from their work places to the playing fields and back to their homes after practices and during

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<sup>652</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984.

<sup>653</sup> The eight divisions referred to are: Nchanga, Mufulira, Nkana, Luanshya, Kalulushi, Konkola, Kabwe and Ndola Lime company.

<sup>654</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984.

<sup>655</sup> Letter from C. H. Phiri Acting Deputy Director of Personnel to all divisional managers on Divisional Coaches, Kitwe, 17 September 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>656</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984.

competitions.<sup>657</sup> The ZCCM Department of Community Services standardized structures of club sponsorships, making sure that there were no disparities and complaints that could ruin the morale of players and the technical staff.<sup>658</sup> This also involved standardization of all allowances and bonuses for the players, coaches, and technical staff.<sup>659</sup> The only thing that ZCCM could not standardize was the time when athletes could be released for training. After all, players worked different jobs and some played critical roles in mine production processes. All mining divisions were, however, advised that whenever possible players should be given adequate time off for training.<sup>660</sup>

By the end of the 1984 season, ZCCM's massive investment in the game started yielding fruit. Two ZCCM clubs took first and second place in the Division One League and another two clubs took the top two spots in the Division Two League. As the Division Two gained promotion, the number of ZCCM clubs in Division One in the 1985 season increased from five to seven out of the twelve.<sup>661</sup> At community level, ZCCM senior sports and recreation officers drew programs for all divisions to emphasize the importance of progressive networks of competitions organized on an age-group basis.<sup>662</sup> As national federations did not have such programs, ZCCM took the lead by organizing youth tournaments for boys under 12, under 14, under 16 and under 18 years of age.

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<sup>657</sup> Minutes of the ZCCM coaches clinic held on 2 September 1985, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>658</sup> Letter from the Director of Personnel to all division managers on the sponsorship of premier league football clubs, 5 December 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>659</sup> Allowances paid to players and officials of sponsored league football clubs, 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>660</sup> Confidential letter from Deputy Director Personnel to all divisions, 28 August 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>661</sup> Letter from the Director of Personnel to all division managers on the sponsorship of premier league football clubs.

<sup>662</sup> "ZCCM youth in games galore," *Mining Mirror*, 28 December 1984.

<b>Player</b>	<b>Super League</b>	<b>Division 1</b>	<b>Division 2</b>
Training	10.00	10.00	10.00
League Game Win	35.00	25.00	20.00
League Game Draw	18.00	12.00	9.00
Preliminary Cup Game Win	35.00	35.00	35.00
Quarter Final Cup Game Win	40.00	40.00	40.00
Semi Final Cup Win	50.00	50.00	50.00
Final Cup win	100.00	100.00	100.00
1 <sup>st</sup> Round International Game Win	120.00	120.00	120.00
2 <sup>nd</sup> Round International Game Win	170.00	170.00	170.00
Quarter Round Final International game Win	240.00	240.00	240.00
Semi Final International Game Win	280.00	280.00	280.00
Final International Game Win	330.00	330.00	330.00

Table 1: ZCCM sports allowances and bonuses for Luanshya division, 1984 in Zambian kwacha. Source: Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

The youth competitions were useful in grooming and exposing young talent to competitive ZCCM clubs in each town.<sup>663</sup> It was from these competitions that divisional coaches identified young players to mentor and introduce to top clubs.<sup>664</sup>

#### SUCCESS ON THE GLOBAL STAGE: ZAMBIA'S 1988 OLYMPIC TEAM

In 1988 the national team qualified for the Olympic Games for the first time. In the short run, it did seem as if the comprehensive football development programs developed by ZCCM discussed above had laid an excellent foundation for potential success at the

<sup>663</sup> "ZCCM youth in games galore," *Mining Mirror*, 28 December 1984.

<sup>664</sup> "Big youth soccer plan kicks off," *Mining Mirror*, 22 February 1985.

Olympics in Seoul, South Korea.<sup>665</sup> The mine programs marked a significant shift in youth development as school sports leagues that had produced the best players in the 1960s and 1970s gave way to clubs and community structures of the 1980s.<sup>666</sup> Soccer clubs and Community Development Services (or welfare centers supported by community development officers), either under the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare, or ZCCM Community Services Department, became the main drivers of football development.<sup>667</sup> Parastatal corporations outside the mines began providing resources and facilities in the 1980s that further enhanced improved talent identification and development.<sup>668</sup>

In the 1988 Olympic qualification matches, Zambia beat Botswana with an aggregate of 7-0 and the Ugandan Cranes 7-1 in the preliminary matches.<sup>669</sup> The deciding matches were against the highly ranked Black Stars of Ghana. In the first match, Ghana visited Independence Stadium in Lusaka on January 17, 1988. As fans across the country were well aware of the growing self-confidence of their national team, they hired United Bus Company of Zambia (UBZ) to ferry them from all over the country to the capital to witness this historic match.<sup>670</sup> The Independence Stadium was filled to capacity, nearly bursting at the seams.

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<sup>665</sup> Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola. "Top Swiss club takes Bwalya," *Times of Zambia*, 19 December 1986.

<sup>666</sup> Interview with Ponga Liwewe, Lusaka, 25 July 2011.

<sup>667</sup> Davies Banda's interview with Julius Sakala, Lusaka, 3 September, 2008.

<sup>668</sup> Letter from the Director of Personnel to all division managers on the sponsorship of premier league football clubs, 5 December 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>669</sup> Moses Sayela Walubita, *Zambia Sporting Score*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Publication, 1990), 35.

<sup>670</sup> "Black Stars final to show up," *Times of Zambia*, 14 January 1988.

*Times of Zambia's* Ridgeway Liwena reported that the crowd inside the stadium was well rewarded with the home side's spectacular display throughout the 90 minutes.<sup>671</sup> "It was a dream come true for Zambia," he wrote, "to turn out a rare brand of refined soccer that earned them a 2-0 victory against the all-round magnificence of Ghana's Black Stars."<sup>672</sup> In a return match played in Ghana, Zambia lost 1-0, but qualified for the Seoul Olympic Games with a 2-1 aggregate score.<sup>673</sup> Each Zambian player received K3,000 (about \$250) for their outstanding performance.<sup>674</sup> This victory marked the arrival of a highly successful generation that could only be compared to the cohort that placed second to Zaire in the 1974 African Cup of Nations.

The team featured five professional players in European clubs. Kalusha Bwalya was the star at Cercle Brugge in Belgium, where he had been voted 1987 and 1988 club's footballer of the year.<sup>675</sup> Elsewhere in the Belgian league were Stone Nyirenda (at Haralbeke), Lucky Msiska (Roselare) and Charles Musonda (Anderlecht).<sup>676</sup> The only popular player among those based in Europe who was not in Belgium was Johnston Bwalya, who played for FC Sion, a Second Division Swiss club.<sup>677</sup> These five professionals were influential in Zambia's qualification to the 1988 Olympics; they were also all groomed in ZCCM-sponsored programs on the Copperbelt.

After the team's qualification for the Olympics, the government, parastatal corporations, and even individual citizens donated funds to facilitate the preparations and

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<sup>671</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, "Sunday match was fans' nightmare," *Times of Zambia*, 19 January 1988.

<sup>672</sup> Liwena, "Sunday match was fans' nightmare."

<sup>673</sup> "Victorious Zambia XI in cash bonanza," *Times of Zambia*, 9 February 1988.

<sup>674</sup> "Victorious Zambia XI in cash bonanza," *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>675</sup> "Brugge honors Kalusha as top footballer," *Times of Zambia*, 26 May 1988.

<sup>676</sup> "Circle Brugge offer Banda stint in Belgium," *Times of Zambia*, 3 June 1986.

<sup>677</sup> "Squad build-up cheers 'Zoom,'" *Times of Zambia*, 9 January 1988.

travel to South Korea. The required K6,000,000 (about \$500,000) was raised and on September 12, 1988, the expedition of forty-three men left Lusaka for Seoul. During their sendoff party held at State House, President Kaunda stated that the nation was waiting for medals from South Korea.<sup>678</sup> 170 fans, led by Zambia Soccer Fans Association chairman Hastings Masisani, chartered a plane from Lusaka to Seoul with financial assistance from government and parastatals.<sup>679</sup> The public funds spent on the 1988 Olympic team amidst a catastrophic economic crisis revealed the extent to which the country's leadership and population were willing to sacrifice for the chance of sporting success on the global stage.

At the Olympics, the team was grouped with Iraq, Italy and Guatemala.<sup>680</sup> Veteran player and coach Samuel "Zoom" Ndhlovu, assisted by Dickson Makwaza, coached the side. With a powerful squad led by Kalusha Bwalya and Charles Musonda, Zoom Ndhlovu decided to use a 4-4-2 formation.<sup>681</sup> Zambia drew with Iraq 2-2 and shocked Italy (and the world) with a 4-0 thumping, Kalusha Bwalya scoring three goals and Johnston Bwalya adding another one.<sup>682</sup> The Zambians next thrashed Guatemala 5-2 before being knocked out at the quarterfinal stage by West Germany, with Juergen Klinsmann scoring three goals in a 4-0 victory.<sup>683</sup>

Despite the elimination, Zambia's overall performance attracted attention and praise in the football world. *Times of Zambia* sports correspondent Alfred Mulenga reported that, "Zambia has become a major talking point following their sensational victory

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<sup>678</sup> "All set for Seoul trip," *Times of Zambia*, 8 September 1988.

<sup>679</sup> "Games fans to be frisked," *Times of Zambia*, 14 September 1988.

<sup>680</sup> "Zambian team written off?" *Times of Zambia*, 15 September 1988.

<sup>681</sup> "We are set – Zoom," *Times of Zambia*, 13 September 1988.

<sup>682</sup> Alfred Mulenga, "Zambia whips Italy 4 – 0," *Times of Zambia*, 20 September 1988.

<sup>683</sup> Alfred Mulenga, "Zambia bows out," *Times of Zambia*, 26 September 1988.



over European soccer giants Italy.”<sup>684</sup> This impressive victory added luster to the country’s international visibility and marked it as one of the best in African football. Zambia seemed to be the latest example of how “by the late 1970s and early 1980s, African national teams had proven that they could hold their own on the world’s stage.”<sup>685</sup> Locally, the national team’s performance in the Seoul Olympic Games generated a sense of joy and national pride among the citizens. The Olympic team was given a heroes’ welcome on arrival. Despite the poor economy, organizations donated money to the players to congratulate them on their performance.<sup>686</sup>

#### ZCCM AND THE RISE OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

By the end of the 1980s, ZCCM mining divisions were becoming more and more interested in their soccer clubs, resulting in players spending over sixty percent of their company time either at training or competing.<sup>687</sup> Probably to challenge the armed forces’ semi-professionalism, ZCCM decided to appoint a study group in 1989 to explore the possibility of making football a professional game. The group, which included national team coach Samuel “Zoom” Ndhlovu, traveled to West Germany to ascertain the best ways of establishing and running professional soccer clubs on the Copperbelt.<sup>688</sup> Following this study, ZCCM Chief Executive Director Francis Kaunda announced the introduction of professional football at the 7<sup>th</sup> ZCCM Sports Festival in Luanshya in October 1989. Francis

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<sup>684</sup> Alfred Mulenga, “Kalusha charm lures poachers,” *Times of Zambia*, 23 September 1988.

<sup>685</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 76.

<sup>686</sup> Alfred Mulenga, “Zambia bows out,” *Times of Zambia*, 26 September 1988.

<sup>687</sup> Letter from Acting Manager Human Resources to General Manager on Establishment of Professional Soccer in Zambia, 20 November, 1989. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>688</sup> “Pro. Task force to Germany,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1 December 1989.

Kaunda explained that the introduction of professional soccer at ZCCM was a result of the company's interest in continuing to improve the standards of the game in Zambia.<sup>689</sup>

Following Francis Kaunda's pronouncements, Minister of State for Youth and Sport Revered Ben Zulu stated that the government supported ZCCM's move and had given them the green light to move forward with their plans.<sup>690</sup> In fact, Zulu appealed to other companies in the country to emulate ZCCM. He also assured players who were afraid that they would lose their jobs that mechanisms were being put in place to protect their economic welfare.<sup>691</sup>

Similarly, while addressing Nkana Red Devils players and officials in January 1990, President Kaunda said that the party and its government supported ZCCM to turn five of its clubs into professional soccer companies. During a time of austerity measures, job security was very important, and some players were worried that they might not meet the higher standards of professional football. President Kaunda assured them that "as overseer of ZIMCO, which runs the mines, he would see to it that all players in the concerned teams were looked after properly. We are not an animal nation which throws young people to the winds," he stated.<sup>692</sup> As the UNIP government had promised people jobs during the struggle for independence, Kaunda's government felt obliged to offer jobs to citizens, and particularly to young people.<sup>693</sup>

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<sup>689</sup> Minutes of a meeting held to brief the officials from FAZ on the establishment of professional football in ZCCM, 21 February 1990. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>690</sup> "State backs Pro soccer – Zulu," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18 December 1989.

<sup>691</sup> "Independence Stadium expansion shelved," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14 November 1989

<sup>692</sup> "Have no fears KK tells 4 teams," *Time of Zambia*, 3 January 1990.

<sup>693</sup> Critics argue that this attitude of wanting to create jobs for all citizens partly contributed in getting the country into inflation and the economic problems that followed, as expenses on the huge workforce did not match production and export.

Ultimately, five football companies were created: Nchanga Rangers, Mufulira Wanderers, Nkana Red Devils, Power Dynamos, and Roan United, which were to operate as semi-autonomous entities.<sup>694</sup> The clubs were to operate as limited liability companies, each with a board of directors initially appointed by ZCCM. A company secretary was appointed for each company who was responsible for the everyday running of the soccer club. Each company was allowed to employ twenty professional players, a maximum of four foreign players, and fifteen non-professional players, all employed on contracts ranging from twelve to thirty-six months.<sup>695</sup>

Professional players enjoyed better conditions than ordinary mineworkers that had a comparable grade of employment. Contracts fell into three grades: star professionals, who were offered management conditions of service and housed in low density residential areas previously reserved for Europeans; seasoned professionals, who were housed in medium density residential areas; and regular professionals, housed in high density residential areas.<sup>696</sup>

ZCCM set aside K40 million as initial capital for the five soccer companies.<sup>697</sup> Spending such huge sums of money on professional football raised eyebrows in some circles. Major Teddy Mbewe, a Member of Parliament, raised a point of order in Parliament, questioning whether it was appropriate for ZCCM to spend K40 million on professional soccer. He argued that, "The nation is crying for better health and educational

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<sup>694</sup> Management Brief to all ZCCM divisions and subsidiary companies, 8 December 1989. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>695</sup> Management Brief to all ZCCM divisions and subsidiary companies.

<sup>696</sup> Minutes of a meeting held to brief the officials from FAZ on the establishment of professional football in ZCCM, 21 February 1990. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>697</sup> "ZCCM offers K40m to pro teams," *Times of Zambia*, April 6 1990.

facilities; recently the Minister of Health has admitted that 40 percent of the deaths of our children are a result of malnutrition.”<sup>698</sup> In his ruling on the debate, Speaker of the National Assembly Robinson Nabulyato advised government to be cautious before investing considerable amounts of money in professional sport, which he felt did not benefit the common citizen. Nabulyato also revealed how in 1974 the Cabinet rejected a proposal for professional football, arguing that people would not understand the reason for paying hefty salaries to individuals “who do nothing but *masowelo* [play], the country might condemn government’s action more now that the economic situation is worse.”<sup>699</sup> *Masowelo* or *Masobano* (play) is a common term used by Zambians who are not interested in sport to discredit it as a waste of time and money. It implied that sports allocations in the national budget implied a misguided set of priorities and a lack of seriousness. Nabulyato stressed how everyone in Zambia was aware of the extent to which health care and educational systems, the road network, and other social services were under extreme duress owing to a lack of government funds.<sup>700</sup> Nabulyato, a local politician criticizing a policy that was supported by President Kaunda was a clear sign that the economic crisis was gradually weakening Kaunda’s autocratic regime. In the end, the critics could not stop the implementation of a program approved by Kaunda’s government.

The newly formed soccer companies swung into full force and looked to sign European coaches. In 1990 Roan United Limited was preparing to send two ZCCM officials

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<sup>698</sup> “Pro soccer costly,” *Times of Zambia*, 15 November 1990

<sup>699</sup> “Pro soccer costly,” *Times of Zambia*.

<sup>700</sup> “Pro soccer costly,” *Times of Zambia*.

to London to interview possible candidates for the position of team manager.<sup>701</sup> Nkana Red Devils had recruited Danny McGrain, Scotland's World Cup team manager, to coach Nkana for a period of three months (May to July 1991).<sup>702</sup>

By this time, football in Zambia had become almost synonymous with ZCCM. Apart from financing clubs, ZCCM also regularly provided grants and donations to the Football Association of Zambia and the National Sports Council of Zambia for various purposes.<sup>703</sup> Despite the economic situation, and the criticism by politicians and civil society against professionalism, ZCCM continued pumping huge sums of money into the project. It was clear that as long as President Kaunda was chairman of ZIMCO, professional soccer was going to continue.

There was a domino effect as other parastatal corporations attempted to emulate the ZCCM model of investing in sports. Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZISC) and Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) constructed multipurpose sports centers (discussed in Chapter 3) and netball, basketball, tennis, volleyball, darts, as well as football clubs, were formed.<sup>704</sup> Powerful clubs of employees of various corporations went on to play at various levels of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) league structure. Richie Nawa, a long serving chairman for Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) told me that after President Kaunda's directive ZNPF in 1969 decided to form Profound Warriors FC. The club used Kamwala Secondary School as home field before it moved to the new ZNPF

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<sup>701</sup> Letter from Senior Manager- Industrial Relations Copper Industry Services Bureau Limited to General Manager ZCCM on recruitment of foreign football coach/manager, 5 September 1990. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>702</sup> Letter from Woolcott - London to ZCCM Luanshya Division on European Soccer coach, 3 April 1991. ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>703</sup> "Professional soccer clubs given K40m," *Mining Mirror*, 27 April 1990.

<sup>704</sup> Moses Walubita, "Firms put up sports centers," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 23 February 1980. Interview with Regina Sokone Kapata and Francis Malunga, Lusaka, 20 August 2014.

Sports Complex located behind the Showground area in Lusaka.<sup>705</sup> Profound Warriors rose through the ranks from amateur football to the top league in the early 1980s. Nawa explained that, similar to ZCCM's management model of sports, ZNPF appointed company officials to manage various sports clubs. The corporation also provided monthly financial grants for corporate sports operations. Most of the Profound Warriors FC players were employed by ZNPF. Those who were educated took clerical jobs, while those who had less or no qualifications did manual work such as cleaning. Nawa stressed that every departmental head knew that on certain days, those involved in sports were supposed to leave work early to attend sports activities. ZNPF provided buses to ferry the players to the NPF sports complex. After each training session, the same means of transport were used to transport players and officials back to their respective residential communities.<sup>706</sup>

Similar programs were implemented in other parastatal corporations such as Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZISC), which sponsored Zamsure Sports Club. Regina Sokone Kapata and Francis Malunga, who played netball and football respectively for Zamsure Sports Club in the early 1980s, both told me that ZISC employed fulltime sports managers that ran Zamsure Sports Club. Such managers enforced discipline in the sports programs, ensuring that coaches were doing their jobs and the athletes appropriately used company time allocated for sporting activities.<sup>707</sup> Athletes followed a strict schedule; they left ZISC at 4:00 p.m. and were transported to Zamsure Sports Complex for their training until 7 p.m. after which they were taken home by company bus. Kapata and Malunga stressed that athletes and staff were expected to maintain discipline during sports

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<sup>705</sup> Interview with Richie Nawa, Lusaka, 21 August 2014.

<sup>706</sup> Interview with Nawa.

<sup>707</sup> Interview with Kapata and Malunga.

programs. The duo argued that such strictness (including not drinking alcohol) fostered success on the playing fields, but above all it provided employers with a fit, compliant, and perhaps more contented workforce.<sup>708</sup>

Most of the company sports programs were dominated by soccer, due to its hegemonic status as the national sport. As on the Copperbelt, some clubs established youth development programs. For example, Profound Warriors FC in the mid-1980s recruited footballers from secondary schools and paid their school fees and uniforms. After completing secondary school, some of them would be offered jobs in ZNPF and joined the ranks of the highly rated company team. Among them were national team members Shy Kumwenda and Patrick “Bomber” Banda.<sup>709</sup> While not all parastatal corporations’ soccer clubs became as successful as Profound Warriors, the employees’ soccer programs strengthened the culture and practice of the game in Lusaka as the capital city continued contesting the Copperbelt’s hegemony.<sup>710</sup>

In conclusion, President Kaunda’s UNIP government nationalization of the mines and other sectors of the economy and his power and inclination to encourage corporate sponsorship played a vital role in the development of soccer in the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the economic collapse, ZCCM’s talent identification and development programs produced excellent players that improved the standards of the domestic and the national team as seen in the quarterfinal finish at the 1988 Olympics. Fearing the stiff competition of Midlands clubs that recruited players from the Copperbelt with jobs and semi-professional soccer careers, ZCCM pumped even more money into the sport. At its peak,

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<sup>708</sup> Interview with Kapata and Malunga.

<sup>709</sup> Interview with Nawa. Banda perished in the 1993 Gabon plane crash.

<sup>710</sup> Elias Chinteje, “Makinka throws out ‘juju’ charges,” *The Weekly Post*, 1 October 1992.

this investment led to the launch of five professional soccer clubs. While other parastatal corporations and government agencies such as the army and police did not turn their teams into professional clubs, many did seek to emulate ZCCM's approach to sport organization and training. At a considerable cost, Zambia asserted itself as one of Africa's football powerhouses.



## CHAPTER 5: THE POPULARIZATION OF FOOTBALL: MASS MEDIA AND FAN CULTURE

Soccer received a lot of support from citizens, parastatal conglomerates and government leading to the country being one of the major footballing nations in the region. This chapter explores the role of the media in the popularization of football in Zambia after independence and the emergence of soccer fan clubs on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. It outlines how the cultural technology of radio (and later television) played an important role in popularizing the game in both rural and urban areas. In the process, the game's rising popularity led to the emergence of powerful organized fan clubs on the Copperbelt. The chapter explores how the social background and geographical location of soccer clubs shaped the nature and character of fandom. It also argues that despite the game being male dominated, women managed to participate in the game as fans and leaders who formed and led the Zambia Women's Football League. Soccer administrators and politicians met the growth of fan clubs with hostility. Since the game was a contested terrain for power relations in the postcolonial period, officials tried to curtail the influence of organized fan clubs. Fearing interference in administrative affairs, officials struggled to retain power and control over an evolving domestic soccer culture.

One sunny Sunday afternoon in the 1980s in Mbereshi, located in Luapula Province's Kawambwa District, young and older women, some of them with their babies, clad in their best Sunday church clothes, joined men of all ages around the only soccer field in the village to watch their local club, Medics Football Club, play against a visiting team. As the players marched onto the field, a group of fans banged drums, while others sang and danced to a popular Bemba soccer song: *Medi nga talipo bonse aba niba ngwele, medi nga talipo bonse aba niba ngwele, twalaizandamuna, lelo mule dabwa, twala izandamuna lelo*

*muledabwa* (“If Medics is not here, everyone around is a coward, we will start a fight today and you will all be stunned.”)<sup>711</sup> The song was chanted countrywide during competitive matches.

The Medics FC team captain at the time was Bulalo Mwape, a man who later became National Deputy Director of Sport in the Ministry of Sport. In an interview with me, Mwape remembered how soccer matches enveloped the entire Mbereshi village in a kind of euphoria. He stressed that although the song threatened the visiting team with violence, it was merely to intimidate opponents because Mbereshi was known for being a nonviolent, soccer-loving community. According to Mwape, local and national league soccer was taken seriously in Mbereshi and attracted large crowds. Some fans came to the ground carrying their two-band radios so that they could listen to commentaries of the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) Division One League matches while watching local games.<sup>712</sup> This shows the important role the media particularly radio played in the popularization of the game in rural Zambia.

#### THE MEDIA AND THE POPULARIZATION OF FOOTBALL

Radio and newspapers were crucial forces in the popularization of the game after independence. State-owned newspapers such as the *Times of Zambia*, and the *Zambia Daily Mail* generally focused on covering development projects, business, entertainment, and sports—particularly soccer.<sup>713</sup> Although not many people could afford to buy newspapers, some people had access to newspapers at workplaces, while others borrowed newspapers

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<sup>711</sup>Interview with Bulalo Mwape, Lusaka, 14 June 2014.

<sup>712</sup> Interview with Mwape.

<sup>713</sup> Chris Chirwa, “Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zambia,” Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa: Rosebank, 2010.

from their affluent friends and neighbors, and those who were illiterate had newspapers read to them.<sup>714</sup>

Chisanga Nkashi, a resident of Lusaka (four hundred kilometers from Kitwe), whose parents could afford to buy newspapers every day, narrated to me how he became a staunch supporter of Power Dynamos FC of Kitwe through reading newspapers.<sup>715</sup> Prominent Power Dynamos footballers like Michael Musonda, Alex Chola and Peter Kaumba dominated newspaper sports headlines after every weekend and attracted fans like Nkashi to the club.<sup>716</sup> Chola and Kaumba were among the finest players in the country in the 1980s. Despite the duo being based in Kitwe on the Copperbelt, newspaper accounts made them famous across the country. The duo even played in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, for Africa Sports in 1982-83.<sup>717</sup> Kaumba's 36 league goals in 1982 and his excellent performance during the 1982 African Cup of Nations made him one of the best left-wingers in Africa.<sup>718</sup>

Leonard Koloko, a sports writer for the *Mining Mirror* in the 1980s, argued that meticulously detailed and exciting reporting of international and local weekend matches in print media created high demand for Monday newspapers.<sup>719</sup> Each match was treated as a separate headlined story, detailing nearly all the action in the matches with photographs. Soccer enthusiasts would cut pictures of their favorite players from newspapers and make scrapbooks to keep stories of their soccer stars.<sup>720</sup> Newspapers also performed another

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<sup>714</sup> Chirwa, "Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zambia."

<sup>715</sup> Interview with Chisanga Nkashi, Lusaka, 2 July 2014.

<sup>716</sup> Interview with Nkashi.

<sup>717</sup> "Kaumba, Chola off to Ivory Coast," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 2 December 1983.

<sup>718</sup> "Kaumba is goal king," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4 January 1983.

<sup>719</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

<sup>720</sup> Interview with Koloko.

important function. The printed word accompanied by evocative images, as Benedict Anderson notably put it, provided “the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the [footballing] nation.”<sup>721</sup> Paraphrasing Anderson, morning newspapers served modern Zambian men (and some women) with soccer news that made each person aware of many others “whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion” illustrating an imagined soccer community.<sup>722</sup>

Radio provided a wider audience than newspapers. It was the most important medium in the country because of its accessibility to both rural and urban dwellers. Harry Franklin a colonial information officer started a radio station in 1941 that developed into the Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS) — a colonial radio station.<sup>723</sup> The CABS broadcast different programs, among them African music. Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler reveal how the colonial government tried to use both film and radio as instruments of social engineering, and control. However, they say, “The great majority of African listeners to radio in Northern Rhodesia ignored educational programs on a medium that they regarded as a source of entertainment and leisure.”<sup>724</sup>

The CABS became the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland during the Federation period (1953-63) and was rechristened Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) after independence. After 1964 it boasted two stations. Radio 1 offered

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<sup>721</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983), 39.

<sup>722</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 39.

<sup>723</sup> Chris Chirwa, “Public Broadcasting.”

<sup>724</sup> Emmanuel Akyeampong and Charles Ambler, “Leisure in Africa: An Introduction,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35. No. 1 (2002), 14. These conclusions are also supported by academic work on film and cinema in colonial Africa. See, for example, Charles Ambler, “Popular Films and Colonial Audiences: The Movies in Northern Rhodesia,” *American Historical Review* 106, 1 (2001): 81-105; James Burns, *Flickering Shadows: Cinema and Identity in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002); and Laura Fair, “Drive-In Socialism: Debating Modernities and Development in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania,” *American Historical Review* 118, 4 (2013): 1077-1104.

programs in seven local languages (Tonga, Bemba, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Nyanja and Kaonde) and was also known as “home service.” Radio 2 featured programs in English, the country’s official language, and was referred to as “general service.”<sup>725</sup> Both radio stations offered live broadcasts of important league and international matches that were usually played on Saturday or Sunday afternoons. Radio1 commentators alternated between the seven local languages, which the colonizers believed to represent the country’s 73 ethnic groups, while radio 2 was exclusively reserved for Dennis Liwewe’s commentaries in English.

Soccer on the radio from the 1960s to the early 1990s was synonymous with Dennis Liwewe. Employed as a public relations manager for the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM), Liwewe started his radio and television commentaries in 1962 at the dawn of racial integration in the waning days of British colonialism.<sup>726</sup> As a phenomenally prolific soccer commentator, Liwewe proved decisive in popularizing the game through his enthusiastic and absorbing descriptions of matches on radio at a time when there was no easy access to television.<sup>727</sup> Listeners of all ages in towns and villages around the country tuned in to hear his emotionally loaded broadcasts. Liwewe’s play-by-play commentaries were so distinctive that he could carry listeners with him, allowing them to visualize what was happening in far away stadiums, bringing enjoyment to their lives, and making them proud of being modern Zambians. For example, in a letter to the *Mining Mirror*, A. Nsonga, a fan from Chambishi (on the Copperbelt), wrote that when Liwewe called a live soccer match on the radio, “one feels that he is actually watching the match itself.”<sup>728</sup> This is

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<sup>725</sup> Chris Chirwa, “Public Broadcasting in Africa Series.”

<sup>726</sup> “Liwewe: It’s a go-a-al!” *Mining Mirror*, 24 March 1973.

<sup>727</sup> “Huge audiences listens,” *Times of Zambia*, 13 March 1974.

<sup>728</sup> “We want Liwewe back on the air,” *Mining Mirror*, 5 August 1977.

echoed by the Kenyan scholar Solomon Waliaula's insight that a soccer announcer "shares his space with the fans" during commentaries.<sup>729</sup>

In 1977, the British Broadcasting Network (BBC) rated Liwewe among the best three radio broadcasters in the world.<sup>730</sup> That same year, President Kaunda awarded him with an "Insignia of Distinguished Service" at a State House investiture ceremony in recognition of his key role in popularizing the game on radio.<sup>731</sup> Scholars have argued that football commentary is "an artistic performance that reconstructs and re-presents soccer match events in new forms."<sup>732</sup> Liwewe's wife Sylvia told the *Mining Mirror* in 1973 that Liwewe sometimes talked to himself loudly while taking a bath, shouting the names of players in preparation for a crucial soccer match commentary.<sup>733</sup> He loved the game and was a master of the art of reconstructing its story on radio.

Despite the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) not having adequate resources, an effort was made to broadcast all important club and international matches. However, ZBS's failure to broadcast such matches caused a lot of complaints from fans across the nation. In 1975, for example, the Minister of Broadcasting, Clement Mwananshiku, told parliament that, "it was no secret that efforts by Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) had not fully succeeded in promoting sport because of lack of adequate resources to support radio

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<sup>729</sup> Solomon Waliaula, "Radio Soccer Commentary as Reconstruction and Performance of Political and Social-cultural Reality: The Case of Kenya in the 1980s," *Journalism and Mass Communication* 2, 8 (2012), 873. See also, Dina Ligaga, Dumisani Moyo, Liz Gunner, eds., *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities* (Johannesburg: Wits Press, 2012); and Louise Manon Bourgault, *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

<sup>730</sup> Liwewe: It's a go-a-al!" *Mining Mirror*, 24 March 1973.

<sup>731</sup> Liwewe: It's a go-a-al!" *Mining Mirror*, 24 March 1973.

<sup>732</sup> Solomon Waliaula, "Kenyan live radio soccer commentary as oral performance," PhD dissertation, Moi University (2011), 239.

<sup>733</sup> Liwewe: It's a go-a-al!" *Mining Mirror*, 24 March 1973.

commentaries.”<sup>734</sup> Soccer commentary can be seen as playing an important role in the popularization and development of the game in the country.

As it became evident that soccer had become very popular on the radio, the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) demanded payment for broadcasting rights. For example, on Sunday 20 February 1977, a team of eight Zambia Broadcasting Services staff sent to cover a African Champions Cup match between Mufulira Wanderers and Lesotho’s Maseru United in Ndola was prohibited access to Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium. The reason given was that the radio team did not have invitation cards, and moreover, there was no agreement between the FAZ and ZBS over broadcasting rights. FAZ had also blocked ZBS live radio commentary of a match between Zambia and Uganda, which was played at Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in Ndola on 27 February 1977 until the government intervened. The football association’s demands for payment of broadcasting fees stemmed from the fact that FAZ organized the matches as the game’s governing body in the country.<sup>735</sup>

Cancellations of soccer broadcasts enraged thousands of radio listeners throughout the country. In a letter to the *Times of Zambia*, Rowland Chilimba expressed the anger of fans, demanding that FAZ “should find other ways of raising funds instead of holding the nation at ransom by demanding rights on soccer commentaries.”<sup>736</sup> Despite government intervention in the wrangle to facilitate the broadcasting of the World Cup qualifying match between Zambia and Uganda at Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium, the issue was not resolved at the time, which attracted national attention. Members of Parliament joined in an “all-out

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<sup>734</sup> Fred M’ule, “Why radio plans to boost sport flopped,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6 March 1975.

<sup>735</sup> “ZBS chief refutes soccer boycott,” *Times of Zambia*, 18 February 1977.

<sup>736</sup> “ZBS, FAZ dispute rages on,” *Times of Zambia*, 22 February 1977.

condemnation of the Football Association of Zambia for holding fans at ransom by denying Radio Zambia the rights to broadcast matches.”<sup>737</sup>

The involvement of the state in settling disputes between FAZ and ZBS reveals the powerful role radio broadcasting played in newly independent African states in constructing and communicating “spaces of nation-states.”<sup>738</sup> As the South African historian Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi has written, “There is a general recognition that radio is the biggest communication medium in Africa.”<sup>739</sup> Historian Marissa Moorman has also shown how “sonorous capitalism in form of radio and recording industry, was the motor that drove the development and spread of music as a medium for imagining the nation in late colonial Angola.”<sup>740</sup> Citizens’ demand for live soccer commentaries on radio reveals how the game had become central to popular culture and how the cultural technology of radio produced meaning, space and football narratives.<sup>741</sup> This close relationship between media and soccer laid the foundation for building a vibrant and diverse culture of fandom in the postcolonial period.

#### FAN CULTURE ON THE COPPERBELT

A vibrant soccer fan culture evolved on the Copperbelt. The stable copper-rich economy that was booming after independence, particularly on the Copperbelt, led to an emergence

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<sup>737</sup> “Live soccer commentary feud given brief accord,” *Times of Zambia*, 25 February 1977.

<sup>738</sup> Derbra Spitulnik, “Radio Cycles and Recyclings in Zambia: Public Words, Popular Critiques, and National Communities,” University of Michigan Publishing (1994).

<sup>739</sup> Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, “You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960-1994,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35:3, (2009), 575-594.

<sup>740</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 140.

<sup>741</sup> Moorman, *Intonations*, 140.



of a class of people with enough resources to spare for leisure activities such as soccer.<sup>742</sup> This resonates with scholars' view that "wage earning urban workers with some Western education – men with discretionary income and leisure time" played an essential role in the evolution of the game in Africa.<sup>743</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, the Copperbelt did not only have organized soccer clubs, but also had the most organized football fan clubs that began to flourish as early as the 1960s.

Dickson Makwaza, a long serving captain for the national team in the 1960s and 1970s, recalls how Mufulira Wanderers, Rhokana United and Nchanga Rangers had the most organized and dominating fans in the country.<sup>744</sup> Makwaza remembers how he could have family members, neighbors and friends (men and women) totaling between fifty and seventy supporting him during home matches at Shinde Stadium in Mufulira. He stressed that as each player had a number of friends and relatives singing and clapping for them, stadiums were usually full to capacity and lively, which inspired each player to work even harder.<sup>745</sup> Soccer match tickets were fairly affordable for working class mine families. Grandstand tickets were sold at 3 Zambian Kwacha (less than \$1 at that time), open wings 2.50 Kwacha and children 1 Kwacha. This made soccer matches good opportunities for relatives, friends and neighbors to meet at the stadiums and have fun supporting their favorite clubs and players.<sup>746</sup>

Soccer loyalties on the Copperbelt were rooted in townships. Some Copperbelt mining towns had several clubs, which sparked divisions within a town and created serious

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<sup>742</sup> James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 6.

<sup>743</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 15-16.

<sup>744</sup> Interview with Dickson Makwaza, Lusaka, 12 June 2012.

<sup>745</sup> Interview with Makwaza.

<sup>746</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

rivalries.<sup>747</sup> As in the colonial period, each town was divided into two areas: one administered [owned] by the mining companies and another under the municipal council. Each of these areas was further divided into townships and almost every Copperbelt township had a soccer club that residents ardently supported. This pattern meant that some towns had two or three clubs playing in the top league. For example, in the 1960s, and 1970s Mufulira boasted of Mufulira Wanderers and Butondo Western Tigers from the mine townships and Mufulira Blackpool from the municipal council Kamuchanga Township. The three clubs were archrivals that competed for fans, and players resulting in the production of some of the country best players such as Samuel “Zoom” Ndhlovu, Dickson Makwaza, Alex Chola, Kalusha Bwalya, Charles Musonda and many others.<sup>748</sup>

In the 1970s, Copperbelt teams did not travel with their fans to Lusaka for matches. Instead, some fans could get on an evening train to arrive in Lusaka early in the morning on the day of the match. After the match, they boarded an evening train and arrived on the Copperbelt in the morning the following day.<sup>749</sup> As Copperbelt clubs were very popular, they also had a number of supporters in Lusaka like Chisanga Nkashi (discussed above) who supported Power Dynamos of Kitwe. According to Nkashi, the elegance of Power Dynamos players and the sophistication of their fans made the team more attractive than their western Kitwe neighbors, Nkana.<sup>750</sup> Nkashi’s observation about the sophistication of Power Dynamos fans draws attention to the type of fans that emerged in Nkana FC (previously called Rhokana United FC), Power Dynamos’ archrival in the Kitwe derby.

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<sup>747</sup> Leonard Koloko, “Zambian Soccer Club Allegiances and Rivalries: which football club do you support?” *Touchline Soccer Magazine*, Jan-March 2012.

<sup>748</sup> Koloko, “Zambian Soccer Club Allegiances and Rivalries.”

<sup>749</sup> Interview with Makwaza.

<sup>750</sup> Interview with Chisanga Nkashi, Lusaka, 2 July, 2014.

Formed in 1971 with sponsorship from the Copperbelt Power Company, Power Dynamos FC was located in Ndeke, a lower-middle class residential area.<sup>751</sup> Power Dynamos fans developed a peaceful and somewhat elite fan culture that shaped space for the middle class to relax from their busy weekly schedules while watching and supporting their favorite team.

Nkana FC, on the other hand, was a mining club located in the heart of Wusakile Mining Township. Former FAZ chairman Simataa Simataa, a staunch Nkana supporter, explained to me in an interview that the mining and working-class township mentality of Nkana fans made them notoriously boisterous; they took to calling themselves Nkana “Red Devils.”<sup>752</sup> Aswell Mwenya, a Power Dynamos supporter, confirmed that Nkana fans were “ruffians and violent township dwellers that drank too much alcohol during matches.”<sup>753</sup> The distinct socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the two soccer clubs sharply influenced the distinctive type of spectator rituals of each club. Historian Laura Fair argues that the football environment creates some form of equality that provides some power to the poor and marginalized classes so as to temporarily upset the existing social order.<sup>754</sup> In Kitwe, the game provided just such an opportunity for the Wusakile Mine Township dwellers to subvert their subordinate socio-economic position vis-à-vis their privileged Ndeke-based Power Dynamos neighbors.

The township background and boisterousness of Nkana fans laid a foundation for an organized fan club that dominated the country for a long time. The late 1980s saw the

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<sup>751</sup> “Rothmans Stars Power Dynamos,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 February 1984.

<sup>752</sup> Interview with Simata Simata, Lusaka, 3 July, 2014.

<sup>753</sup> Interview with Aswell Mwenya, Lusaka, 3 July, 2014.

<sup>754</sup> Laura Fair, “Kickin’ It: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s-1950s,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 67, 2 (1997), 229.

evolution of well-rehearsed and entertaining chants and drumming during matches that transformed soccer fandom. Songs were adapted to acclaim Nkana “Red Devils” with continuous drumming and blowing whistles during matches.<sup>755</sup> Nkana once engaged the famous Serenje Kalindula Band that played live music during home matches. This led to the composition of the famous song “Ba Nkana Ba Wina” meaning Nkana has won, which was regularly played on radio. They also had the late Malama, a dancer, singer and composer, who could spend the entire ninety minutes entertaining fans whilst the game progressed.<sup>756</sup> Nkana had the most theatrical and unruly fans, matched perhaps by supporters of Nchanga Rangers FC of Chingola. Fan clubs on the Copperbelt became large, well-structured, and tangible communities. As other scholars have argued for fans elsewhere in Africa, Zambian fan clubs forged and maintained “new individual and social identities and networks” in urban communities.<sup>757</sup>

As supporters’ clubs became more organized on the Copperbelt in the 1980s, the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) that was sponsoring soccer clubs decided to impose regulations on fan groups in order to control them. ZCCM decided that all organized fans were required to affiliate with the club they were supporting and had to pay subscription fees determined by the club’s executive committee.<sup>758</sup> This affiliation entitled fans to be full members of the club with voting rights. Each fan organization was also required to form a sub-committee, which was responsible for organizing its members from

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<sup>755</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

<sup>756</sup> Interview with Koloko.

<sup>757</sup> *Laduma!* 126. For a recent case study on Kenya, see Solomon Waliaula and Joseph Basil Okong’o, “Performing Luo Identity in Kenya: Songs of Gor Mahia,” in G. Akindes and C. Onwumechili, eds., *Identity and Nation in African Football* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 83-98.

<sup>758</sup> Memo from ZCCM Deputy Director of Personnel to General Manager Copperbelt Power and Manager Ndola Lime, 20 June 1984. ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

within a twenty-kilometer radius of the club's home ground. This rule meant that club membership was limited to residents of each mining town. The sub-committees were also tasked with the responsibility for the good behavior of the fans groups.<sup>759</sup> Later, the fans started putting pressure on the mine management and executive committees in the running of the game. Mine management was not happy with this development, so they decided to amend the constitution, arguing that the fans "were a source of problems and their existence should not be institutionalized."<sup>760</sup> This showed that the struggles that the Copperbelt fans' clubs were facing in the 1950s and 1960s continued even in the postcolonial era. Despite mine management and club' executive committees being pleased with fans cheering and supporting players at the stadium, they disliked their critical feedback in administering and governing clubs.

Despite the challenges Copperbelt fans' clubs were facing with mine management and soccer club leaders, they were becoming more and more organized. In the late 1980s, the clubs developed a culture of transporting large numbers of fans to away matches. Ram Swana, a former player for Lusaka City Council FC in the 1970s and early 1980s, remembers how Mufulira Wanderers FC, Nchanga Rangers FC and Nkana FC overwhelmed Lusaka with large numbers of fans brought in huge mine buses for matches in the capital.<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>759</sup> Memo from ZCCM Deputy Director of Personnel to General Manager Copperbelt Power and Manager Ndola Lime.

<sup>760</sup> Memo from ZCCM Deputy Director of Personnel to General Manager Copperbelt Power and Manager Ndola Lime.

<sup>761</sup> Interview with Ram Swana, Lusaka, 27 June, 2014.

## CITY OF LUSAKA AND LUSAKA TIGERS' FANS

In the 1960s, City of Lusaka FC and Lusaka Tigers FC were the two clubs that dominated the game in Lusaka. Until the 1970s, Lusaka was a distant second to the Copperbelt in terms of footballing passion and success. The capital lacked the Copperbelt's organized fan clubs. Instead, clubs depended on local community members to gather youths to support their teams. Speaking to me in 2014, Elijah Chisanga emphasized the significance of wealthy and influential patrons in Lusaka soccer culture: "In the past, there was nobody to organize supporters, there were only individual initiatives."<sup>762</sup> Be that as it may, an analysis of the intense rivalry between City of Lusaka and Lusaka Tigers sheds light on the social geography of the game in the capital city.

City of Lusaka's home field is located at Woodlands Stadium, in the heart of the Woodlands suburb, but had a fan base that extended to other areas of the city, including Chilenje, Libala, Kabwata and Kamwala. Francis Mutabiko grew up in Chilenje Township near Woodlands Stadium in the 1970s. He recalled how clerks, teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers and judges formed the core support for City of Lusaka.<sup>763</sup> The club's location in Woodlands made it synonymous with educated and high profile Lusaka residents. Junior and senior civil servants, accomplished lawyers, High Court judges, and businessmen, including President Kenneth Kaunda's son Panji Kaunda, were devoted followers of the club. These well-heeled supporters watched matches and then went to bars and private clubs to socialize. The game created an opportunity for this petit bourgeois class to enjoy

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<sup>762</sup> Interview with Elijah Chisanga, Lusaka, 24 June 2014.

<sup>763</sup> Interview with Francis Lee Mutabiko, Lusaka, 14 June, 2014.

their leisure time, network, and reinforce their social position in a casual and relaxed setting.<sup>764</sup>

Lusaka Tigers was a very different club. This archrival of City of Lusaka drew support across class lines from businessmen, civil servants, and the mostly working-class residents of Matero Township. Moffat Gova, a building contractor of Zimbabwean origin who lived in Matero Township loomed large in the club's history. He rounded up young people to cheer for Lusaka Tigers at every home match.<sup>765</sup> Gova even referred to himself as "soccer fan number two" in reference to President Kaunda—an enthusiastic football man who was called "soccer fan number one." One of the young boys Gova assembled was Patrick Chishimba. He grew up in Matero Township and remembers how Gova spent his own money to buy bags of oranges and sweets for young people to encourage them to support Lusaka Tigers.<sup>766</sup> Individuals like Gova played an important role in promoting fandom because elected officials were not keen on supporting the emergence of organized fan clubs. They feared that structured fan groups would challenge their positions of power in the running of the game.

Media coverage suggested that fan clubs were causing tensions in the local game.<sup>767</sup> Writing in the *Times of Zambia*, Ridgeway Liwena, a leading sports reporter and a former player for City of Lusaka, called attention to the impact of conflicts between fans and club officials over misappropriation of funds, abuse of players, and general maladministration. Liwena claimed that these tensions had led to disbanding of several fan clubs on grounds

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<sup>764</sup> Interview with Mutabiko.

<sup>765</sup> Interview with Patrick Chishimba, Lusaka, 23 June, 14.

<sup>766</sup> Interview with Chishimba.

<sup>767</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, "Football Fun Club, Help or hindrance?" *Times of Zambia*, 27 February 1970.

that they were disorderly and causing confusion in club management.<sup>768</sup> As elected officials, club administrators did not want to see their power and authority challenged, which may well explain why they felt compelled to undermine organized supporters' groups. While Copperbelt soccer also experienced the effects of such differences, mine management probably saved fan clubs from being disbanded by club officials because they needed organized support for their teams.<sup>769</sup> Although fans threatened the power position of mine management as well, the threat was stronger to elected officials because they could easily be deposed from their positions by passing votes of no confidence.

It should also be noted that organized forms of fandom in the country were not only unpopular among club leaders, but also among political leaders. In fact, Kaunda's UNIP government resisted the formal recognition of the Zambia Soccer Fans Association out of fear that they would interfere with the one-party state's monopolistic control of the game and, by extension, the sport's capacity to propagate party and government agendas.

#### FEMALE FANS AND WOMEN'S TEAMS IN A GENDERED FOOTBALL CULTURE

From its colonial origins, soccer in Zambia was played, watched, and discussed in a male-dominated environment, which "curtailed opportunities for girls and women to play, coach, referee, and administer the game."<sup>770</sup> Despite these structural difficulties, by the late 1960s many Zambian women in urban areas were attending competitive soccer matches. Dickson Makwaza remembers how female family members were among his strongest supporters at

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<sup>768</sup> Liwena, "Football Fun Club, Help or hindrance?"

<sup>769</sup> Minutes of a meeting between the Manager Administration (Vice Patron) and Roan United Football Club Executive, Luanshya, 14 July 1981. 1974 ZCCM 6.5.5 J Roan Antelope Football Club Correspondence, Mining and Industrial Archive, Ndola.

<sup>770</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 119.



Mufulira's Shinde Stadium in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>771</sup> Similarly, sports reporter Daniel Kaoma recalled how the number of women at stadiums in the 1970s gradually started increasing. He stressed that women were particularly interested in supporting star players such as Dickson Makwaza, Dick Chama and Godfrey Chitalu.<sup>772</sup>

Interestingly, the deeper involvement of women fans in soccer is similar to what happened in South Africa, where supporters' clubs provided "a social space in which black women excluded from sporting activities, could exercise informal power in a deeply patriarchal society."<sup>773</sup> On the Copperbelt in the 1970s and 1980s, where fan clubs were well organized, women also became key figures in the singing of the fans' chants during matches, organization and management of fan groups. Even in Lusaka where there were no formal supporters' clubs, Anne Namukanga, a former captain of the women's national team, remembered how women were regular followers of soccer matches in the late 1980s at Woodlands Stadium.

Despite a hostile environment due to occasional violence and stereotypical perceptions of the game as a male pursuit, Namukanga and her female friends organized themselves and went to watch City of Lusaka FC. She recalled how considerable numbers of women found their way into the stands, though they were a relatively small proportion of the male-dominated crowd.

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<sup>771</sup> Interview with Dickson Makwaza, Lusaka, 12 June 2012.

<sup>772</sup> Interview with Daniel Kaoma, Lusaka, 13 July 2014.

<sup>773</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 127.



Figure 12: Unknown female fans clad in national team regalia pose for a picture with national team goalkeeper James Phiri (n. d.). Used with permission from the Ridgeway Liwena family.

Enala Phiri, a former teammate of Namukanga, and the first female coach of the women's national team, also spoke about similar challenges.<sup>774</sup> Both women narrated how they were initially discouraged from playing soccer by family and friends who argued that it was a sport for men. Instead, relatives and friends encouraged them to play netball, which was seen as a feminine sport.<sup>775</sup>

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<sup>774</sup> Interview with Enala Phiri, Lusaka, 25 July 2011.

<sup>775</sup> Interview with Anne Namukanga Musonda, Lusaka, 14 July 2014; Interview with Enala Phiri, Lusaka, 25 July 2011.



Figure 13: Unknown Netball teams (n. d.). Source: National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka

Families and friends, therefore, supported women's sports by arguing for gendered spheres of competition. "My dad never wanted anyone of us girls to wear a pair of shorts; this made me wonder how I was going to play football wearing a skirt or a *chitenene* (women's waist wrap)," narrated Namukanga.<sup>776</sup> The women related that it took a very long time for them to be accepted as soccer players by their family and friends.

Namukanga and Phiri's experiences resonate with Cynthia Fabrizio Pelak's work on women and gender in South Africa. As in Zambia, Pelak writes, "South African women's participation in 'female-typed' sports such as netball is far more acceptable than their

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<sup>776</sup> Interview with Musonda.

participation in ‘male-typed’ sports such as soccer.”<sup>777</sup> Pelak partly attributes the historical exclusion of women from the game to the patriarchal manner the game was introduced by nineteenth-century British colonizers.<sup>778</sup> However, the gender segregation in leisure and soccer in Africa can also be attributed to the patriarchal culture of most African societies, which curtailed women’s access to material resources and time for sport.<sup>779</sup> Nevertheless, some resilient women like Namukanga and Phiri struggled against gender and cultural expectations to create and shape their football space. This required balancing and negotiating societal expectations of “respectable” young women and daily household demands with their passion for the game.

As with Title IX legislation in the United States, the government in the 1970s played a key role in expanding women’s participation in the game.<sup>780</sup> In March 1976, Major General Kinsley Chinkuli, Minister of State and Army Commander, wrote a memorandum pointing out that women should be encouraged to participate in male-dominated sports such as soccer and boxing in order to “keep pace with the country’s development in political, economic, social and cultural spheres.”<sup>781</sup> Chinkuli argued that the reason girls and women were not actively participating in sports was because they were not encouraged at a young age in primary and secondary schools. He urged institutions such as armed forces, hospitals, Zambian Airways, as well as businesses like supermarkets and

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<sup>777</sup> Cynthia Fabrizio Pelak, “Women and gender in South African soccer: a brief history,” *Soccer and Society*, (2010), 63.

<sup>778</sup> Pelak, “Women and gender in South African soccer” 63.

<sup>779</sup> Pelak, “Women and gender in South African soccer” 63. See also Martha Saavedra, “Football Feminine: The Development of the African Game,” *Soccer and Society* 4, 2/3 (2003): 225-253.

<sup>780</sup> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

<sup>781</sup> Memorandum on girl participation in sport by Minister of State and Army Commander Kinsley Chinkuli, Lusaka, 9 March 1976, UNIP 8/6/17-24, UNIP archive.

banks that already sponsored popular sports for men, to extend their support to women's sports. Chinkuli also pressed the media to do their share in publicizing women's sports and debunk antiquated views about the so-called "weaker sex" and supposed inability to participate in vigorous, so-called manly sports like soccer.<sup>782</sup>

Unlike other politicians who only saw sports as beneficial to the achievement of their political agendas, Chinkuli took an analytical approach to the development of sports in the country. His view of encouraging young schoolgirls to start playing soccer and encouraging corporate organizations to urge their female employees to play the game was radical at that time, and laid a foundation for women's participation in the game. Chinkuli's observation on the role of the media in promoting women's participation in sports is in line with scholars who have argued that sports media have historically been male-dominated institutions, therefore, "It is not surprising that mainstream media frames concerning female athletes would reinforce gender ideologies and present female athletes in sexist and racist ways."<sup>783</sup>

Partly in response to Chinkuli's memorandum, Football Association of Zambia Chairman Tom Mtine announced in 1982 that plans were underway to introduce a women's league. The initial challenge in developing the women's game was to find people who could organize it. A number of women offered their services, saying that they were more than ready to organize women soccer. Theresa Lekezya of Zambia State Insurance Corporation Netball Club stated that women were ready to make their soccer a significant part of Zambian sports. She offered to be one of the first organizers of the sport in Ndola.

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<sup>782</sup> Memorandum on girl participation in sport by Minister of State and Army Commander Kinsley Chinkuli,

<sup>783</sup> Cheryl Cooky, Ranissa Dycus and Shari L. Dworkin, "What Makes a Woman a Woman' Versus 'Our First Lady of Sport': A Comparative Analysis of the United States and the South African Media Coverage of Caster Semenya," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31:31 (2013), 40.

“If the idea is to fail, let it fail after we have given it a try. This is a challenge that we should take up and I am prepared to assist in establishing a women’s football team in Ndola,” Likezya offered.<sup>784</sup> Mary Chiiba of Kansenshi in Ndola also volunteered to launch a soccer club for women. She argued that many people, including men, were interested in seeing women playing the game, and that this feminist transformation would “give us an opportunity to participate in a field that has been, for a long time, dominated by men.”<sup>785</sup>

In October 1982, a hastily assembled team of women called the “Betty Kaunda Eleven” (after President Kaunda’s wife Betty) faced Zimbabwe in Harare during that country’s 1982 Independence Day celebrations in what is considered to be the first women’s international match.<sup>786</sup> Zimbabwe trounced Zambia 17-0. Much was learned from this humiliating defeat. Certainly, it forced the country to pay greater attention to the women’s game and to start making serious efforts in developing it.

The Zimbabwe defeat helped to form the Zambia Women’s Football League in January 1984. An interim executive led by referee Levy Lumbuka administered the league. Chibesa Kankasa, a veteran freedom fighter and UNIP Member of Central Committee, was chosen as patron of the new league. Another important change was the creation of women’s soccer awards in line with the Rothmans-sponsored FAZ annual awards for men. Zambian Airways, Colgate Palmolive and Reckitt and Colman also donated prizes to further encourage participation and raise awareness of the women’s game.<sup>787</sup> In February 1984, the Women’s Football League held its first annual general meeting. Levy Lumbuka was elected chairperson, Martha Saidi vice-chairperson, and Molly Ng’ambi national

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<sup>784</sup> “Women’s soccer move a challenge” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 14 December 1982.

<sup>785</sup> “Women’s soccer move a challenge” *Zambia Daily Mail*.

<sup>786</sup> “New Soccer era downs for women,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 February 1984

<sup>787</sup> “New Soccer era downs for women,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 February 1984

secretary.<sup>788</sup> Later on, Saidi took over from Lumbuka as chairperson, thereby, leading an all-female executive. By doing so, women proved that they were more than ready to run their own soccer affairs.

Following these important developments, Ben Kakoma, Minister of Youth and Sports, wrote a letter to Mary Fulano, the chairperson of the all-powerful UNIP Youth and Sports Sub-committee, calling for a meeting with the Zambia Women's Football League executive. Kakoma pointed out that although FIFA had allowed women to play soccer, he was not sure whether the public was generally interested in attending women's soccer matches. He also wondered whether the "UNIP Women's League had blessed the inauguration of women football in the country."<sup>789</sup> The Minister argued that the UNIP Women's League was better placed to determine whether those who were encouraging women's game were either former activists in the women's liberation movement, or genuinely interested in adding variety to the range of games in which women were participating. Kakoma also referred to a story in the *Sunday Times of Zambia* of April 15, 1984, in which the Referees Association of Zambia banned their member Levy Lumbuka from being elected as chairperson of the Women's Football League. Clearly, Kakoma was questioning the utility and legitimacy of a women's soccer league in the country.<sup>790</sup>

The Minister of Sport's position as stated above suggests battles within the government over the rightful place of the women's game in a modern African nation. In truth, skepticism abounded. After a women's match in 1983, played as a curtain raiser to

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<sup>788</sup> "Lumbuka retained to steer women's soccer league," *Times of Zambia*, 6 February 1984.

<sup>789</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Chairperson Youth and Sports Committee Mary Fulano on Zambian Women's League, Lusaka, 19 April 1984, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>790</sup> Letter from Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma to Chairperson Youth and Sports Committee Mary Fulano on Zambian Women's League.

an African Nations Cup qualifier between Zambia and Uganda at Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in Ndola, Dunstan Nkoloma from Luanshya wrote a letter to the *Mining Mirror* expressing his disapproval of women's soccer. He argued that watching the women's game was like seeing "tomboys kicking a ball aimlessly."<sup>791</sup> Nkoloma stressed that the women only managed to give spectators a few minutes of laughter, adding that, "women should concentrate at improving netball or at improving their cookery instead of wasting their time and energy on the football pitch."<sup>792</sup> Such crudely sexist disapprovals revealed the conservatism of many male fans and the cultural difficulties that characterized the introduction of the women's game in the country.

Mary Fulano replied to Minister Ben Kakoma's letter and copied it to President Kenneth Kaunda, the UNIP Secretary General Humphrey Mulemba, and the executive secretary for the UNIP Women's League. She pointed out that there was need to "give the leaders of the Zambian Women's Football League all the support they need. If they find it tough going, let them decide to do away with it themselves."<sup>793</sup> Fulano explained that the Referees Association of Zambia's suspension of their member Levy Lumbuka had nothing to do with people's dislike of the Women's Football League, but the Association's neutrality requirement of all its members.<sup>794</sup>

Mary Fulano proved to be a fierce advocate for the newly formed Women's Football League. Despite the patriarchy that characterized Zambian society, Fulano was one of the most successful chairpersons of the UNIP Youth and Sports Sub-committee. As the

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<sup>791</sup> "Women Soccer is a non-starter," *Mining Mirror*, 30 September 1983.

<sup>792</sup> "Women Soccer is a non-starter," *Mining Mirror*.

<sup>793</sup> Letter from Chairperson of the Youth and Sport Committee Mary Fulano to the Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma on Zambian Women Football League, Lusaka, 8 May 1984, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>794</sup> Letter from Chairperson of the Youth and Sport Committee Mary Fulano to the Minister of Youth and Sport Ben Kakoma on Zambian Women Football League.



economy was free falling in the 1970s and 1980s due to the collapse of copper prices on the international market, Fulano held regular meetings with FAZ to help them address some of their economic problems.<sup>795</sup> FAZ chairperson Tom Mtine admitted after his first meeting with Fulano that, “since his long days in FAZ, the meeting [with Mary Fulano] was the first he was attending called by a high ranking party and government official to discuss the running of football in the country.”<sup>796</sup> Fulano was a remarkable example of women’s leadership in sports. She proved that if women were given opportunities in sport management and administration, they not only had the capabilities to succeed but perhaps could even do better than some of their male counterparts.

Minister Kakoma’s questioning of the appropriateness of the Zambia Women’s Football League, and whether it had the blessing of the UNIP Women’s League, shows the strong links that existed between soccer and politics. It also reveals divisions within the UNIP government about women’s soccer, perhaps because it represented a popular cultural enterprise not under its firm control. Above all, Mary Fulano’s correspondence (copied to President Kaunda) confirms how the UNIP Youth and Sports Sub-committee had the final say on important soccer matters in the country.

Teams in the women’s league, as had occurred in the men’s game, came mostly from Copperbelt towns: Luanshya, Mufulira, Kitwe, Ndola, Kalulushi and Chingola.<sup>797</sup> Apart from the league, women’s teams also competed in the Timothy Kankasa Memorial Tournament for a trophy donated by Chibesa Kankasa, UNIP Women Affairs Chairperson and patron of

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<sup>795</sup> Moses Walubita, “Fulano sets ball rolling,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 November 1983.

<sup>796</sup> “FAZ puts its case to State,” *Times of Zambia*, 7 January 1984.

<sup>797</sup> “Women soccer sides in cup tie,” *Mining Mirror*, 28 September 1984.

the Zambia Women Football League, to honor her late husband.<sup>798</sup> Strong clubs such as Kitwe Flying Angels featured star players like fullback Victoria Mutondo. Other good women's clubs included Mufulira Flying Queens of Mufulira and Konkola Blades of Chililabombwe.<sup>799</sup>

Unfortunately, the Zambia Women's Football League collapsed in the beginning of the 1990s because of the collapse of the copper-dependent economy, which also shut down many men's clubs. The final blow to the Zambia Women's Football League came with ZCCM's withdrawal of its financial support in 1993 as it focused even more narrowly on profit maximization. The privatization of the mines in the late 1990s was the final nail in the coffin for many women's soccer clubs.<sup>800</sup> Despite the political, economic, and cultural obstacles to participation, Zambian women managed to be part of the soccer fever that gripped the country after independence. Women were keen to participate in the game not only as fans, but also as players and administrators. Mary Fulano's outstanding leadership of the UNIP Sub-Committee for Youth and Sport was also evidence that women were capable of providing good quality leadership.

#### CHEERING THE NATION: FROM BOLA-BOLA TO CHIPOLOPOLO SOCCER FANS ASSOCIATION

The national team initially did not have organized supporters. According to Ridgeway Liwena, the lack of organized fan groups dedicated to the national team could be explained by the length of time it took for local people to start thinking and acting "more nationally on

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<sup>798</sup> "Women soccer sides in cup tie," *Mining Mirror*.

<sup>799</sup> "Women's soccer final on," *Times of Zambia*, 31 October 1984.

<sup>800</sup> Interview with Ponga Liwewe.

matters that appealed to national emotions.”<sup>801</sup> This situation compelled Rupiah Bwezani Banda, who rose from National Agricultural and Marketing Board (NAMBOARD) General Manager to cabinet minister and eventually national president, to form a national team fan club in 1973 called Bola-bola (Ball-ball).<sup>802</sup> The ostensible goal for Bola-bola was to provide enthusiastic support for the national team during international matches. Bola-bola drew its membership mainly from the private sector.

According to Elijah Chisanga, a member of Bola-bola in the early 1970s and later a founder and chairman for the Chipolopolo Soccer Fans Association, it included renowned individuals such as Luckson Kazabu (who later became a prominent politician) and entrepreneurs such as Masiye, owner of the Masiye Motel.<sup>803</sup> Chisanga argued that as government did not have budget lines for soccer fans, it was easy for entrepreneurial elite to contribute their own money, fundraise, and work with corporate partners to garner donations to support the association’s activities. The Bola-bola group’s fundraising ventures included engaging businesses and staging dinner dances and other social events.<sup>804</sup> The sums of money raised were substantial enough to allow Bola-bola to charter planes to transport fans to national team matches abroad.

The formation of Bola-bola stoked antagonisms within the soccer establishment. Some FAZ executive committee members believed that Rupiah Banda wanted to use the fan club as a springboard for a future career in soccer administration and perhaps even politics. Within FAZ, some accused Banda of “working to wreck the foundations of

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<sup>801</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, (Lusaka: Liwena Publishing & Printing House, 2006), 50.

<sup>802</sup> Arthur Yoyo, “Isn’t it time that those FAZ big mouths’ got the boot?” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 3, January 1974; “Stop the Soccer Politics Banda” *Times of Zambia*, 3 January 1974; Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 50.

<sup>803</sup> Interview with Elijah Chisanga, Lusaka, 24 June 2014.

<sup>804</sup> “Stop the Soccer Politics Banda” *Times of Zambia*.

Zambia's football administrative machinery through his illegal group in which all those involved are hiding their selfish and ambitious plans under the guise of National Team Fan Club."<sup>805</sup> Members of the Tom Mtine-led FAZ executive were very aggressive in suppressing divergent views. For instance, they expelled Joe Rutter, chairperson of Kabwe Warriors FC, for criticizing them over the national team's poor performances in 1974 against Zaire and Morocco.<sup>806</sup> In the case of Bola-bola, FAZ officials felt threatened because Rupiah Banda was a very influential figure with enough potential to dislodge them from power.

Despite stiff resistance from FAZ, Bola-bola was instrumental in injecting some form of "football patriotism" in the country.<sup>807</sup> It brought coordinated support for the national team and became the envy of many countries in the region. It was active until 1977, when it declined due to Rupiah Banda's new involvement in government affairs.<sup>808</sup> Bola-bola was later renamed Hi-Zambiaman Soccer Fans Association and temporarily reactivated under the leadership of Mwamba Kalenga. Once again, it reemerged under a new name and leader: the Zambia Soccer Fans Association led by Hastings Masisani.<sup>809</sup>

Masisani reinvigorated national team fans and engaged both the public and the private sector for moral and financial support. Rupiah Banda acted as patron of the association, mentored and supported Masisani. In December 1984, the association hired an aircraft to transport fans to Kampala, Uganda, to support the national team in the East and Central African Cup finals against Uganda. The government was unhappy with this

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<sup>805</sup> "Stop the Soccer Politics Banda" *Times of Zambia*, 3 January 1974.

<sup>806</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, "I Write as I please," *Times of Zambia*, 18 January 1974.

<sup>807</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 50.

<sup>808</sup> Interview with Chisanga.

<sup>809</sup> Interview with Chisanga.

arrangement spearheaded by Banda and Arthur Wina, both of whom had once been in Kaunda's cabinet. Government attempted to stop the trip but failed, which prompted the Minister of Sport, Ben Kakoma, to reveal that, "our efforts to prevent the flight, in which both State House and the Prime Minister were kept in the light, came too late."<sup>810</sup> UNIP and its government were highly suspicious of anyone they saw as interfering in soccer matters. The political elite seemed to fear losing control of the game, something that citizens might also have perceived as a symbol of more fundamental political weakness.

Following Rupiah Banda's organization of the fans' trip to Uganda, the Minister of Sport started questioning the legal status of the Zambia Soccer Fans Association. Kakoma even rejected the association's request to present President Kaunda with what they termed "soccer Fan No. 1 tag," arguing that the association lacked legal status.<sup>811</sup> This rather trivial matter was communicated to Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia, who agreed with Kakoma's view on the illegality of the Zambia Soccer Fans' Association. The Prime Minister also stated that the "Soccer Fans Association would cause confusion in the sport if legalized."<sup>812</sup> He argued that the country had enough organizations involved in the game for the sport to succeed without the soccer fans' association.

Government's failure to stop the soccer fans' trip to Uganda shows both the considerable importance of the game in the country, as well as its partial autonomy from the UNIP state. Kaunda's government feared that stopping the trip would cause uproar, as

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<sup>810</sup> Letter from Ben Kakoma Minister of Sport to Nalumino Mundia the Prime Minister on Zambia Soccer Fans Association: Legal Status request to present Tag to His Excellency the President, Lusaka, 25 February 1985, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>811</sup> Letter from Ben Kakoma Minister of Sport to Nalumino Mundia the Prime Minister on Zambia.

<sup>812</sup> Letter from Nalumino Mundia Prime Minister to Ben Kakoma Minister of Youth and Sport on Zambia Soccer Fans Association: Legal Status, Request to present tag to his Excellency the President, Lusaka, 21 March 1985, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

citizens might question and perhaps organize public protests to discredit the party. The Prime Minister's intervention on issues concerning the legal status of a soccer fan group revealed how politicized the game had become after independence. Such high-level blocking of the Zambia Soccer Fans Association can be explained mainly in terms of the government wanting to stop Rupiah Banda and Arthur Wina from using the game to seek political attention and benefits.

Interestingly, in the wake of the aforementioned Uganda trip, Banda was elected as FAZ Second Vice Chairman.<sup>813</sup> The Minister of Sports immediately wrote a confidential letter to president Kaunda to confirm his earlier suspicions that politicians were seeing "sports administration as a ready platform for publicity."<sup>814</sup> While Rupiah Banda surely used the Zambia Soccer Fans Association to get into football administration, he later resigned due to allegations of financial mismanagement, poor performance of the national team and infighting within the FAZ executive.<sup>815</sup>

Under the leadership of Hastings Masisani, the Zambia Soccer Fans Association survived and served as a counterpoint to FAZ in the management of the game in the country.<sup>816</sup> When the National Sports Council of Zambia (NSCZ) dissolved the Mtine-led FAZ executive in 1987 due to allegations of infighting, poor performance of the national team, and financial mismanagement, the Zambia Soccer Fans Association strongly criticized the appointment of David Phiri's new executive.<sup>817</sup> The fan group argued that the game

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<sup>813</sup> Letter from Ben Kakoma to President Kenneth Kaunda on Election of Prominent Politicians in Sports Associations, Lusaka, 1 April 1985, UNIP/8/6/33-36, UNIP archive.

<sup>814</sup> Letter from Kakoma to President Kenneth Kaunda on Election of Prominent Politicians in Sports Associations.

<sup>815</sup> James Mwambazi, "FAZ in retrospect," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 26 November 1987

<sup>816</sup> Interview with William Harrington, Lusaka, 30 July 2012.

<sup>817</sup> Mwambazi, "FAZ in retrospect."

was the “nation’s number one sport and that NSCZ should not gamble with inexperienced leadership.”<sup>818</sup> It continued providing alternative views on football management and administration, including appointment of coaches and the mediocre results of the national team.<sup>819</sup>

Probably because of Rupiah Banda, who had rejoined government, Masisani’s led Zambia Soccer Fans Association received a lot of support from government. As the economy had drastically declined in the 1980s, there was a serious shortage of foreign exchange. To address this situation, government made sure that it raised and provided foreign currency in the form of United States dollars for the Zambia Soccer Fans Association members who traveled to support the national team outside the country.<sup>820</sup> Unfortunately, the Zambia Soccer Fans Association was also marred with allegations of mismanagement. During the country’s participation in the 1988 Seoul Olympics, government gave the Zambia Soccer Fans Association \$50,000 to travel to South Korea. The money was not properly accounted for, nearly leading to punch-ups between some fans and executive committee members.<sup>821</sup> Masisani was accused of misusing the money meant for soccer fans that travelled to Seoul. After the death of Masisani, wrangling over succession to leadership created a power vacuum in the association. Mary Chisala, a businesswoman from Mufulira and former Member of Parliament, replaced Masisani. Chisala became the first woman to hold an elected position at the highest level of soccer

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<sup>818</sup> “Fans deplore NSCZ action,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 1 December 1987.

<sup>819</sup> Davey Sakala, “I can quit, says Zoom,” *Times of Zambia* 3 May 1991; “Kaunda’s gift bails out soccer players,” *Times of Zambia*, 25 April 1991; “We wont take on expat says Zulu,” *Times of Zambia*, 1 May 1991.

<sup>820</sup> Interview with Chisanga.

<sup>821</sup> “Fans in Forex Row,” *Times of Zambia*, 4 October 1988.

administration in the country; she was later accused of being inactive and replaced in 1991 by John Chinula.<sup>822</sup>

The succession wrangles and leadership vacuum that marred the Zambia Soccer Fans Association, Elijah Chisanga told me, caused its demise. For this reason, Chisanga said, the association did not play an active role in 1993 when the entire national team perished in the Gabon Air crash.<sup>823</sup> This tragedy inspired Chisanga and Willie Malasha to form Chipolopolo Soccer Fans Association in 1995. Chisanga pointed out that the aim of the new group was to continue cheering and giving the required support to the national team. He stressed that, instead of the association focusing on the few members who could afford to pay membership fees and flight tickets to follow the national team, they sought to emulate their peers in South Africa and West Africa where fan groups often had drummers, dancers, and singers decked out in elaborate regalia and costumes. The Chipolopolo Soccer Fans Association designed new supporters' regalia and recruited singers and drummers to boost enthusiasm and support. The group also introduced the practice of supporters painting themselves in national colors during international matches.<sup>824</sup>

The adoption of aspects of South African and West African fan culture changed the character of supporters' groups and rituals of spectatorship in local leagues. Ultimately, while Bola-bola, the Zambia Soccer Fans Association and the Chipolopolo Soccer Fans Association struggled to raise funds and experienced hostility from politicians and soccer administrators, they managed to support the national team, enjoyed themselves, brought

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<sup>822</sup> "Chisala speaks out over Algiers trip," *Times of Zambia*, 28 February 1990, Kris Kachingwe, "Fans group fires Chisala," *Times of Zambia*, 16 December 1991.

<sup>823</sup> Darby, "A Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster."

<sup>824</sup> Interview with Chisanga.



different voices to the running of the game and contributed to the development of a different fan culture in the country.



Figure 14: Chipolopolo soccer fans association members in national team regalia with painted faces carrying a drum (n. d.). Picture with permission from the Liwena Family.

In conclusion, the media played an important role in the popularization of the game in the country after independence. The cultural technologies of radio (and later television) were central in spreading the game to both rural and urban areas, leading to the emergence of powerful organized fan clubs on the Copperbelt. The social background and geographical location of clubs shaped the nature and character of the fan culture that emerged. Despite the game being played in male patriarchal environments, women managed to be part of the football fever that gripped the country after independence. They

participated not only as fans, but also as players and administrators who formed and led the Zambia Women's Football League. Women like Mary Fulano even provided outstanding leadership for the UNIP Youth and Sports Sub-committee. Women also proved to be influential figures in fan clubs that emerged on the Copperbelt as singers and leaders.

Soccer administrators and politicians met the growth of fan clubs with hostility. They tried to curtail the influence of organized fan clubs fearing that they would interfere with their monopolistic running of the game. Despite these threats, fans continued enjoying their game and evolved vibrant groups such as the Chipolopolo Soccer Fans Association that changed football fandom in the country.

## CHAPTER 6: SPORT, MUTI AND VIOLENCE

We have seen that ordinary Zambians found ways of adapting British football to suit their local beliefs, practices, and cultural frameworks. This chapter explores an important way in which the game was indigenized, or Zambianized, in the postcolonial era: through the culturally sanctioned use of *muti* (traditional medicine). Depending on the context, many African teams switched between deploying scientific methods, Christianity, and traditional religion to prepare for matches and influence their uncertain outcome. This chapter analyzes the variety of practices, beliefs, and enabling conditions that surround magic and sorcery in local football and also examines the dynamics and impact of *muti* allegations, as well as rising violence at stadiums (vis-à-vis poor officiating of matches, inadequate infrastructure, incompetent crowd management, and alcohol abuse by fans).

In the early 1990s, Profound Warriors FC of Lusaka was in great form. It boasted star players at their peak such as Derby Makinka, Shy Kumwenda and Patrick “Bomber” Banda. At the time, it was almost impossible to beat Profound Warriors at its home ground of Matero Stadium, where the club enjoyed massive support from loyal Matero Township residents. Stories started circulating in Zambia that the key to Profound Warriors’ success was the use of very strong *muti*. Rumors alleged that powerful debilitating *muti* sprayed inside the visitors’ locker rooms at Matero Stadium weakened the bodies of opposing players.<sup>825</sup> Regardless of the truth of the matter, many visiting teams believed it was “next to impossible to beat Profound Warriors at Matero Stadium.”<sup>826</sup> A number of clubs that visited Matero Stadium resorted to scaling the security wall fence, while others shunned the changing rooms to avoid the supposedly body-weakening *muti*. Interestingly, Remi

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<sup>825</sup> Elias Chinteje, “Makinka throws out ‘juju’ charges,” *The Weekly Post*, 1 October 1992.

<sup>826</sup> Chinteje, “Makinka throws out ‘juju’ charges.”

Clignet and Maureen Stark's pioneering study of football and the ambiguities of modernity in Cameroon discussed a similar fear of the occult in football, which compelled some teams "to enter the field by unexpected entrances, since magical artifacts are often placed over the gates most regularly used."<sup>827</sup> The *muti* allegations did not go down well among the Profound Warriors hierarchy. Derby Makinka and club secretary George Kasengele vehemently disagreed with the charges that they used *muti* as a performance enhancing substance. According to Profound Warriors, their sporting success had nothing to do with supernatural forces. It was to be attributed to talented and hard working homegrown players who had been exceedingly well trained in all aspects of the game: technical, tactical, physical, and mental.<sup>828</sup>

#### MAGIC, SORCERY, AND WITCHCRAFT IN THE AFRICAN GAME

Magic and sorcery in football are not a uniquely Zambian (or African) phenomenon. Many soccer players, coaches, officials, and fans all over the world have superstitions that they believe will help their team win. In the words of anthropologist Anne Leseth: "both fans and players prepare for a match and try to influence the strength of those on the pitch."<sup>829</sup> As historian Phyllis Martin and other scholars have pointed out, magicians and traditional healers are involved in individual and team preparations almost everywhere in Africa.<sup>830</sup> Academic studies of the game in South Africa, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Cameroon, among

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<sup>827</sup> Remi Clignet and Maureen Stark, "Modernization and Football in Cameroun," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12 (1974): 417.

<sup>828</sup> Chinteje, "Makinka throws out 'juju' charges."

<sup>829</sup> Anne Leseth, "The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania," in *Entering the Field: New Perspective on World Football*, ed Garry Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 171.

<sup>830</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

others, have shown the different ways in which local clubs incorporated the use of religious specialists and traditional medicines after appropriating the game from Europeans.<sup>831</sup>

According to anthropologist Arnold Pannenberg, “all the national teams on the African continent employ witchdoctors to ensure victory on the [soccer] field.”<sup>832</sup> Whether this is a correct assertion or not, there is no doubt that the use of *muti* in the African game is widespread.<sup>833</sup> Political scientist Michael Schatzberg explains witchcraft or sorcery as forms of causation based on “the active manipulation of supernatural forces”<sup>834</sup> intended to influence an “individual’s life chances, daily events, national politics, and—of course—results on the soccer pitch.”<sup>835</sup> He convincingly argues that studying the uses of witchcraft is important to gain a deeper political and cultural understanding of African soccer-scapes.<sup>836</sup> Overall, African players, fans and officials from different cultural backgrounds (even those who do not believe in magic) seem to participate in such rituals to cope with the unpredictability and uncertainty of matches. According to historian Peter Alegi, both rural traditionalists and urban Western-educated Christians “seem to accept—either by choice or peer pressure—the use of magic [. . . and its] strong psychological and team-building qualities.”<sup>837</sup>

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<sup>831</sup> N. A. Scotch, “Magic, Sorcery, and Football among Urban Zulu: A Case of Reinterpretation under Acculturation,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1 (1961): 70-74; Leseth, “The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania,” 159-172; Michael Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery: Causation and African Football,” *African Spectrum*, (2006): 351-369; Arnold Pannenberg, *How to Win a Football match in Cameroon: An Anthropological Study of Africa’s Most Popular Sport*, (Leiden: African Studies Center, 2008); Alegi, *Laduma!* 49-51; Alegi, *African Soccer-scapes*, 26-29.

<sup>832</sup> Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 11.

<sup>833</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

<sup>834</sup> Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery,” 353.

<sup>835</sup> Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery,” 356.

<sup>836</sup> Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery,” 353. Drawing on the work of Richard Giulianotti, Schatzberg defines soccer-scapes as: “The geo-cultural circulation of football’s constituent parts: Players and coaches, fans and officials, goods and services, or information and Artifacts,” 331.

<sup>837</sup> Alegi, *African Soccer-scapes*, 26.

The differences between magic, sorcery and witchcraft can be quite ambiguous. According to Pannenburg, an act of witchcraft does not necessarily involve performing any ritual or spell, or dispensing a special concoction; instead, it is a psychic act that harms people by virtue of inherent qualities that witches allegedly possess. While this harm is inflicted at a psychic level, it is manifested in biological and material forms of the affected people.<sup>838</sup> Sorcery, on the other hand, is a skill that one can learn. It uses the techniques of magic, gets its power from traditional medicine, and does not have an innate character.<sup>839</sup> Both sorcery and magic, however, can be used for good or evil purposes, thus making them similar to witchcraft. Pannenburg further points out that most Cameroonians in his research area of Buea (in the west) do not distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery. He argues that most stories he heard from players indicate that the spiritual forces used in soccer are seen as sorcery, since “football players knowingly visit native or traditional doctors to harm their teammates. It is the native doctor who performs the different rites of sorcery, not witchcraft.”<sup>840</sup>

Most witchcraft discourses in the region focus on explaining success, failure, wealth, poverty, good luck and bad luck.<sup>841</sup> Thus, in soccer “witchcraft and sorcery can be seen as an explanation as to why some players manage to get selected by foreign clubs and become rich in the process, while others are ‘denied’ such chances and keep on struggling” in their poor local leagues.<sup>842</sup> Accusations of witchcraft are usually directed against people perceived as “successful” at the expense of “unsuccessful” others. Allegations of witchcraft

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<sup>838</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 109.

<sup>839</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 110.

<sup>840</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 110.

<sup>841</sup> See, for example, Adam Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>842</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 124.

and sorcery are also expressions of envy towards individual players who make it to the first team, pocket cash bonuses for doing well, and become local celebrities.<sup>843</sup>

Scholars have examined the use and efficacy of *muti*, sorcery and other forms of magic in the African game. In Durban, South Africa, Anthropologist N. A. Scotch in the early 1960s looked at magic and soccer among urbanized Zulu men. According to Scotch, witchcraft that was originally associated with so-called traditional Zulu social relations was adapted in new urban settings to solve conflicts over jobs and social activities, including soccer.<sup>844</sup> Scotch's study revealed how it was a common practice for teams to employ "*inyanga*, or a Zulu doctor, who served the dual purpose of strengthening his own team by magic ritual, and forestalling the sorcery directed at his team by a rival *inyanga*."<sup>845</sup> When a team consistently lost matches, it was usually the *inyanga* that was replaced and not the players (or coach) because losing was associated with the weakness of the *inyanga's muti* and not the poor performance of players on the pitch.

Similarly, Alegi relates how rituals that involved *isangoma* (diviners), *inyanga* and sorcerers were regularly performed by African teams in Johannesburg as a way of preparing for competitions.<sup>846</sup> As evidenced in the black press in the early 1940s, ritual preparations for teams "included pre-game consultations with a diviner who threw bones to predict the outcome of the match. Healers also strengthened athletes by rubbing players' legs with *umuthi* (propitiatory medicine) or making them inhale some smoke from herbs so that they bring fear and weakness to the opponents."<sup>847</sup> Alegi's work echoes

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<sup>843</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 119.

<sup>844</sup> Scotch, "Magic, Sorcery, and Football among the Urban Zulu," 71.

<sup>845</sup> Scotch, "Magic, Sorcery, and Football among the Urban Zulu," 71.

<sup>846</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 49.

<sup>847</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 49.

Scotch's view that these practices were also prominent in Durban. Most teams in that port city in the 1950s relied on the professional services of religious specialists. Hiring an *inyanga* could cost as much as £200 per session to prepare and protect the players—which was a lot of money at the time. This meant that only teams with wealthy backers had the capacity to hire the most powerful and renowned *inyanga*.<sup>848</sup>

The predominantly Zulu-speaking African population in Durban adapted pre-colonial Zulu rituals in urban soccer.<sup>849</sup> Scotch points out that before the opening of the season, soccer clubs performed rituals that involved slaughtering of goats with the belief that the practice opened the doors of good luck. This practice was repeated at the end of every soccer season.<sup>850</sup> Similarly, Alegi describes how African squads in Durban participated in what can be described as “camping” rituals.

Before an important contest, teams were known to go on a retreat to a secret place to re-enact purificatory rituals performed by nineteenth-century Zulu *amabutho* (age regiments) before major military encounters. Before the night of a match [players, club officials, and selected supporters] must ‘camp’ together around a fire. They all sleep together, they must stay naked and they are given umuthi and other medicines by the *inyanga*. Incisions are made on their knees, elbows, and joints. The following morning the players drank a powerful emetic and vomited, emulating the *ukuhlansa* (vomiting) cleansing ritual of Zulu soldiers before going into a battle. The sprinkling of umuthi on the football and on players’ boots also called the ‘doctoring’ of ‘warriors’ weapons, as did the burning of special roots.<sup>851</sup>

This symbolic restoration of Zulu military proficiency, Alegi writes, played an important role in fostering camaraderie and team spirit among Durban teams. Soccer rituals in South Africa were not only restricted to Durban, they were also performed in

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<sup>848</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 50.

<sup>849</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 50; Scotch, “Magic, Sorcery, and Football among the Urban Zulu,” 72.

<sup>850</sup> Scotch, “Magic, Sorcery, and Football among the Urban Zulu,” 72.

<sup>851</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 50.



different parts of the country, including among Xhosa-speaking people in the Eastern Cape.<sup>852</sup> Alegi's work persuasively argues that this infusion of cultural practices, beliefs and rituals in African soccer can be understood as an effort by young Africans to de-colonize the game and influence institutional growth in their communities.<sup>853</sup> As was the case in Zambia and elsewhere in Africa, magic was part of a broader effort by local people to wrestle the game from European authorities to indigenize or "Africanize" it. In short, while Africans played according to "international rules and standards, the use of magic and religious specialists infused the game with distinctive African traits."<sup>854</sup>

These views are echoed by Martin's work on colonial Brazzaville, capital of the Republic of Congo, formerly part of French Equatorial Africa.<sup>855</sup> Martin showed how soccer fans thought of acknowledging the first Africans who established the game in the African townships of Baongo and Poto-Poto "as founding fathers or 'elders,' source of guidance and wisdom" in an effort to free their game from the control of paternalistic colonial authorities and missionaries.<sup>856</sup> As in the South African case, Martin argues that the Africanization of the game in Congo Brazzaville from its earliest times was displayed through the use of magical powers and rituals to influence results during matches. Soccer players and supporters went to religious specialists to gain the powers they believed they needed to perform well and ensure victory.<sup>857</sup> Martin explains that it was common for the local people in Brazzaville to engage supernatural forces whenever they had pressing issues in their lives such as sickness, marriage, lack of material resources and winning

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<sup>852</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 50.

<sup>853</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 51.

<sup>854</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 26.

<sup>855</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

<sup>856</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

<sup>857</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

competitive matches. All such issues required the consultation of ancestors.<sup>858</sup> In the context of the game, “ancestors” involved any great deceased soccer players whom young players wanted to consult to inspire them in preparation for competitive matches. The process of communicating with “ancestors” was facilitated by *muti* (medicines) prepared by religious specialists.<sup>859</sup>

Martin also argues that some locals believed that high-class talent was not natural. They understood excessive skills in an individual player in terms of “the intervention of supernatural forces, which gave him this ‘force’ or dexterity.”<sup>860</sup> Therefore, the success of a team involved the “taming” of these supernatural forces in their favor. This explains why team managers spared some money for engaging powerful religious specialists to prepare the squads psychologically and emotionally while the coach paid attention to physical training. Martin describes how such rituals and magic were used in the early days of the game in Brazzaville:

The potency of rituals and medicines controlled by West African marabouts were particularly sought after by leading clubs. Apart from the power of Islamic magic, the very success of the Senegalese in colonial society showed that they had access to powerful charms ... Religious preparations for matches took different forms, although all were designed in some manner to strengthen a team and to stop the supernatural forces allied to the opponent from doing their work. Captains and team members were given talismans and amulets to wear, or special preparations to rub on their skin. A goalkeeper might be given a charm to improve his leaping ability, or a forward an attachment to his shoe to guide the ball between the goal posts... A favorite tactic was to bury a talisman in the center of the playing field the night before a big match, while watching out for spies from the other team.<sup>861</sup>

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<sup>858</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 122.

<sup>859</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 122.

<sup>860</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 122.

<sup>861</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 122.

Demand for talismans prompted resourceful entrepreneurs in France to exploit this lucrative business of manufacturing “good-luck” charms, which they marketed in Brazzaville using mail-order catalogue services. It took the High Commissioner and three African representatives to attend the French Assembly to condemn and warn against these activities to bring them to an end.<sup>862</sup> Clearly, Africans in Baongo and Poto-Poto molded the sport to suit their own (changing) culture. In Tanzania, Anne Leseth explored witchcraft in soccer and argues that the practice was initially prominent in *ngoma* (traditional dances) that had competing bands.<sup>863</sup> She links the use of witchcraft in the game as a cultural continuity between *ngoma* and soccer. Just like in other parts of the continent discussed above, Leseth points out that victory in the game in Tanzania was accredited not to the exceptional technical skills of the players, but to some magical powers. Witchdoctors were leading characters in creating magical powers and were to be consulted before every important match. Interestingly, the witchdoctors in Dar es Salaam insisted that while they facilitated the harnessing of these mystical powers, team training was important in order to improve the likelihood of victory.<sup>864</sup> Tanzanian soccer featured various rituals such as slaughtering goats and chickens. Players also had to hide charms in their socks and shorts and in some teams “officials and fans used to sleep at the cemetery the day before a crucial match ... [to] get strength from devils and witches.”<sup>865</sup> Many believed that victorious teams did not win because players were skilled, but because of the *dawa* (medicine) and also because of having a good *mganga* (witchdoctor).<sup>866</sup> Sorcery in

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<sup>862</sup> Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 123.

<sup>863</sup> Leseth, “The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania,” 159.

<sup>864</sup> Leseth, “The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania,” 160.

<sup>865</sup> Leseth, “The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania,” 168.

<sup>866</sup> Leseth, “The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania,” 168.

Tanzanian soccer should be understood, according to Leseth's study, in relationship to very complex social-cultural processes. It is "invoked, as a protection against disruption and an insurance for success on one hand, and a retaliatory agency on the other."<sup>867</sup>

According to Leseth, sorcery is a form of Tanzanian moral philosophy of equality, not only in soccer, but also in everyday life. If someone tries to show that they are too good at something, they will attract bewitchment on themselves. This brings out a form of African morality or quality where a person is defined "for what he does, rather than for what he is."<sup>868</sup> Witchcraft in the game should, therefore, be understood as a part of a cultural field of lived experience. It is also big business. The *Waganga* (witchdoctors) earned huge sums of money from clubs for their treatment of teams to win matches. The concealment and secrecy involved in the practice of witchcraft in teams led to incidents of fraud where some club officials would receive huge sums of money from their clubs to hire witchdoctors but instead ended up pocketing it.<sup>869</sup>

In Cameroon, as in other parts of Africa, beliefs in Christianity and Islam went together with beliefs in magic, sorcery and other supernatural powers.<sup>870</sup> Sociologists Glignet and Stark observed soccer players' ethnic commitment and use of "symbols and beliefs characteristic of their traditional origins."<sup>871</sup> Soccer competitions were characterized by suspicions of magic use such that players were at times tempted to "dig" near the goal area of their opponents looking for charms that prevented the ball from getting into the net. This study from the early 1970s resonates with Pannenburg's more

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<sup>867</sup> Leseth, "The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania," 165.

<sup>868</sup> Leseth, "The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania," 166.

<sup>869</sup> The business of magic also flourished in Cameroonian soccer two decades; see Remi Glignet and Maureen Stark, "Modernization and Football in Cameroun," 416.

<sup>870</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 168

<sup>871</sup> Clignet and Stark, "modernization and Football in Cameroun," 416.

recent work describing two types of magic practiced in Cameroonian soccer—individual and collective magic. Individual magic involves a single player who engages a spiritual adviser and receives magical treatment to give him a competitive advantage. This kind of “spiritual doping” is believed to alter “the surrounding to the extent that a particular player can take advantage of it—sometimes at the expense of his teammates or the players of the opposing team.”<sup>872</sup> This is done with the assistance of a witchdoctor and can be done in numerous different ways. Just as in Tanzania and Congo, witchdoctors in Cameroon could give players talismans or charms to protect themselves from sorcery attacks caused by jealous teammates.<sup>873</sup>

On the other hand, collective magic in the Cameroonian game involved club officials spending large sums of money on spiritual advisers to prepare teams for important matches. Clubs planned and budgeted for ritual specialists, concealing the expense as “psychological preparation” in their financial reports. As already discussed above, this game within the game gave spiritual advisers the responsibility of protecting the team from their opponents’ magic and making sure that the teams were spiritually prepared to win matches in all competitions. Players were given different kinds of medicine such as white power and ointments on their soccer shoes; and concoctions that could be put in the playing field to make the “opponents feel weak, dizzy and sometimes even sick.”<sup>874</sup> Goalkeepers were given charms that they put in the goal area to divert balls. Medicine or charms could also be put in the opponent’s goal areas to slow down the goalkeepers’

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<sup>872</sup> Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 141.

<sup>873</sup> Pannenberg also stresses how individual footballers use of magic was kept secret because admitting to such practices implied that a player was not good enough. Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 143.

<sup>874</sup> Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 152.

reactions or making them see several balls coming in the goalposts. While some players did not like or approve of the use of spiritual advisers in the game, they had no choice but to participate and obey club executives' orders. It did not matter whether one was Muslim or Christian, refusing to participate in these rituals could imply disrespecting collective preparation and betraying the whole team.<sup>875</sup> Pannenburg's analysis thus echoes the work of Alegi and Martin as it highlights the local perception that using amulets, powders, and other magical preparations carried significant psychological benefits.<sup>876</sup> The scholarly literature demonstrates that the widespread use of *muti* and witchcraft in the game has long been, and continues to be, an integral part of African football, including in Zambia.

#### MUTI IN ZAMBIAN FOOTBALL

During the August 1993 school holidays in Zambia, my brother Dennis and I visited Choobe village, which is our mother's home area located near Chikuni Mission not far from a small town called Monze in Southern Province. August is a time when many villagers have harvested their crops, have plenty to eat, and take some time to rest before the next planting season. This is the time when weddings are scheduled and people participate in dance competitions, soccer tournaments, and various other leisure activities.

One weekend, Dennis and I heard of an interesting soccer match that was going to be played at the nearby Charles Lwanga Teachers' Training College between Choobe, our village, and the nearby village of Chipembele. The two villages were fierce soccer rivals. We decided to go and watch this match that was talked about so much in the village. As the

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<sup>875</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 182.

<sup>876</sup> Pannenburg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 168.

match was starting, the atmosphere was bubbling with excitement with home supporters beating drums, singing, and dancing.

From the first whistle, Chipembele dominated Choobe and within a few minutes, they scored their first goal. This started worrying the Choobe supporters. They suddenly started murmuring in *Chitonga*: “*bana Chipembele mba misamu maningi ba baanga besu ncobatazuzi*” (meaning: the Chipembele team was known for using magic and they have used it to immobilize our players; that is why they cannot run as fast as they normally do). The visitors from Chipembele continued dominating the match and scored a second goal before halftime. As the visiting team celebrated, Choobe fans invaded the field and assaulted the visitors, accusing them of using *musamu* (muti in *Chitonga*) to win the game.

When the violent free-for-all began, Dennis and I fled the ground, fearing that we could be mistaken for being part of the visiting team since we were new and not known by everyone in the village. This was my first experience of sorcery-related violence at a soccer match. Since there are no newspapers in most villages, such events usually go unrecorded and one cannot find such stories anywhere unless one witnesses them or interviews eyewitnesses. This challenge complicates attempts to conduct research on *muti* and sorcery in the game, despite its long history and enduring practice.

As early as the 1940s and 1950s, suspicions of using *muti* and other forms of magical practices had become a big part of the local game. For example, on the Copperbelt where the game was most popular, both players and fans believed that hard work alone could not bring desired results in soccer matches.<sup>877</sup> Ginger Pensulo told me that there was plenty of *muti* in the game during his playing days. He believed that this practice will never

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<sup>877</sup> “Medicine men are power in African soccer setup,” *The Northern News*, 28 November 1958.

end because “believing in *muti* is part of our [Zambian] culture.”<sup>878</sup> While Pensulo believes that *muti* is useless and a “bad practice” that should not be encouraged, he also recalled virtually everyone was involved in some form of *muti*, including his own club, Roan United.<sup>879</sup>

While many former players do not give detailed accounts of their experiences with *muti* in their soccer careers, Keegan Mumba, a former national team player, confirmed that there was widespread use of *muti* in the game at individual and team levels. In agreeing with Mumba’s view, soccer fan and writer Leonard Koloko pointed out that in the 1960s and 1970s, “some players were known to possess personal charms called *ifitumwa* used for good luck to prevent injuries and enhance individual performance.”<sup>880</sup> Peter Makembo, who played for City of Lusaka FC in the 1980s, also remembered seeing beads that he suspected to be *icitumwa* (charm) in the waist of one of the players he tackled during a Premier League match.<sup>881</sup> Most of these charms that players carried with them were for individual protection against their perceived enemies who might bewitch (or curse) their game. Ginger Pensulo told me of a fascinating incident in which jealous teammates set up a *muti* trap for him. When he stepped on the *muti*, it made him so sick that when the Welshman Phil Woosnam selected him, Emmet Kapengwe and Fred Mwila to travel to the United States in the late 1960s to play for Atlanta franchise of the fledgling North American Soccer League, Pensulo could not travel.<sup>882</sup> He insisted that his teammates bewitched him to make sure that he did not travel overseas. In Zambian society, as in many other African

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<sup>878</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>879</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>880</sup> Leonard Koloko, “Leonard Koloko retraces tales of footballs turning into locomotive engines,” *Mining Mirror*, 19 February 1993.

<sup>881</sup> Interview with Peter Makembo, Lusaka, 30 December 2013.

<sup>882</sup> Interview with Pensulo.



societies discussed in this chapter, sorcery is often identified as the main cause for misfortunes brought on by illness.<sup>883</sup> One of the most common techniques entailed putting a special powder into a fellow player's boots to bring about an injury or cause his feet to swell painfully. The powder could also be placed in a goalkeeper's gloves to make him miss saves.<sup>884</sup> Ginger Pensulo explained to me that footballers are not supposed to share cleats or gloves precisely because one cannot know what kind of *muti* someone might have inserted in them.<sup>885</sup>

Team magic could also be powerful. Keegan Mumba gave me examples of clubs he had played for where players were asked to bathe in water with a cocktail of roots with the belief that they would be "strengthened" for the next match.<sup>886</sup> Similar to what was happening in Tanzania, Mumba stated that he "even knows of cases where coaches went to the stadium a night before a crucial game to conduct some magical rituals" in preparation for competitive matches the following day.<sup>887</sup> Mumba's testimony is similar to Ridgeway Liwena's account of Lasky Mwandu, a former Zambian national team member, who played in the 1950s and 1960s for Roan United and Broken Hill Warriors. Mwandu explained how team members gathered at the chairman's house the evening before a crucial match to drink a traditional concoction made by the club chairman's wife and to smoke *muti* believed to increase their strength, endurance and speed.<sup>888</sup> The main purpose of these

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<sup>883</sup> This tendency helps to explain why many players who suffer serious injuries (e.g. leg fractures) attribute them to sorcery practiced by their jealous teammates; see Pannenborg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 107.

<sup>884</sup> These threats, perhaps, help explain why African players tend to be overly protective of their playing gear. Cf. Schatzberg, "Soccer, Science, and Sorcery," 110.

<sup>885</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>886</sup> Chris Chitanda, "Soccer payers use drugs, juju," *The Weekly Post*, 11 June 1992.

<sup>887</sup> Chitanda, "Soccer payers use drugs, juju."

<sup>888</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 205.

pre-game rituals was to strengthen the team's endurance, stamina, and speed, and to neutralize the opponents' *muti*.<sup>889</sup> According to Liwena, Lasky Mwandu also indicated how they made sure that the soccer field was guarded the night before the match to prevent their opponents from burying *muti*. Such occult (and secret) practices engendered fear and often caused tension between opposing clubs, which sometimes resulted in violence.

Suspicious of using *muti* in sport were not limited to soccer, but also extended to other competitive sports such as netball—a women's sport.<sup>890</sup> During a Coca-Cola national netball contest at Nkana Stadium in Kitwe in August 1984 between archrivals Kitwe's Chibuku Warriors and Lusaka's Profound Warriors, serious *muti* allegations emerged.<sup>891</sup> Just before the match, one of the clubs claimed that their opponents had placed a "*muti* man" at a strategic point within the grandstand to give them an advantage. The other club made counter accusations that their opponents had fresh tattoos on their breasts and palms to give them firm grip of the ball during play. These allegations quickly triggered violence. Part of the crowd attacked the supposed "*muti* man" who was believed to have been placed within the gathering; he turned out to be the innocent driver of the opponents' team bus.<sup>892</sup>

In another incident, Liwena describes a *Times of Zambia* article in which reporters found Roan United players using the bush (instead of the stadium dressing rooms) to change into their uniforms for an away match against Konkola Blades in Chililabombwe.<sup>893</sup>

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<sup>889</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 205.

<sup>890</sup> Netball is a predominantly women's game played seven-a-side in which goals are scored by throwing a ball so that it falls through a netted hoop. By contrast with basketball, a player receiving the ball must stand still until they have passed it to another player.

<sup>891</sup> John Mulando, "Juju sparks netball uproar," *Times of Zambia*, 29 August 1984.

<sup>892</sup> Mulando, "Juju sparks netball uproar."

<sup>893</sup> Chris Kachingwe, "Roan change into strip in 'style,'" *Times of Zambia*, 19 July 1993.

When the reporters arrived at the scene, several half-naked players scampered into the bush fearing they would be photographed; others continued changing into their kits. The reporters wrote that they caught Roan United players and officials in suspicious circumstances without pointing out what was suspicious about the act, apart from using the bush as a changing room.<sup>894</sup>



Figure 15: Roan United Football players changing along the road in Chililalabombwe, Copperbelt (n.d.). Picture taken by Charles Mumba used with permission from the Liwena Family.

Liwena, too, asserted that the Roan United men were “caught red-handed, carrying out a highly suspicious act believed to be connected to the practice of black magic.”<sup>895</sup> This incident shows that while beliefs about *muti* in the postcolonial game were widespread, they were frequently based on suspicions and unsubstantiated allegations.

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<sup>894</sup> Kachingwe, “Roan change into strip in ‘style.’”

<sup>895</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 204.

Beliefs in using *muti* in Zambian soccer were not only restricted to domestic club matches, but also extended to international contests against other African countries. For example, in November 1978, Zambia lost 2-3 away to Malawi in an East and Central African Cup Championship qualifier at Kamuzu Stadium in Blantyre. After the game, Football Association of Zambia chairman David Lewanika issued a statement that the loss to Malawi “was due to the players’ belief in ‘juju.’”<sup>896</sup> One of the players was quoted in the *Weekly Post Newspaper* saying that they knew Malawi used *muti* in the match because when the national team entered the pitch at Kamuzu Stadium, their bodies suddenly became weak. He emphasized that they lost the match because of witchcraft, saying, “we are Africans and such things exist.”<sup>897</sup> Zambia’s coaching staff and other players disputed this claim, arguing that they were simply outplayed by the Malawians, publicly disassociating themselves from the view that the hosts used *muti* to win the match.<sup>898</sup>

In Mali in 2002, Thomas Nkono, the famous former Cameroon national goalkeeper, was arrested before the semi-final of the African Cup of Nations between Cameroon and Mali for allegedly burying a magical charm in the pitch.<sup>899</sup> There have been other incidences of African nations involvement in *muti* in soccer competitions such as the government of the Ivory Coast giving a bottle of liquor and \$2000 to sorcerers so that they would continue helping the country in international matches. In South Africa, Sports Minister Ngconde Balfour allowed traditional healers to accompany the national team to the 2002 World Cup. That same year, a brawl broke out in Kampala during a Uganda vs. Rwanda African Cup of Nations qualifier over allegations that the Rwandan goalkeeper

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<sup>896</sup> “Players air their views on Juju,” *Zambia Daily mail*, 23 November 1978.

<sup>897</sup> “Players air their views on Juju.”

<sup>898</sup> “Players air their views on Juju.”

<sup>899</sup> Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery,” 358.

Mohamoud Mossi was using witchcraft to prevent the host nation from scoring.<sup>900</sup> Such episodes prompted the Confederation of African Football (CAF) in 2002 to ban teams' "traditional advisors."<sup>901</sup>

While a number of Zambians interviewed for this study admitted using *muti* during their soccer days, it was interesting to note how none indicated they believed in its efficacy. Peter Makembo, who played for Lusaka Tigers FC, City of Lusaka FC, and later became a pastor and chairperson for the Zambia Soccer Fans Association, told me that the use of *muti* in the Zambian game is a very private affair because no one wants to be perceived as using external forces to achieve their aspirations.<sup>902</sup> This finding is echoed by Ridgeway Liwena, who points out that, players are very secretive in their use of *muti* in the game.<sup>903</sup> Fearing the public embarrassment of being mocked as country bumpkins by more urbane folks, few footballers would admit to taking performance-enhancing *muti*, even many years after their retirement from the game.<sup>904</sup>

Those select few, like Pensulo and Makembo, who did admit to using *muti* and participating in magical rituals, also clearly denounced the practice as evil and a waste of time and resources. Overall, it is very difficult to capture and represent accurately what people believe in when it comes to magic and sorcery in Zambian sport and society. What one may say in an interview with a researcher might not really be a reflection of what one truly believes and privately practices. The conversion of many people to Christianity could be another reason many players and officials might be ashamed of being associated with

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<sup>900</sup> Schatzberg, "Soccer, Science, and Sorcery," 363.

<sup>901</sup> Schatzberg, "Soccer, Science, and Sorcery," 357.

<sup>902</sup> Interview with Makembo.

<sup>903</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 204.

<sup>904</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 204.

participating in an activity seen as “pagan” and “uncivilized.”<sup>905</sup> Still, many Zambians blended Christianity and *muti* in their sport. Following President Chiluba’s unilateral declaration in 1991 defining the country as a “Christian nation,” evangelical Christianity spilled over into soccer grounds.<sup>906</sup> Prayers before and after matches became a common phenomenon, with individuals like Peter Makembo, former schools national team captain and Zambia Sports Fans Association chairperson asserting themselves as pastor of football.<sup>907</sup>

Historian Frederick Cooper has noted that while European missionaries cunningly tried to colonize the minds of Africans by condemning their traditional practices as “barbaric,” and separating them from the collective ethos of their communities, Africans often found a way of selecting, blending and creating something else that suited them.<sup>908</sup> Studies of sport have described the ways in which Christianity and Islam went hand in hand with beliefs in witchcraft, sorcery, magic and other spiritual powers in soccer.<sup>909</sup> Footballers can believe in all of them, with priests and *marabouts* (West African Muslim religious leaders) often seen as highest in status, thereby creating “dualistic thinking surrounding the powers of God and the Devil.”<sup>910</sup> This dualistic thinking was visible in the postcolonial game where players at individual and team levels might consult traditional doctors before matches and also group together for a quick prayer, or make the sign of the cross as they enter the pitch.

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<sup>905</sup> Interview with Pensulo.

<sup>906</sup> Isabel Apawo Phiri, “President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian nation and democracy,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (2003): 401-428.

<sup>907</sup> Interview with Peter Makembo, Lusaka, 30 December 2013.

<sup>908</sup> Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” *The American Historical Review*, (1994): 1516, 1545.

<sup>909</sup> See, for example, Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 181.

<sup>910</sup> Pannenberg, *How to win a football match in Cameroon*, 181.

The infusion of cultural practices, beliefs, rituals into football was a central part of decolonizing football.<sup>911</sup> It also enabled Zambians to indigenize the game, blending and creating something that suited their diverse and changing cultures, interests, practices, and worldviews.<sup>912</sup>

An examination of *muti* sheds light on an interesting aspect of Zambian history and also helps better understand how local football practitioners attempted to strike a balance between traditional *muti* beliefs, scientific methods, and Christianity. In contemporary Zambia as in Rwanda and elsewhere, “there are many times when a single individual will adhere to belief in both science and sorcery, depending on the context of the moment” without consciously thinking about this conceptual blending and switching.<sup>913</sup> More problematically, allegations about *muti*, coupled with acute sporting rivalries, sometimes sparked tensions that, on occasion, led to physical violence during matches. This violence could involve a few, or many, fans, and sometimes affected entire teams and even referees.

## SPECTATOR VIOLENCE

Football has a long history of spectator violence. Hooliganism in Britain, for example, emerged between the World Wars and increased in the 1960s; aggressive fan cultures developed in Brazil with the Torcida movement in the 1940s, the Barras Brava in Argentina in the 1950s, and the Ultras in Italy in the 1970s.<sup>914</sup> With some exceptions, the violence among Zambian fans has generally been milder compared to these hardcore fan groups in Europe and Latin America. From the 1960s to the 1990s, violence reared its ugly head in

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<sup>911</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 52; Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, 121.

<sup>912</sup> Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” 1545.

<sup>913</sup> Schatzberg, “Soccer, Science, and Sorcery,” 367.

<sup>914</sup> Adrien Battini, “Reshaping the bounds through fandom: the UltrAslan of Galatasaray,” *Soccer and Society* 13, 5/6 (2012): 701.

the Zambian game. The growth of football after independence led to an increase in the size of crowds and number of fans, resulting in tense rivalries. Robinson Makayi, a sports journalist, pointed out in 1968 that when “a particular sport becomes popular and is taken seriously; the eventual climax is obviously emotions. The most popular sport in Zambia at present is soccer, and the emotion which is born out of it is violence.”<sup>915</sup> While this may not be sufficient to explain the violence that characterized the game in the postcolonial period, it speaks to a general trend in which serious fans tended to understand soccer in terms of a battle to be won at all costs. Not infrequently, losses were often blamed on biased referees; fans attacked rival supporters (and teams) with stones, and brutal assaults sometimes resulted in serious, even fatal, injuries.<sup>916</sup>

Stadiums such as Gabbitas in Chingola for Nchanga Rangers FC and Shinde Stadium in Mufulira for Mufulira Wanderers FC were known for having the most notorious and uncontrollable fans.<sup>917</sup> Referee Peter Chelelwa received six stitches at the hospital after being assaulted at Shinde Stadium in Mufulira in 1964 match between Mufulira Wanderers and Nchanga Rangers.<sup>918</sup> Such violence during matches compelled the National Football League (NFL) to ban Gabbitas, Shinde and Mikonfwa stadiums for several months in the 1960s to protect match officials.<sup>919</sup> The Congo Border Referees Association also sent a stern warning to the NFL to stop violence on referees.<sup>920</sup>

The violence against referees continued in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1974, referee Bennett Simfukwe was beaten up during a league match between Mufulira Wanderers and

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<sup>915</sup> Robinson Makayi “Has soccer mania come to stay?” *Inshila*, 6 September 1968.

<sup>916</sup> Interview with Bulalo Mwape, Lusaka, 14 June 2014.

<sup>917</sup> “Violence spoiling N.R. Soccer” *Inshila*, 21 April 1964.

<sup>918</sup> “Violence spoiling N.R. Soccer.”

<sup>919</sup> “Tough Steps by League” *Inshila*, 17 June 1966.

<sup>920</sup> “Ex-UK international to be Roan’s new coach” *Inshila*, 5 May 1964.



Nchanga Rangers. Simfukwe had approached Mike Bwali of Rangers to warn him about his rough play. Bwali met Simfukwe with a series of head-butts, injuring Simfukwe enough to cause heavy bleeding from the nose and mouth.<sup>921</sup> Even though Bwali paid a fine and served a two-year league ban, violence against referees persisted. Incidents of violence pushed the Referee Association of Zambia to announce an indefinite boycott of all NFL matches in July 1974 to protest against blatant attacks on its members. The boycott was only called off after the FAZ and NFL agreed that any player or official who assaulted a referee would be banned for life.<sup>922</sup>

While this policy reduced attacks on referees, it did not stop them. This forced prominent and long-serving referee Arthur Davies, who was also Copperbelt Power Company General Manager and founder of Power Dynamos FC, to resign from refereeing. A highly respected figure in soccer circles, Davies was one of the few whites who continued to be involved in soccer in the postcolonial period. Most white Europeans had either withdrawn to rugby, bowling, and other sports unpopular with Africans, or left for Britain or white-ruled South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In recognition of his major contributions towards the development of the game in the country, President Kaunda honored Arthur Davies with an “Insignia of Distinguished Service” at a State House investiture ceremony in 1980.<sup>923</sup> As with similar gestures mentioned in earlier chapters, Kaunda’s honoring of Davies showed how soccer played an important political and social role in postcolonial Zambian culture.<sup>924</sup> The Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM)

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<sup>921</sup> Mike Wasa, “Ref beaten up as Rangers lose in Muf,” *Times of Zambia*, 15 July 1975.

<sup>922</sup> Mike Wasa, “Bwali Banned 2 yrs,” *Times of Zambia*, 20 July 1974.

<sup>923</sup> Stephen Bwalya, “Why so many soccer fracas?” *Inshila*, 6 September 1968.

<sup>924</sup> Bwalya, “Why so many soccer fracas?”

also honored Davies by naming Power Dynamos' home ground in Kitwe the Arthur Davies Stadium.<sup>925</sup>



Figure 16: Arthur Davies having halftime snacks with unidentified young referees during a league game on October 29, 1971. Picture with permission from the Ridgeway Liwena family.

Together with the *muti* accusations previously discussed, several factors explain the rise in football violence that forced Davies out.<sup>926</sup> First, the mass exodus of experienced European referees and officials after independence and the Zambianization programs that followed in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in inexperienced local referees officiating matches.<sup>927</sup> Apart from being less competent, local referees were also suspected of bias and sometimes accused of taking bribes from certain clubs. These issues ignited

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<sup>925</sup> Liwena, *The Zambian Soccer Scene*, 288.

<sup>926</sup> Violence at matches was not restricted to Zambia. In Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), for example, violence between fans of archrivals Dynamos FC of Harare and Highlanders FC of Bulawayo regularly broke out over “bad officiating, poor gate and security management, and alcohol abuse by supporters.” Praise Zenenga, “Aesthetics and performance in Zimbabwean soccer,” *African Identities* 9 (2011): 328.

<sup>927</sup> Chipande, “Football in Zambia : Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia,” 88.

crowd disapproval of referees' decisions.<sup>928</sup> Second, as other scholars have noted, violence stemmed from overcrowding at matches staged in ramshackle, unsafe facilities, with few police officers in attendance for crowd control purposes.<sup>929</sup> Third, abuse of alcohol among spectators during matches worsened these problems. Intoxicated fans were known to attempt to assault visiting players or damage their team buses, especially when the hosting team lost the match. This violence made soccer stadiums unpredictable places, which discouraged some people from watching matches, particularly women.

For example, a 1985 Champion of Champions Cup final between Power Dynamos and Mufulira Wanderers at Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium in Ndola had to be stopped due to crowd disorder. The match was sold out but hundreds of fans queued outside the ground hoping to buy a ticket.<sup>930</sup> When fans were told that tickets had been sold-out, they became angry and started throwing missiles and destroying cars parked outside the stadium. When the crowd heard that the match had started, they attempted to force their way into the stadium, trampling on the few security officers that manned the gates and turnstiles. During the pushing and tussle, a number of people were injured. An officer's teargas canister went off (allegedly by accident), choking spectators, players and even high-profile guests from Lusaka. The game had to be stopped for about ten minutes for calm to be reestablished. After it resumed, Power Dynamos beat Mufulira Wanderers 2-0.<sup>931</sup>

Sharp rivalries, poor refereeing, inadequate facilities, poor crowd management, alcohol abuse, and the threat of magic and sorcery made stadiums unfriendly places. And yet, from the 1960s to the late 1980s, Zambian fans often packed stadiums to capacity.

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<sup>928</sup> Interview with Patrick Chishimba, Lusaka, 23 June, 14.

<sup>929</sup> Alegi, *Laduma!* 130.

<sup>930</sup> "Police Chief gets teargas report," *Times of Zambia*, 3 January 1985.

<sup>931</sup> "Police Chief gets teargas report," *Times of Zambia*, 3 January 1985.

Football was too important in postcolonial Zambian culture, in no small part because it had been thoroughly Zambianized. Through active participation and application of scientific methods, Christianity, and traditional agrarian practices, a diversity of Zambians selected, blended, and created a football culture that suited their shifting interests, beliefs, identities, and culture.

## CHAPTER 7: THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF FOOTBALL: ZAMBIA UNDER CHILUBA, 1991-1994

President Kaunda's UNIP government in the 1980s continued enabling parastatal corporations to invest in football clubs and leagues despite Zambia's deep economic crisis (discussed in chapter 4). While this policy enhanced the culture and infrastructure of the game, it did nothing to help citizens mired in deep poverty. By June 1990, ordinary Zambians had reached their breaking point. When the price of *mealie-meal* (corn meal) increased three fold, food riots broke out in Lusaka and several provincial centers, which killed 27 people.<sup>932</sup> The driving force behind the riots was Kaunda's restructuring of the economy and attempt to reduce Zambia's massive external debt. This effort depended on securing US\$450 million in loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which required the implementation of market-friendly political and economic reforms known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).

Also in June, a junior army lieutenant, Mwamba Luchembe, spearheaded a coup attempt, which failed. The momentum against Kaunda's UNIP government, however, continued to build. On December 4, 1990, parliament revoked article 4 of the 1973 Constitution that upheld a one-party rule, and paved the way for electoral landslide of Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in the 1991 elections.<sup>933</sup>

Constituencies who supported the MMD in 1991, including trade-unions, businesses, civil society organizations and political parties, were aware that "the MMD ran on a manifesto that promised to liberalize the economy, privatize state-owned industries,

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<sup>932</sup> Rakner, *Political and Economical Liberalization in Zambia*, 63; Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer, eds., *Zambia, Mining and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 10.

<sup>933</sup> Rakner, *Political and Economical Liberalization in Zambia*, 64.

and secure a new dispensation. Once in power, the MMD continued with, and then dramatically extended, the country's existing Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)."<sup>934</sup> The implementation of the MMD manifesto had serious effects on sports, particularly football, which as has been shown earlier, depended heavily on funding from parastatal corporations. Sport sociologist Paul Darby has shown that in the "early years of the 1990s, Zambia had a team that was not only capable of consistently taking on and beating the best in Africa, but also on the verge of World Cup qualification."<sup>935</sup> Darby noted that, "it was clear that if [mining] companies experienced financial difficulties and/or Kaunda's leadership of the country was threatened, then football would also suffer."<sup>936</sup>

This chapter examines how Frederick Chiluba's MMD government in its first years in power undermined the health and sustainability of the domestic game by sharply reducing state subsidies for organized sport. President Chiluba, despite his genuine passion for soccer and a keen desire to deploy the national team as a symbol of his party's (alleged) accomplishments, adopted neoliberal policies that did not measurably improve the overall economy. As a result, talented footballers migrated abroad in large numbers; clubs disappeared; the sports infrastructure deteriorated; and the standards of the game in the country plummeted.

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<sup>934</sup> Fraser and Larmer, eds., *Zambia, Mining and Neoliberalism*, 10

<sup>935</sup> Paul Darby, "Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster, 1993," *Soccer and Society* 5 (2004): 255.

<sup>936</sup> Darby, "Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster," 55.

## THE COLLAPSE OF PARASTATAL CORPORATIONS FOOTBALL SCHEMES

The democratic elections of 1991 were the first held in Zambia since independence. President Kenneth Kaunda and the one-party UNIP state that had ruled the country for twenty-seven years gave way to a multiparty democracy with the MMD as the governing party and Chiluba as the second president of the Republic of Zambia. By this time, the national economy had collapsed. It ranked “near the bottom of the World Bank’s hierarchy of developing Nations,” with about 55 percent of people having insufficient income to meet their basic nutritional needs.<sup>937</sup> Saddled with overwhelming levels of external debt inherited from the Kaunda government, Chiluba had little choice but to yield to the calls of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to fully implement the SAP that the UNIP government had been defiantly flouting since the 1980s.<sup>938</sup> Most African countries found themselves in this same trap of implementing the SAPs “in exchange for desperately needed loans to fund basic functions of [their] government[s].”<sup>939</sup> Structural adjustment aimed to create long-term sustainable economic growth through “trade liberalization, interest rates liberalization, removal of price controls, reduced government expenditure (on food and fertilizer subsidies) and public-sector,” which in most cases wreaked havoc on already weak state-centered economies.<sup>940</sup>

President Chiluba’s government prioritized the privatization of parastatal corporations. The establishment of the Zambia Privatization Agency facilitated the process of liquidating corporations considered unprofitable and inefficient. Davies Banda argues

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<sup>937</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 6.

<sup>938</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 9.

<sup>939</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 114.

<sup>940</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker & Szeftel, “Introduction: Narratives of National hood,” 895.

that the privatization of parastatal corporations led to a drastic decline in elite sports development and notes how “the funding of grassroots sport development disappeared.”<sup>941</sup> This immediately resulted in the closure or drastic deterioration of sports facilities, therefore significantly restricting access to sporting opportunities. These effects were not unique to Zambia. The worsening of the quality of life, a rapid increase in poverty and inequality, and the disappearance of “state-funded sport programs at school, youth and amateur levels” were common trends across many African countries that implemented the SAP.<sup>942</sup>

As the government-owned ZCCM was earmarked for privatization, the copper giant’s spending priorities changed immediately. Gone was the enthusiastic support for the recently established professional soccer companies. In its place was a view of sport as a superfluous and thus utterly unnecessary financial expense.<sup>943</sup> ZCCM embarked on austerity measures such as downgrading senior staff, cancelling certain benefits, retrenching workers, and cutting subsidies to sports clubs in order to stay afloat and ride out the economic storm.<sup>944</sup> President Chiluba extolled ZCCM for taking these measures intended to focus the company on its core business and maximizing profit.<sup>945</sup>

Privatization of the mines sparked an immediate review of the operations of the five ZCCM professional football companies. Originally, the plan was for them to become autonomous, viable entities within a short period of time. However, it was discovered that

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<sup>941</sup> Banda, “Zambia: Government’s role in colonial and modern times,” 240.

<sup>942</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 114.

<sup>943</sup> “Dissolved: Soccer companies scrapped as professional teams revert to amateur ranks,” *Mining Mirror*, February 1993.

<sup>944</sup> Francis Musonda, “Zambia’s mining industry is alive and kicking,” *Mining Mirror*, February, 1994.

<sup>945</sup> Gabriel Mukuwa & Priscilla Isaac, “We are behind you – Chiluba: State backs ZCCM austerity measures,” *Mining Mirror*, November, 1992.



in the twenty-seven months of their existence, from 1990 to 1992, ZCCM had pumped huge sums of money in form of grants and loans into these football entities, and had also provided them with transportation, domestic and business accommodations, and other services. It quickly became clear that the possibility of the professional soccer companies achieving autonomy in a short period was unlikely.<sup>946</sup> With pressure from government, ZCCM decided to stop supporting professional soccer, a policy that took effect April 1, 1993.<sup>947</sup> New Chief Executive Officer Edward Shamutete, who replaced Francis Kaunda, stressed that all teams were to revert to amateur status; ZCCM offered to continue supporting them at a modest level.

The impact of this decision on and off the pitch was dramatic. ZCCM set strict limits on sponsorships since ZCCM's survival plan depended on controlling costs.<sup>948</sup> The company decided to sponsor only one team in continental competitions annually and stopped paying allowances to players and officials. The common practice of camping retreats before matches was abandoned (except for cup finals). Furthermore, all reserve sides were abolished (which meant young players' growth and opportunities were stunted); advisers and coaches dismissed; bank accounts frozen; and caretaker committees appointed to run all ZCCM clubs.<sup>949</sup> This development was devastating to full-time sports administrators, coaches and players. Faced with such austerity, the best players had no choice but to leave Zambia in search of clubs that could pay them a living wage.

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<sup>946</sup> "Dissolved: Soccer companies scrapped as professional teams revert to amateur ranks," *Mining Mirror*, February 1993.

<sup>947</sup> Letter from ZCCM Chief Executive E. K. Shamutete to all managers on Dissolution of Professional Football in ZCCM, 4 January 1993. ZCCM 5.3.3E, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>948</sup> Musonda, "Zambia's mining industry is alive and kicking."

<sup>949</sup> "Dissolved: Soccer companies scrapped as professional teams revert to amateur ranks," *Mining Mirror*.

ZCCM management's decision to gradually withdraw from sport was a death sentence for mine soccer clubs.<sup>950</sup> With modest revenue from gate takings and fundraising ventures, it is not surprising that Nchanga Rangers FC's organizational assessment at the time concluded that; "it was practically impossible for the club to survive without support from ZCCM" unless the club came up with viable financing plans, which were nearly impossible amidst a financial crisis.<sup>951</sup>

The precipitous fall in copper prices was a major cause for the economic crisis, but poor management of parastatals was another contributing factor.<sup>952</sup> Publicly subsidized corporations enjoyed monopolies in their sectors, which did little to address mismanagement and inefficiencies. Earning small profits despite considerable government funding "drained the limited state resources."<sup>953</sup> The reduction in subsidies implied a reduction in allocations for parastatals' sports programs and the dilapidation or closure of multisport complexes built in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>954</sup>

Regina Sokone Kapata and Francis Malunga, former athletes at Zamsure Sports Club (see chapter 4), confirmed that under President Chiluba most parastatal corporation heads did not show interest in sport as they had under Kaunda.<sup>955</sup> Similarly, Richie Nawa, a long serving chairman for Profound Warriors FC, told me in an interview how economic factors

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<sup>950</sup> Memorandum from Nchanga Ranger Football Club Accountant to Nchanga Rangers Football Club Business ventures, Chingola, 1 February 1995.

<sup>951</sup> Memorandum from Nchanga Ranger Football Club Accountant to Nchanga Rangers Football Club.

<sup>952</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 62.

<sup>953</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 62.

<sup>954</sup> Interview with Regina Sokone Kapata and Francis Malunga, Lusaka, 20 August 2014.

<sup>955</sup> Interview with Sokone Kapata and Malunga.

and government pressure made ZNPF retrench most players and terminate sponsorship of his football club.<sup>956</sup>



Figure 17: Dilapidated Zamsure Sports Complex, former home of disbanded Zamsure FC. Photograph by the author. August 2, 2014.

For a while it remained in the hands of individuals like Richie Nawa and his friend George Kasengele until the company resumed sponsorship.<sup>957</sup> While some clubs, like Profound Warriors, were lucky to survive, most parastatal soccer clubs dissolved in the early 1990s. Some clubs attempted to run business ventures to sustain themselves, but it was very difficult to start and sustain a business in the middle of an economic meltdown.

Soccer commentator and analyst, Paspanoga (Ponga) Liwewe, argued in an interview that the continued decline of the standards of the game in the country in the 1980s and 1990s was a result of the football administrators' failure to seriously look for

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<sup>956</sup> Interview with Nawa.

<sup>957</sup> Interview with Richie Nawa, Lusaka, 21 August 2014.

alternative sources of funding for the game after the exit of ZCCM and other companies from organized sport. According to Liwewe, Zambian soccer was very slow to adapt from being a social responsibility of corporations to a commercial business that could market itself as a brand.<sup>958</sup> Liwewe stressed that the unexpected and rapid change from Kaunda's state patronage to Chiluba's liberalized economy caught soccer administrators unprepared, and it was difficult for them to adapt. Others, like Kapata and Malunga mentioned above, blamed the decline in Zambian football on President Chiluba and his administration's disinterest in politically and economically supporting sports.

#### THE POLITICS OF FOOTBALL IN A CHANGING ECONOMIC CONTEXT

As we have seen, the economic crisis that began in the 1970s weakened state patronage and played a major role in influencing political reforms that ended Kaunda's one-party autocratic rule.<sup>959</sup> By the time Chiluba's MMD assumed control, the World Bank reported that about 68 percent of households did not have enough income to purchase "basic needs."<sup>960</sup> The MMD government was elected into power based on promises to address citizens' economic burdens. Soccer, was low on the MMD government's list of priorities as compared to Kaunda's UNIP— which some viewed as reckless given widespread economic hardships.<sup>961</sup>

Chiluba was born and grew up in Kitwe on the Copperbelt where football was king. He was even more directly involved in football, at least at club level, than Kaunda—a well-known soccer enthusiast. A devoted supporter of Nkana Red Devils FC, Chiluba served as

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<sup>958</sup> Interview with Ponga Liwewe, Lusaka, 25 July 2011.

<sup>959</sup> Gewald, Hinfelaar & Macola, "Introduction," in *One Zambia Many Histories*, 2.

<sup>960</sup> Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 6.

<sup>961</sup> "Pro soccer costly," *Times of Zambia*, 15 November 1990.

patron for the club during his nearly two decades as President of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).<sup>962</sup> Joseph Mwansa, a former Nkana FC chairman in the early 1980s, said in an interview that Nkana FC always reserved a special seat at Wusakile Stadium in Kitwe for Chiluba. After assuming the presidency, Chiluba continued to support Nkana FC by donating money for new uniforms and equipment.<sup>963</sup> Former FAZ chairman Simataa Simataa told me that Chiluba was also interested and actively involved in football administration. According to Simataa, the only reason Chiluba could not be compared to Kaunda in terms of personal support for the game was that Kaunda's autocratic one-party state allowed him to manipulate and control football leadership.<sup>964</sup> Kaunda's UNIP government, as shown in chapter 3, made sure that only approved candidates contested for the FAZ top leadership positions.<sup>965</sup>

Chiluba, on the other hand, did not have such opportunities because he was elected partly for his support of aforementioned political and economic reforms that emphasized democratization of institutions and fiscal conservatism.<sup>966</sup> This different context prevented him from manipulating soccer politics and guaranteeing state funding. Instead, Chiluba had to work with democratically elected soccer administrators, some of whom were political opponents. Notably, Chiluba sought unsuccessfully to dismiss FAZ president Teddy Mulonga. Simataa argued further that Chiluba's political differences with some of the FAZ presidents even resulted in government, at times, withdrawing financial support from the

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<sup>962</sup> Interview with Joseph Mwansa, Kitwe, 20 January 2014.

<sup>963</sup> Interview with Mwansa.

<sup>964</sup> Interview with Simataa Simataa, Lusaka, 3 July, 2014

<sup>965</sup> "Four candidates picked to stand for FAZ host seat," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16 December 1975.

<sup>966</sup> Interview with Simataa.

struggling football association.<sup>967</sup> Finally, Chiluba seemed wary of a possible perception that spending scarce public resources on sport was grossly inappropriate at a time when people suffered from food shortages, dilapidated roads, and a lack of medicines in hospitals. Such spending could have been seen as a continuation of Kaunda's misdirection of meager national resources.<sup>968</sup> These factors made it difficult for President Chiluba, despite his lifelong interest in the game, to influence and financially support football during his presidency.

Be that as it may, Chiluba did attempted to link himself with the local game. In December 1991, he hosted a luncheon for Power Dynamos FC at State House to celebrate their African Cup Winners' Cup triumph. Dynamos became the first Zambian club to win this international trophy by beating defending champions, BCC Lions, of Nigeria, 5-4 at Lusaka's Independence Stadium.<sup>969</sup> During the event, Chiluba announced that the Third Republic must bring with it a new dispensation of sports victories for teams and fewer losses. He encouraged Power Dynamos to "win and win every year and lose no more" because the culture of "losing with honor" should cease immediately.<sup>970</sup> This was in reference to President Kaunda, who usually encouraged players to win or lose with honor, in line with the ideology of African humanism. Chiluba continued teasing Kaunda in the language of market capitalism: "We must begin to win with honor. It does not pay to lose

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<sup>967</sup> Interview with Simata.

<sup>968</sup> "Pro soccer costly," *Times of Zambia*, 15 November 1990

<sup>969</sup> "Win with honor and lose no more, urges Chiluba," *Times of Zambia*, 2 December 1991. The article claimed that when Dynamos conceded a goal in the final, Chiluba's blood pressure rose and he said to his Minister of Sports Baldwin Nkumbula: "look at the old culture," as he looked into the sky and said, "God, this is a new era." Chiluba must have been quite relieved when Power Dynamos later equalized, and eventually won the game and the cup.

<sup>970</sup> "Win with honor and lose no more, urges Chiluba."

with honor.”<sup>971</sup> Coincidentally, around the same time, Zambia beat Kenya 2-0 to win the East and Central Africa Senior Challenge Cup in the finals at Kampala’s Nakivubo Stadium.<sup>972</sup> The government rewarded the national team players with more than half a million Kwacha (about \$4,000).<sup>973</sup>

Like Kaunda, Chiluba also viewed the game as a political tool for propaganda and symbolism. As the SAP endorsed by Chiluba’s MMD government failed to yield the promised benefits to citizens, the president deployed sporting success as a quick way of representing the alleged accomplishments of his administration. Unlike Kaunda, however, Chiluba and the MMD could not rely on parastatal corporations to finance the game. His hands were tied by the political reforms that brought him into power, and the SAP policies that he had pushed through in the hope of pleasing the international community and easing the foreign debt burden.<sup>974</sup>

After two years in power, it was evident that the radical economic measures the MMD had introduced would not improve the lives of Zambians. In fact, these policies worsened the economic situation by raising unemployment levels and prices for essential goods and services.<sup>975</sup> MMD Deputy Minister for the National Commission for Development and Planning, Dean Mung’omba, admitted in technocratic language that, “The inherent negative factors including the deteriorating terms of trade, low investment rates,

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<sup>971</sup> “Win with honor and lose no more, urges Chiluba.”

<sup>972</sup> Christ Kachingwe, “Heroes welcome awaits ECA champions,” *Times of Zambia*, 9 December 1991.

<sup>973</sup> “Victorious squad gets half a million gift,” *Times of Zambia*, 11 December 1991.

<sup>974</sup> Rakner, *Political and Economical Liberalization in Zambia*, 64.

<sup>975</sup> Elias Chitenje, “State struggles to resuscitate economy,” *The Weekly Post*, 7 January 1993.

high inflation rates, and heavy external debt burden had continued to discourage growth prospects.”<sup>976</sup>

Local stakeholders condemned the MMD government’s implementation of the SAP, criticizing how the international financial institutions had trumped the sovereignty of the Zambian government. To make matters worse, corruption in the country was increasing as some of Chiluba’s cabinet ministers were “using their positions to enrich themselves.”<sup>977</sup> There were serious allegations of MMD politicians’ looting the country of its resources at the expense of ordinary people.<sup>978</sup> These trends further reduced government’s willingness and capacity to fund what could be considered non-essential facilities and activities. The standards of the game continued their spiral of decline.

The dissolution of the five ZCCM professional soccer companies founded in 1989 coupled with parastatals’ withdrawal from football created immense uncertainties and insecurities for many players. These concerns led to the emigration of numerous talented players.<sup>979</sup> Most players joined clubs in the wealthy South African Premier Soccer League, a few went to North African clubs, while others found their way to lower leagues in Europe and the Persian Gulf.<sup>980</sup> Zambians, of course, were part of a much larger football labor migration documented in the recent academic literature.<sup>981</sup> In Zambia as elsewhere in

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<sup>976</sup> Chitenje, “State struggles to resuscitate economy.”

<sup>977</sup> “Chiluba pressed to act on corruption,” *The Weekly Post*, 18 February 1993.

<sup>978</sup> Gilbert Musonda, “Why Zambians are incapable of stamping out corruption,” *The Weekly Post*, 22 April 1993.

<sup>979</sup> Dingi Chirwa, “Mass exodus to S.A?” *The Weekly Post*, 25 February 1993, Darby, “Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster, 1993,” 255.

<sup>980</sup> Dingi Chirwa, Soccer pros wont go for friendlies,” *The Weekly Post*, 11 March 1993.

<sup>981</sup> Alegi, *African Socarscapes*, 78; Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe,” *Working 10* (2007): 445-46; Paul Darby, Gerard Akindes & Matthew Kirwin, “Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe,” *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* (2007): 143-161.



Africa, this mass exodus of professional players greatly “contributed to the underdevelopment of the domestic game.”<sup>982</sup>

However, player migration and the subsequent underdevelopment of the domestic league did not seem to affect the national team’s performance. In some ways, overseas-based players groomed by parastatal soccer programs in the 1980s may even have strengthened the national team as they competed in stronger leagues on a regular basis. Zambia’s national team performed very well in both the 1994 World Cup and African Cup of Nations qualifiers. On February 28, 1993, Zambia beat Madagascar 3-1 in Lusaka to reach the final round of World Cup qualification.<sup>983</sup>

In the final round Zambia was drawn in a group with Senegal and Morocco. Benjamin Bwalya, a former player for Mufulira Wanderers, Nchanga Rangers and for the national team in the 1980s (and the elder brother of the legendary striker Kalusha Bwalya), pointed out that the contemporary cohort of talented and well-trained players meant Zambia had the best chance ever to qualify for the World Cup finals.<sup>984</sup> Acting national team coach Godfrey “Ucar” Chitalu also echoed this view, going as far as assuring the nation in a bold public statement that “we will reach the 1994 World Cup finals” in the United States of America.<sup>985</sup>

Still, the economic crisis that had crippled the country was a formidable obstacle to overcome. Government and the FAZ were experiencing serious financial challenges at a time when the national team had a very intense competitive schedule. FAZ acting General Secretary Geoffrey Phiri revealed that the association needed about K123 million Kwacha

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<sup>982</sup> Darby, “Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster,” 255.

<sup>983</sup> Dingi Chirwa, “FIFA axe may fall on FAZ,” *The Weekly Post*, 18 March 1993.

<sup>984</sup> Dingi Chirwa, “Zambia’s chance for World Cup is now or never – Bwalya,” *The Weekly Post*, 7 April 1993.

<sup>985</sup> “We’ll reach finals – coach,” *Times of Zambia*, January 18 1993.

(about \$1 million) to fulfill international commitments, most of which would pay for national team players' flight from around the world.<sup>986</sup> As the association was surviving on gate proceedings, it was not possible to fulfill these fixtures without support from government. "There is no way out but to seek government funding especially before crucial games," said Phiri.

FAZ embarked on fundraising ventures. In April 1993, for example, they organized a golf fundraising tournament with President Chiluba as guest of honor.<sup>987</sup> FAZ President Michael Mwape took this opportunity to inform Chiluba of the international soccer obligations Zambia faced. He explained how his association had struggled to fund recent national team trips to Namibia, Madagascar, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. "My appeal to you is that we need support from Government, business community and our friends in sport," requested Mwape.<sup>988</sup> In response, Chiluba appealed to private corporations to help FAZ. He also urged the football association not to panic because a solution would somehow be found, although he was not promising anything.<sup>989</sup> This revealed the difficulties both FAZ and Chiluba's MMD government confronted in financing the national team. With few other alternatives available, the government resorted to the cheapest means of supporting the national team's international travels: the team would fly on old and poorly maintained Zambia Air Force military planes.

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<sup>986</sup> Dingi Chirwa, "Cash crisis common problem for FAZ and ZIFA," *The Weekly Post*, 10 April 1993.

<sup>987</sup> "FAZ nets K9m. from golf tourney," *Times of Zambia*, 20 April 1993.

<sup>988</sup> "FAZ nets K9m. from golf tourney."

<sup>989</sup> "FAZ nets K9m. from golf tourney."

## NATIONAL TRAGEDY: THE 1993 GABON AIR CRASH

The 1994 World Cup qualifying campaign would take Zambia to Senegal for its first match.

Operating on a shoestring budget, the FAZ used a 17-year old Zambia Air Force de Havilland Canada DHC-5D Buffalo cargo military plane to transport the team to Dakar.<sup>990</sup>

This was the same plane that had taken the team to Mauritius a few days earlier where they had beaten Mauritius 3-0 in an African Cup qualifier match.<sup>991</sup> On the day of departure, April 26, 1993, the flight was delayed for about eight hours because the Zambia Air Force crew had a hard time getting clearance for their military plane to fly over some countries, and refueling along the way, as the plane was not built for flying long distances.<sup>992</sup>

The plane was scheduled to refuel in Brazzaville, Congo, Libreville, Gabon, and Abidjan, Ivory Coast, where they planned to spend a night before flying on to Dakar the following day.<sup>993</sup> After getting clearance, the flight left Lusaka carrying eighteen players, six officials and five Zambia Air Force crewmembers. They made their first refueling in Brazzaville and proceeded to Libreville for a second refuel. The crew called the control tower in Lusaka to say that the plane had a fault with the left engine, and that it was not clear whether the fault was rectified or not, but they were cleared for take off to Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Within a few minutes of taking off from Libreville airport, the Buffalo plane lost altitude and plunged into the Atlantic Ocean 500 meters from the shore, killing

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<sup>990</sup> "Was death plane fit to fly," *The Weekly Post*, 30 April 1993.

<sup>991</sup> "Senegal will fall, say players," *Times of Zambia*, 28 April 1993.

<sup>992</sup> "Senegal will fall, say players."

<sup>993</sup> Chris Chitanda and Sekelela Ncube, "Alpha Foxtrot 319 Over and Out," *The Weekly Post*, 30 April 1993.

everyone on board.<sup>994</sup> It was one of the worst disasters in the history of football and a national tragedy.

When the devastating news reached Zambia, people nationwide received it with “shock, bitterness, surprise, despair and even anger.”<sup>995</sup> A number of people in urban areas broke down uncontrollably in their offices, markets and bus stations.<sup>996</sup> Eleven of the eighteen players that perished in the plane crash were from Copperbelt clubs and employees of ZCCM.<sup>997</sup> Nkana FC alone lost five players in the plane crash. Many of those who were not playing for ZCCM clubs had been groomed through Copperbelt soccer programs and had strong roots in the mining towns.<sup>998</sup>

The Copperbelt towns descended into grief as the government declared one week of national mourning. In Kitwe, “the town center was turned into a place of mourning.”<sup>999</sup> Large numbers of fans gathered, sharing the news and grieving in disbelief.<sup>1000</sup> Joyce M. Chabala, widow to the late national team goalkeeper Efford Chabala, explained in an interview that she was in a hair saloon in Mufulira when she received the news that the plane carrying the national team had crashed. She collapsed and only gained consciousness as her friends were driving her home.<sup>1001</sup> When the coffins of the victims

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<sup>994</sup> Chitanda and Ncube, “Alpha Foxtrot 319 Over and Out.”

<sup>995</sup> Elias Nyakutemba, “Efford Chabala’s wife collapses,” *The Weekly Post*, 6 May 1993.

<sup>996</sup> Davy Sakala, Chris Kachingwe, Beauty Lupiya and Zarina Geloo, “Plane Crash shocks nation,” *Times of Zambia*, 29 April 1993.

<sup>997</sup> Francis Musonda, “How taskforce worked,” *Mining Mirror*, June 1993.

<sup>998</sup> Leonard Koloko, “Tracing football steps of fallen heroes,” *Mining Mirror*, June 1993.

<sup>999</sup> Sakala, Kachingwe, Lupiya and Geloo, “Plane Crash shocks nation.”

<sup>1000</sup> Sakala, Kachingwe, Lupiya and Geloo, “Plane Crash shocks nation.”

<sup>1001</sup> Interview with Joyce M. Chabala, Mufulira, 8 August 2014.

arrived in Lusaka, thousands of residents lined the 30-kilometer stretch from the Airport to Independence Stadium to pay their last respects to the players they adored.<sup>1002</sup>

Ridgeway Liwena, in his book *The Gabon Disaster: Zambia's Soccer Miracle*, narrates that Gabonese nationals, particularly those in Libreville, shared in grieving for the deceased. Large numbers of Libreville residents traveled to the military base near the Leon-Mba International Airport where the coffins were displayed for public viewing.<sup>1003</sup> Liwena stated that Gabonese fans carried Efford Chabala's coffin to the aircraft to pay their respects to Zambia's oldest and longest serving national team goalkeeper at that time. Some Gabonese fans even "carried pictures of the Zambia national team from earlier matches" to share their grief with their counterparts and, perhaps, to show their love for the game.<sup>1004</sup>

Once back in Zambia, the victims were buried on the northern end of the area outside Lusaka's Independence Stadium, where a monument was later built and the site renamed "Heroes Acre." Thousands of people from different parts of the country attended the funeral. President Chiluba attended the burial and wept uncontrollably while presenting a tribute to the victims. He addressed the public and said: "Our heroes have paid the supreme sacrifice in pursuit of national goals. They sought and strived to achieve success and excellence in a national sport so highly cherished and patronized by nearly all Zambians. A sport that has over the decades served to unite this country across social, cultural and political barriers."<sup>1005</sup> As he correctly pointed out, soccer was indeed one of

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<sup>1002</sup> Hicks Sikazwe, "Heroes' remains in; thousands throng the stadium," *Times of Zambia*, 3 May 1993.

<sup>1003</sup> Ridgeway Liwena, ed., *The Gabon Disaster: Zambia's Soccer Miracle* (Lusaka: Ridgeway Liwena Publishing House, 1997), 30.

<sup>1004</sup> Liwena, ed., *The Gabonese Disaster*, 30.

<sup>1005</sup> Hicks Sikazwe, "Heroes laid to rest – their hopes not buried Chiluba," *Times of Zambia*, 4 May 1993.

the few activities that brought the people together regardless of their ethno-linguistic or political affiliations. However, the game's popularity also made it a politicized and highly sensitive pursuit.

During the week of mourning, President Chiluba and the MMD were well aware that angry mourners and observers were criticizing the government for allowing the national team to travel on an unsafe plane. The government was terrified that their political opponents might blame Chiluba and his MMD party for the plane crash and then possibly use it as a rallying cry to dislodge them from power in the 1996 general elections. Shrewdly, Chiluba urged mourners not to make political capital out of the tragedy stressing that, "political differences and affiliations should be discarded as the nation needed more unity than at any other time."<sup>1006</sup>

The MMD government worked aggressively to appease the people and assure them that it would investigate the cause of the plane crash. Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga, who led the delegation to Gabon to bring back the remains of the victims, said that the nation should not draw hasty conclusions about the plane crash until the investigation was completed.<sup>1007</sup> The Gabonese government formed a commission of inquiry, which included nine Zambians, to investigate the cause of the plane crash.<sup>1008</sup> It was a difficult investigation because the plane's wreckage had not been pulled out of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>1009</sup> Political disagreements between Zambian and Gabonese investigators made this joint investigation even more challenging.<sup>1010</sup>

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<sup>1006</sup> Hicks Sikazwe, "Heroes laid to rest – their hopes not buried Chiluba," *Times of Zambia*, 4 May 1993.

<sup>1007</sup> "Mwaanga cautions nation," *Times of Zambia*, 4 May, 1993.

<sup>1008</sup> "Mwaanga cautions nation."

<sup>1009</sup> "Help out, Chiluba tells Gabonese," *Times of Zambia*, 30 June 1993.

<sup>1010</sup> Darby, "Context of Vulnerability: The Zambian Air Disaster," 259.

The Buffalo plane had been partly overhauled in September 1991, by Field Aviation; a Canadian based company that maintained the Canadian forces fleets of Buffalo aircrafts.<sup>1011</sup> However, according to the Aviation Safety Network preliminary report, the DHC-5 Buffalo plane registered as AF-319 had a variety of problems prior to embarking on the fateful journey to Senegal. The plane had not flown for four months from December 21, 1992, to April 1993. Technical checks carried out on April 26 revealed that the plane had defects that included “carbon particles in the engine, in speed decreased gearbox oil filters, disconnected or unbridled cables and traces of heating.”<sup>1012</sup> The Network Report further revealed that in an investigation conducted by the Gabonese Ministry of Defense, whose report was eventually released in November 2003, stated that shortly after leaving Libreville, the plane’s left engine failed and the pilot shut down the remaining right engine, which caused the plane to lose power and crash into the ocean. The Gabonese Ministry of Defense also suggested that the pilot was fatigued, having flown the same plane from Mauritius a day earlier.<sup>1013</sup>

A local aircraft engineer expressed doubt about whether the Zambia Air Force made regular checks and replaced parts on their planes as recommended by manufacturers, stressing that maintenance standards in the Zambia Air Force were poor.<sup>1014</sup> Moreover, Buffalo planes had a history of crashing in Zambia. One crashed in July 1984 near Lusaka, killing one Zambia Air Force pilot; another crashed in Ngwerere, a few kilometers from

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<sup>1011</sup> “Was death plane fit to fly?” *The Weekly Post*, 6 May 1993.

<sup>1012</sup> Aviation Safety Network preliminary accident report  
<http://aviationsafety.net/database/record.php?id=19930427-2> (last accessed 20 October 2014)

<sup>1013</sup> Aviation Safety Network preliminary accident report  
<http://aviationsafety.net/database/record.php?id=19930427-2> (last accessed 20 October 2014)

<sup>1014</sup> “Was death plane fit to fly?” *The Weekly Post*, 6 May 1993.

Lusaka, in February 1990, killing all 28 people on board.<sup>1015</sup> At the very least, this evidence points to the poor reliability of Zambia Air Force Buffalo planes.

The Zambian government's final report of the Gabon air disaster was never released to the public. It remains top secret. However, the government's refusal to publish the final report and the secrecy surrounding it seriously hints the report would be damning for the government. Meanwhile, Zambian politicians have turned the Gabon plane crash report into a tool for political campaigns. Candidates for president promise the electorates that they would release the report when voted into power, but none have done so. This is probably because they were either part of the government when the crash happened, or are recycled politicians formerly part of the Chiluba government, or maybe they are too invested in protecting the interests of the State. The government's failure to release the Gabon plane crash investigation report has made it very difficult for fans and relatives of the plane crash victims to have an idea of what caused the deaths of their loved ones. This made it particularly hard for widows and orphans to find a form of closure.

#### REBUILDING THE NATIONAL TEAM AFTER GABON PLANE CRASH

Following the Gabon disaster, there were debates on whether the team should continue with the 1994 World Cup qualifiers. Many people believed it was important for the country to continue as a way of honoring the men who perished in the plane crash. In the end, FAZ announced that Zambia would continue with the remaining matches for the 1994 World Cup. This decision echoed President Chiluba's speech at the burial of the victims at the Independence Stadium: "As we inter the bodies of our dead heroes, we must not burry their

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<sup>1015</sup> Masauntso Mwale, "Are Buffalo planes accident prone?" *The Weekly Post*, 30 April 1993.



hopes and aspirations. Let the torch they carried be carried on by those who live on.”<sup>1016</sup>

Team captain Kalusha Bwalya, who was not on the flight that crashed because he was going to join them in Dakar, Senegal, directly from Holland where he played for PSV Eindhoven, also supported the idea of continuing with both the World Cup and African Cup of Nations campaigns. He asserted that withdrawing from the competitions would be a betrayal of the cause the victims were pursuing.<sup>1017</sup> “We may never be able to put together a team quite like the one we have lost,” Bwalya stated, “but we should carry on.”<sup>1018</sup>

FAZ then asked veteran coach Fred Mwila, then coaching the Botswana national team, to come back and help reconstruct the national team with Boniface Simutowe as his assistant.<sup>1019</sup> Mwila picked a national team that lost its first match against Malawi (0-1) in a friendly on the Copperbelt.<sup>1020</sup>

The government requested assistance from the international community to rebuild the team. The Danish government offered Zambia \$1 million and a six-week training camp in Denmark, all expenses paid.<sup>1021</sup> While in Denmark, Roald Poulsen, paid by the Danish Football Federation, joined the Zambian coaching staff in preparation for the World Cup qualifier against Morocco.<sup>1022</sup> The British government offered to pay for a British coach to join the technical staff.<sup>1023</sup> Former Sunderland FC player Ian Porterfield joined the team for four months.<sup>1024</sup> In addition, the condolences, good will messages, and the emotional

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<sup>1016</sup> Gerald Mulwanda, “We must soldier on: state endorses FAZ decision,” *Times of Zambia*, 4 May 1993.

<sup>1017</sup> “Withdrawing out, says Kalusha,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 May 1993.

<sup>1018</sup> “Withdrawing out, says Kalusha.”

<sup>1019</sup> Dingi Chirwa, “Dennis Liwewe ‘resurrects’ for Zambia’s second coming,” *The Weekly Post*, 15 July

<sup>1020</sup> “Work hard, Mwila tells players,” *Times of Zambia*, 20 May 1993.

<sup>1021</sup> “Work hard, Mwila tells players.”

<sup>1022</sup> “Work hard, Mwila tells players.”

<sup>1023</sup> Davey Sakala, “Britain offers coach,” *Times of Zambia*, 20 May 1993.

<sup>1024</sup> Antony Mukwita and Chris Kachingwe, “Britain assigns coach,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 June 1993.

support that Zambia received after the Gabon disaster from people and institutions around the world showed tremendous human solidarity with the southern African country and the extent to which the game had become a pillar of postcolonial global culture.

Upon return to international play about sixty days after the Gabon plane crash, Zambia beat Morocco 2-1 in a thrilling match at Independence Stadium.<sup>1025</sup> This inspiring performance popularized a local soccer song titled *Iyee! Chipolopolo*. While the first word suggests a kind of surprise, the second word means bullet (warning the opposing team that a bullet would pierce it). Leonard Koloko, a soccer journalist for the *Mining Mirror* and an avid fan of Roan United FC, recalls how the *Chipolopolo* song was omnipresent at local stadiums.<sup>1026</sup> He recalls that the release of the song by Chris Chali's popular *Amayenge Banda* in 1994, and the airplay on radio and during international matches linked *Chipolopolo* to the reconstituted national team. Chali's *Amayenge Band* performed the song at the Independence Stadium a few times thereby helping to make *Chipolopolo* synonymous with the national team. It was soon formally adopted as the new moniker for the national team, replacing "KK XI" associated with President Kaunda's UNIP government.

In the next two matches against Senegal, Chipolopolo won one and drew another and led group B with one match left. Needing only a draw in Morocco, Zambia was on the verge of making history by qualifying for the World Cup finals for the first time.<sup>1027</sup> But in a controversial match at Muhammad V Stadium in Casablanca, Zambia lost 1-0 to the host nation. Zambian fans felt aggrieved by the Gabonese referee Jean Fidel Diramba, whom

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<sup>1025</sup> Chirwa, "Dennis Liwewe 'resurrects' for Zambia's second coming."

<sup>1026</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

<sup>1027</sup> Mulenga Chola, "A point away from America," *The Weekly Post*, 14 October 1993.

they accused of favoring Morocco.<sup>1028</sup> A large crowd of fans marched along Cairo road in Lusaka to the FAZ offices, protesting and denouncing the referee.<sup>1029</sup> The fans demanded a replay against Morocco on the grounds of poor officiating and missile throwing by Moroccan spectators.<sup>1030</sup> (While Diramba might not have officiated the match very well, the anger against him could have also been exacerbated by the fact he was from Gabon, where their entire national team had perished a few months earlier.) FAZ sent an official letter of protest to FIFA citing crowd intimidation and poor refereeing by the Gabonese referee as grounds for a replay against Morocco. Predictably, FIFA dismissed the case for lack of evidence.<sup>1031</sup>

Despite Zambia's failure to qualify for the 1994 World Cup, it reached the 1994 African Cup of Nations final in Tunisia.<sup>1032</sup> FAZ dismissed Fred Mwila as coach of the national team and engaged Ian Porterfield (the former assistant contracted by the British government) to lead Zambia in Tunisia.<sup>1033</sup> As the MMD government's SAP policies continued failing the national economy, Chipolopolo left the country for the tournament without any funds for the players.<sup>1034</sup> FAZ interim Vice-chairperson and national team delegation leader Simataa Simataa revealed that the team even carried bags of maize meal to make sure that the traveling party did not miss their staple food *nsima*.<sup>1035</sup> Simataa

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<sup>1028</sup> Gerald Mulwanda, "Zambia bows out," *Times of Zambia*, 11 October 1993.

<sup>1029</sup> Kondwani Chirambo and Beauty Rupiya, "Irate fans choke Lusaka," *Times of Zambia*, 13 October 1993.

<sup>1030</sup> Chirambo and Rupiya, "Irate fans choke Lusaka."

<sup>1031</sup> Beauty Lupiya, "Now embattled FAZ lodges official protest to FIFA," *Times of Zambia*, 12 October 1993.

<sup>1032</sup> Shapi Shacinda, "Coach picks team for Tunis," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15 March 1994.

<sup>1033</sup> Moses Walubita, "Will golden chance evade Zambia again?" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 15 March 1994.

<sup>1034</sup> Diana Zulu and Shapi Shacinda, "Team on a shoe string budget," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 17 March. 1994.

<sup>1035</sup> Nsima is thick porridge and the main meal in Zambia eaten with soup, vegetables, meat or fish.

insisted that, despite not having money for allowances or bonuses, the team was ready for the competition and FAZ had raised funds for basic necessities.<sup>1036</sup>

The team did astonishingly well in Tunisia. After an opening scoreless draw with Sierra Leone, Zambia defeated the defending champions Ivory Coast (1-0), to reach the semifinals. Chipolopolo crushed Mali 4-0 and lost narrowly (1-2) to mighty Nigeria in the final.<sup>1037</sup> This was a remarkable achievement for the relatively small southern African country only a few months after the Gabon tragedy. The national team received a thunderous welcome home from a huge crowd and President Chiluba at Lusaka Airport.<sup>1038</sup> Each member of the team received \$10,000 (about 8 million Kwacha) for reaching the final. Chiluba also announced that each family of the Gabon plane crash victims was going to receive \$2,000 (3 million Kwacha.) "You deserve to be millionaires because you brought honor and glory to this country," said the elated President Chiluba.<sup>1039</sup>

Once the euphoria subsided, Zambians found themselves still grappling with deep poverty.<sup>1040</sup> As most Chipolopolo players returned to their overseas clubs, the disbandment of certain local clubs was bringing the local league to its knees. For example, Zambia National Provident Fund withdrew its funding for Profound Warriors FC, citing financial problems.<sup>1041</sup> Zamsure FC, sponsored by Zambia State Insurance Corporation, also disappeared. Other companies, such as National Breweries that sponsored the prestigious Chibuku Cup, withdrew sponsorships because of the financial crunch.<sup>1042</sup> FAZ

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<sup>1036</sup> Zulu and Shacinda, "Team on a shoe string budget."

<sup>1037</sup> Chali Kabangafyela, "Zambia misses African Cup," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 11 March 1994.

<sup>1038</sup> Shapi Shacinda, "Nation salutes soccer messiahs: Glorious Zambia!" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12 April 1994.

<sup>1039</sup> Shapi Shacinda, "Nation salutes soccer messiahs: Glorious Zambia!" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 12 April 1994.

<sup>1040</sup> Bwalya Nondo, "2000 workers face uncertain future: NCZ crisis," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 20 April 1994.

<sup>1041</sup> Dorothy Chishimba, "ZNPF ponders players' fate," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19 April 1994.

<sup>1042</sup> Chali Kabangafyela, "Sponsors withdraw!" *Zambia Daily Mail*, 4 May 1994.

General Secretary Adrian Bauleni explained that businesses faced with crippling financial problems struggled to provide sport sponsorships.<sup>1043</sup> As capital exited the game and clubs dissolved, the standards of the game dropped drastically. It marked the end of a generation of players groomed in parastatal corporation soccer programs fostered by Kaunda's UNIP government from the 1970s to the early 1990s. The collapse of local soccer was one of the final effects of the economic crisis.

#### CODA: SPORTS-FOR-DEVELOPMENT NGOS

Zambia became one of the countries that had the largest number of sport-for-development organizations in Africa in the 1990s. Following President Chiluba's implementation of the SAP that led to the withdrawal of parastatal corporation support of soccer and the subsequent collapse of the standards of the game, there was a vacuum of sports service providers in the country. This vacuum led to the emergence of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), loosely referred to as civil society organizations that began to use "sport as a vehicle for broad, sustainable social development" in disadvantaged communities.<sup>1044</sup> Scholars have argued that the "rollback of government assistance in sport in the 1990s paved way for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations" to provide basic social services such as sport and education.<sup>1045</sup> Iain Lindsey and Davies Banda point out that neoliberal ideology among Western governments and international organizations such as the World Bank supported the concept of NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s because there was a perception that "national governments in African

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<sup>1043</sup> Dorothy Chishimba, "ZNPF ponders players' fate," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 19 April 1994.

<sup>1044</sup> Bruce Kidd, "A new social movement: Sport for development and peace," *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, (2008): 370. Neoliberalism is an approach where control of economic factors is shifted from government or public sector to private sector.

<sup>1045</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 124.

countries were both failing and corrupt.”<sup>1046</sup> Therefore, international NGOs were encouraged following the belief that they stimulated democratic principles and were an effective means of making sure that aid was delivered to the poor.<sup>1047</sup>

The first sport-for-development organizations to implement sports programs in the country were local organizations that were formed in the mid-1990s — Sports in Action, formed by Clement Chileshe, and Education Through Sport (EDUSPORT) Foundation, by Oscar Mwaanga.<sup>1048</sup> Later, more regional and transnational sport-for-development organizations such as Sports Coaches Outreach (SCORE) and Right to Play joined the development of sports in country.<sup>1049</sup> The collapse of the economy and the HIV/AIDS pandemic that overwhelmed the country resulted in poverty and in many children failing to have access to formal education. These organizations and other agencies came in and used sports as a means to an end in their implementation of health, education and development programs. In the process of using sport as a tool for development, sport-for-development organizations offered quality sports programs and asserted themselves as major players in the development of football in the country. They emerged as a “main source of player development and talent identification at grassroots level” from the middle of the 1990s.<sup>1050</sup>

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<sup>1046</sup> Iain Lindsey and Davies Banda, “Sport, non-government organizations and the fight against HIV/AIDS,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (2010), 4.

<sup>1047</sup> Lindsey and Banda, “Sport, nongovernment organizations and the fight against HIV/AIDS,” 4.

<sup>1048</sup> Ruth Jeans, Jonathan Magee, Tess Kay and Davies Banda, “Sport for Development in Zambia: The New or not so New Colonialism?” in *Localizing Global Sport for Development* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 132.

<sup>1049</sup> Iain Lindsey and Davies Banda, “Sport, non-governmental organizations and the fight against HIV/AIDS,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, (2010): 6.

<sup>1050</sup> Banda, “Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia,” 212.

Through sport-for-development organizations' sponsorship of community sports programs, another strand emerged within this field that predominantly focused on soccer and came to be known as "community football academies."<sup>1051</sup> These included initiatives such as Chiparamba Football Academy in Lusaka, Afri-Sports on the Copperbelt, and later numerous others. These community initiatives have come to play a critical role in fostering young people's soccer skills and laying a foundation for a new generation of players.<sup>1052</sup>

Lack of support and investment in football has continued even with current governments, which has led to the complete disappearance of mining and municipal council community welfare centers and school sports programs that were the backbone of the game's development, both in the colonial period and during the Kaunda era.<sup>1053</sup> Community and recreation infrastructure that existed in most residential areas has vanished. The areas that were reserved for community welfare and had facilities such as soccer fields and halls have been turned into churches, bars and residential plots. Similarly, sports infrastructure in schools has also disappeared and school sports programs that were flourishing and even had exchange programs with English youth soccer clubs have also disappeared.<sup>1054</sup> While one can attribute this to the collapse of the copper-dependent

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<sup>1051</sup> Banda, "Sport and the multisectoral approach to HIV/AIDS in Zambia," 212.

<sup>1052</sup> Interview with Jeff Malanga, Lusaka, 3 December 2014.

<sup>1053</sup> Report of the Sub-Committee of the Central Native Welfare Advisory Committee, Kitwe, 1945-51, WP; Minutes of the Urban Advisory Council 1945-1947: "Dead Welfare Work in Ndola" 11 April 1946, WP1/1/4 Loc.5271, National Archives of Zambia; Minutes of the Kitwe African Advisory Council: "Africans Have No Confidence in Kitwe area Welfare Officer," 2 August 1951, WP1/1/21 Loc. 5266, National Archives of Zambia; Interview with Abraham Nkole, Mufulira, 11 June 2011; Wam Kwaleyela, "ZCCM's 20 years of sports growth," *Mining Mirror*, 22 October 1984; Eddie Shatembo, "Mine to spend K50 0000 on sport," *Mining Mirror*, 9 January 1976; Minutes of Divisional Coaches meeting held on 5 September 1984, ZCCM 15.1.7E Sports Clubs & Councils, Mining and Industrial Archive Ndola.

<sup>1054</sup> John Musukuma, "Riot Mars Leicester Visit," *Inshila*, 14 June 1968; "Wolves say yes to Zambian tour," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 6 February 1971; "New Castle flew in for big clash" *Times of Zambia*, 25 April 1974.

national economy, it may also point to a lack of prioritization and probably interest in leisure, sports and recreation for the citizens by those in authority.

While a number of clubs have reintroduced youth sports structures, and there are new actors such as the sports-for-development sector and football academies that have taken over the grooming of talented young athletes, these programs cannot match the welfare centers and school sports activities that covered nearly the whole country forty years ago. Above all, new actors such as the sports-for-development football academies have recently been accused of being “too commercialized, hence they rush into selling unripe players to overseas clubs.”<sup>1055</sup> It is believed that, “many NGOs and football academies are producing young footballers for sale in Europe and Asian Markets.”<sup>1056</sup> These factors may have considerably contributed to the collapse of sports standards in the country.

At the time of writing this dissertation, government had continued paying little attention towards grassroots sports programs and infrastructure, other than the men’s senior national team. In 2014, there was a standoff between FAZ and the Women’s national team that just returned from the Africa Women’s Championship in Windhoek Namibia over allowances. Minister of Sport then Chishimba Kambwili put it clearly that “as government we only take care of the senior national team.”<sup>1057</sup> Government’s support for the men’s senior national team can also be seen in the construction of two new soccer stadiums. The Levy Patrick Mwanawasa Stadium on the Copperbelt in Ndola was constructed in 2012 to replace the Dag Hammarskjöld Stadium that was razed in 1986, and the National Heroes

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<sup>1055</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

<sup>1056</sup> Pelle Kvalsund, “Sport Associations vs. Sport for Development NGOS,” *FootballIsComingHome*, 27 March 2015. Online available on: <http://www.footballiscominghome.info/?s=Pelle> (Accessed on: 31 March 2015).

<sup>1057</sup> Diana Mutakafimbo, “Kambwili counsels She-polopolo,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22 October 2014.



Stadium in Lusaka was built to replace the Independence Stadium, which was declared unsafe by FIFA in 2007.<sup>1058</sup>

Meanwhile, many stadiums that were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s and hosted famous soccer clubs such Roan United's Kafubu Stadium in Luanshya, Nchanga Rangers' Nchanga Stadium in Chingola, and City of Lusaka's Woodlands Stadium in Lusaka, are rundown recognition. The poor status of sports infrastructure and lack of grassroots sports structures imply that current politicians are only interested in using the national team to impress the citizens for their own short-term benefit and have no long-term sustainable plans for developing the game like Kaunda did.

This chapter has demonstrated that the most popular sport in the country declined as the economy hit rock bottom. As has been pointed out elsewhere, there may be "no country anywhere in the world that experienced such a calamitous fall in gross domestic product, and it may be argued that the country's history can best be understood as being divided by these events, rather than by the moment of independence."<sup>1059</sup> Chiluba won elections on a promise to adopt neoliberal policies, which undermined both his personal inclination to prop up his favorite sport and to some extent his capacity to use the sport as a symbol of the "success" achieved by his MMD government. Trapped by its own positions and policy decisions, Chiluba's administration could not push privatized corporations to support the game like Kaunda had for nearly three decades.

The government's disinvestment in soccer seemed to culminate in the Gabon air disaster of 1993. Despite the country's efforts to quickly rebuild the national team and

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<sup>1058</sup> Hikabwa Chipande, "China's Stadium Diplomacy: A Zambian Perspective," *FootballIsComingHome*, 30 January 2014, online, available on <http://www.footballiscominghome.info/the-hosts/chinas-stadium-diplomacy-a-zambian-perspective/> (Accessed: 30 March, 2015).

<sup>1059</sup> Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker & Szeftel, "Introduction: Narratives of National hood," 895-905.

emerging as runners-up to Nigeria in the 1994 African Cup of Nations, the Gabon tragedy and subsequent liquidation of companies marked the end of a cohort of talented players groomed in state-supported programs. A number of sport-focused non-governmental organizations and youth academies stepped into the vacuum left by the state, but despite their best intentions could do little to stem the outflow of Zambian players abroad and grow the game at home.

## CONCLUSION

Today, football remains one of the most politically charged aspects of Zambian society. As a sign of the changing times, Chipolopolo's 2012 triumph in the African Cup of Nations—the country's first continental title—as Norwegian Sports Consultant Pelle Kvalsund recently observed, can be attributed less to government involvement and more to strategic leadership, grassroots and NGO initiatives, coaching and long-term development of a few young players coordinated by the country's most celebrated player, Kalusha Bwalya, during his tenure as national team coach in the 2000s and, more recently, as FAZ president.<sup>1060</sup> While sports and recreation departments of government agencies such as the Army, Air Force, National Service, and Police Service have continued operating their own sports programs, the levels of investment are not as high as during the Kaunda era.<sup>1061</sup> Successive post-Kaunda governments also seem to have failed to come up with effective strategies of inspiring private companies to support sports development projects. "I want to warn mining companies," said Minister of Sports Chishimba Kambwili in January 2012, "that if they don't want to sponsor sport we shall be forced to come up with legislation to compel them to pay tax that will go to sport. [. . .] Let them be responsible enough to sponsor sport because we don't want to go to such an extent. Sport is anchored on resources from the mines."<sup>1062</sup>

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<sup>1060</sup> Pelle Kvalsund, "Sports Development—Whose Mandate? National Government or National Sports Associations?" *FootballIsComingHome*, 3 March 2015, online, available at: <http://www.footballiscominghome.info/the-players/sport-development-whose-mandate/> (Accessed: 31 March, 2015).

<sup>1061</sup> Interview with Leonard Koloko, Kitwe, 19 January 2014.

<sup>1062</sup> "Kambwili warns Mining Firms Over Sports," *Lusaka Times*, 17 July 2012, online, available at: <http://www.lusakatimes.com/2012/07/17/kambwili-warns-mining-firms-sports/> (Accessed 2 March, 2015.)

Failure to attract private funding for sports created the perception that recent governments had neither clear strategies nor enthusiasm for sport development outside the men's senior national football team. Government has provided grants to FAZ to pay foreign coaches, players' travel expenses, and match allowances. Just as in the colonial and Kaunda eras, the national team continues to be used as a tool by political elites to garner favor, if not consent, among citizens. At the same time, the current political class seems to fear mishandling Chipolopolo's affairs for its potential negative repercussions at the ballot box. Perhaps this explains why, more than two decades on, the Gabon air crash investigation report has still not been released to the public.

This dissertation has explored the relationship between football, culture, and politics in Zambia, from the Second World War through the aftermath of the first multiparty elections of the postcolonial era. This study has shed new light on the role of the game in the personal and social lives of many ordinary people, and its value as a tool for social control and ideological propaganda by both the British and Zambian governments and by business enterprises, especially the copper mines. In doing so, I have attempted to display multiple, complex, and sometimes contradictory forms of African agency rooted in specific structural conditions and changing cultural contexts.

This research study has revealed how sport and recreation were part of colonial authorities and mine management's plan to control urbanized Africans in the wake of the 1935 and 1940 Copperbelt strikes. The introduction of welfare centers in post-war mining towns emerged as part of a top-down view of sport as an attractive non-coercive means to "detribalize" and appease members of the African mineworkers' union formed in 1949. As seen in chapter 1, local people responded to this initiative by using the newly introduced

leisure amenities and activities to demand additional resources for football in their communities and occasionally use these new structures to rework the application of harsh and discriminatory colonial policies.

Fueled by high copper prices, the first decade of independence was characterized by political and economic stability. President Kenneth Kaunda's government attempted to diversify the copper-dependent economy and invested in infrastructure development, including constructing soccer stadiums in provincial towns. However, the fall of copper prices on the international market in the 1970s plunged the country into a sharp catastrophic economic decline. Rising popular impatience with nationalist politicians' failure to fulfill promises made at independence worried President Kaunda. Fear of discontent and political opposition led to repression and a consolidation of power in the president's hands as seen in Kaunda's declaration of a one party-state in 1972. In many ways, this shift was part of a wider trend of postcolonial African leaders being associated with "mismanagement, patronage, corruption, and authoritarianism."<sup>1063</sup>

Taking a page out of the British colonizers' playbook, Kaunda's government quickly identified the popular sport's value as a tool for nation building and ideological propaganda. Zambia was not the only African nation to do so. Nkrumah in Ghana, Sekou Touré in Guinea, and Joseph Mobutu in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) were among the most prominent political leaders on the continent to use sports to bolster national unity as well as their popularity and power.<sup>1064</sup> In inter-war Europe, dictatorial regimes in Germany and Italy had turned to sport for propaganda purposes, most famously in the

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<sup>1063</sup> Gewald, Hinfelaar & Macola, "Introduction," 2.

<sup>1064</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 58-59.

1936 Olympic Games hosted by Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime in Berlin and the 1934 FIFA World Cup organized by Benito Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy.<sup>1065</sup>

The study has stressed that top-down initiatives, whether by government or commercial companies, have seldom yielded the expected outcomes. As several chapters highlighted (e.g. 1, 5 and 6), ordinary Zambians challenged or rejected both colonial and postcolonial states' agendas. The cultural technology of radio played a key role in popularizing the game across urban and rural social geographies, with announcers like Dennis Liwewe elevating a mere sporting event to an aural spectacle of nationhood. The press also did much to sustain the culture of football, with its relentless coverage of matches, players, and controversies.

The growth of competitive clubs sparked the rise of a vibrant fan culture that absorbed the emotional energies of men and women, particularly on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. These commitments and solidarities produced some fierce rivalries in urban communities that occasionally triggered crowd disorder and even violence. The constant presence of the occult, as seen in the involvement of magicians and sorcerers described in chapter six, further raised the stakes in football competitions. Moreover, miners, *bakaboyi* (domestic workers), civil servants, and other wage earners found the game to be an entertaining and public venue for playing out multiple and competing notions of masculinity. The gendered dynamics of football also meant that women fans struggled for inclusion in an overwhelmingly male domain. But female fans were neither unusual nor passive and some channeled their passion for football into founding the first women's clubs and leagues. Remarkably, animosities and antagonisms temporarily dissolved when

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<sup>1065</sup> Allen Guttman, "Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (2003): 363-375.

Zambia's national team took the field. Like many other fans in Africa and beyond, Zambians willingly set aside their club, regional, or ethnic allegiances for ninety minutes to rally behind the national team, thereby evoking and making visible "the idea of a nation."<sup>1066</sup>

Despite soccer fans' willingness and ability to impose their will in the realm of football, they never had the capacity to reliably fund the game. As a result, colonial and postcolonial governments, as well as mining capital, provided the money to support community welfare centers, amateur teams, and supporters' clubs. The evolving relationship between fans and authorities in Zambia remained very complex and often saw the most passionate supporters reacting sharply whenever they witnessed mismanagement or poor results on the pitch.

By the third decade of freedom, the economic decline continued to undermine Kaunda's increasingly autocratic government, leading to shortages of medicines in hospitals and basic necessities in shops, and food riots in 1986 and 1990. Despite widespread suffering and desperation among the population, Kaunda continued encouraging parastatal corporations to invest in soccer. The Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) formed five professional soccer clubs in 1989, while the national team received scarce public funds to travel to international tournaments like the Olympics and the African Cup of Nations. The one-party state unsuccessfully attempted to use the game to mask poverty, project an image that the situation was not as critical as many claimed, and instill hope in a better future.<sup>1067</sup> Zambians could no longer endure (or tolerate)

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<sup>1066</sup> Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 55.

<sup>1067</sup> "Have no fears KK tells 4 teams," *Time of Zambia*, 3 January 1990; "State backs Pro soccer – Zulu," *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18 December 1989; "ZCCM offers K40m to pro teams," *Times of Zambia*, April 6 1990.

autocratic governance. Bowing to popular demand, the parliament returned the country to multi-party democracy. Frederick Chiluba's MMD party won the 1991 elections and ended Kaunda's and UNIP's twenty-seven years in power. As was shown above, Kaunda's gains in the development of the game were reversed in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the collapse of the economy during the period of austerity dictated by international financial institutions' structural adjustment programs.<sup>1068</sup>

The Chiluba administration's failure to support soccer development was less the result of a lack of personal interest in the game than in the harsh contemporary economic reality. In fact, the president had long been a patron of Nkana Red Devils when he was President of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. The problem for Chiluba was that he had fully committed himself to liberalizing the economy (e.g. privatization) and democratizing institutions in the country. His administration, in other words, had little choice but to fulfill the privatization of the parastatal corporations and avoid Kaunda's penchant for interfering with national sports federations. Nevertheless, from the national tragedy of 1993 to Chipolopolo's resurrection in 1994, Chiluba remained interested in the ways football might help advance his political objectives.

As the first scholarly history of its kind, this work has made at least three contributions to national and African historiography. First, it has built on and extended the new revisionist history that moves beyond UNIP- and Kaunda-centered nationalist readings of the past, challenges canonical categories of "colonial" and "postcolonial" chronology, and features a broader set of Zambian voices and perspectives.<sup>1069</sup> My reliance on oral interviews with players, fans and officials furthered my understanding of complex

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<sup>1068</sup> Rakner, *Political and Economical Liberalization in Zambia 1991- 2001*, 62-63.

<sup>1069</sup> Englund, "Zambia at 50," 671.



and changing relationships at various levels in Zambian society, and also brought out the extent to which many ordinary people genuinely loved the game. Writing in the mid-1970s, historian Terence Ranger's observed correctly that historical work on popular culture is quite adept at revealing experiences, attitudes, expressions and reactions of the masses, particularly the marginalized and silenced.<sup>1070</sup> While far from a hagiographic account, this study also recognized the positive contributions Kaunda's one-party state made towards developing the people's game at both the elite and grassroots levels.

This study's second historiographical contribution is to empirically demonstrate the value of football as a cultural space in which power is contested and where individual, community, and institutional identities come to life. This political and social history has shown how the everyday leisure activities of wage-earning people became an integral part of new social networks Zambians engineered in the mines and towns. The evidence points to the understudied role of football (and sport generally) in uniting urban people of different ethnic and regional backgrounds to establish a common cultural identity.

Last but not least, by exploring football "as a leisure activity [that goes] beyond the players and the field of play,"<sup>1071</sup> this project has sought to enhance our understanding of wider "transformations associated with colonialism, postcolonialism and the development of capitalism" in Africa.<sup>1072</sup> The ample documentary and oral evidence presented in this dissertation in Zambian history neatly illustrates how and why football in Africa is a phenomenon that is both constitutive *and* symbolic of social change.

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<sup>1070</sup> See Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa*.

<sup>1071</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, "Leisure in Africa: An Introduction," 2.

<sup>1072</sup> Akyeampong and Ambler, "Leisure in Africa: An Introduction," 2.

Of course, this dissertation should not be read as a comprehensive history of the game in Zambia. That is simply an impossible task. Future researchers will have to dig through archives and conduct interviews to begin the enormous amount of scholarly work that remains to be done. Some enterprising outputs in recent years suggest paths for future researchers to pursue. Leah Komakoma's ethnographic work on Zambian fans of the English Premier League analyzed how individuals construct their personal identities by watching the league on television and following it on the Internet.<sup>1073</sup> With the Zambian Premier League losing more and more fans to glamorous European clubs, rich research opportunities seem to be available for scholars interested in African agency in cultural globalization and the changing attitudes towards Zambian football. Outside academia, Ngosa Chungu and Juan Rodriguez-Briso (a Zambian and a Spaniard respectively) teamed up to produce "e18hteam," a film about the tragedy and resurrection of Zambia's national team from the 1993 Gabon air crash to the African Cup of Nations triumph in 2012.<sup>1074</sup> The filmmakers creatively use historical methods of interweaving the Chipolopolo story with numerous first-hand accounts of players and administrators, creating a popular history film that makes a suitable resource for teaching the recent history of the game in the country.<sup>1075</sup> Producing films of this nature can be a useful, though not unproblematic, way to reconstruct and present the history of the game to a general audience.

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<sup>1073</sup> Komakoma, "An investigation into the identity among supporters of the English league in Lusaka," 101. On similar trends elsewhere in Africa see, for example, Gerard A. Akindes, "Football Bars: Urban Sub-Saharan Africa's Trans-Local 'stadiums'," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, 15 (2011): 2176-90; Senayon Olaoluwa and Adewole Adejayan, "Thierry Henry as Igwe: Soccer Fandom, Christening and Cultural Passage in Nollywood," *Journal of African Cinemas* 3, 1 (2011): 25-42; Richard Vokes, "Arsenal in Uganda," *Anthropology Today* 26, 3 (June 2010): 10-15.

<sup>1074</sup> Hikabwa Chipande, "Film Review: 'E18team' — Zambia, From Tragedy to Glory," *FootballIsComingHome*, 24 October 2014, <http://www.footballiscominghome.info/video/e18hteam-film-review/> (Accessed 1 March, 2015).

<sup>1075</sup> Chipande, "Film Review: 'E18team'."

Specialists in the academy should consider writing biographies of individuals who made Zambian football history and conduct thoroughly research club histories of Mufulira Wanderers, Nkana Red Devils, Roan United, Nchanga Rangers, Kabwe Warriors, City of Lusaka and Green Buffaloes, among others. As I have shown in this dissertation, neighborhoods and individual people's enthusiasm have been a driving force in entrenching football in Zambian culture and society. Future researchers should look at what the game means to armies of supporters, male and female, workers and students, urban and rural folk, the haves and the have-nots, and how these fans organize themselves, consume the game, and express particular linguistic codes and discourses. While I have touched on the role of women and gender, there is clearly a need for scholarship on women's experiences, memories, and contributions to not just the male version of the sport but the increasingly popular female version as well.

For this kind of academic work to be done, several questions must be raised. Who will fund these research projects? Who will supervise the honors, master's and doctoral dissertations? Do local institutions of higher education realize the intrinsic and extrinsic value of this scholarship? If football has inspired and entranced Zambians for nearly a century, "this fact should in itself already guarantee social scientific interest in it. . . . 'Real' life sports are deeply embedded in society and reflect larger social processes."<sup>1076</sup>

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<sup>1076</sup> Vidacs, "Through the Prism of Sports," 344.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: ARCHIVES CONSULTED

National Archives of Zambia:	Provincial African Sports Reports
	Native Development – Football
	African International Federations
	Independence Stadium
	Sports Policy Matters
	Training Colleges for Sport and Physical Education
	African Housing Area Board Welfare Committees
	Central Native Welfare Advisory Committees
	Urban African Housing Area Board Welfare Committees
	African Welfare Associations
	Recreational Clubs and Grounds
	Contracts: Matero Sports Stadium.
	African Suburbs, Hostels and Welfare Activities
	Recreational Facilities Parks, open spaces and sports grounds.
	Cultural and Sporting activities
	Central Welfare Assistance Committees
	African Sports in General
	Kitwe Playing Fields Association
	National Playing fields Association
	Zambianization Bureau
	Zambianization in the Civil Service

UNIP Archives:

Youth Sport Committee Reports

Youth Sports Committee Confidential Reports.

Youth Sports Committee Communication

UNIP Political and Ideological Education

Zambia Army – Girl Participation in Sport

Mining and Industrial Archives:

Urban African Services Committee Reports

Compound Welfare Officers Annual Reports

Compounds Welfare Monthly Reports

Football Clubs Reports

Football Clubs Correspondence

ZCCM Recreation and Sports Clubs

## APPENDIX B: NEWSPAPERS CONSULTED

*African Eagle*

*African Mail*

*African Life*

*Central African Post*

*Horizon Magazine*

*Inshila*

*Mutende*

*Mining Mirror*

*Mufulira Mirror*

*Mufulira Star*

*Northern News*

*Roan Antelope*

*The Weekly Post*

*Times of Zambia*

*Zambia News*

*Zambia Daily Mail*

## APPENDIX C: INTERVIEWS

Banda, Wilson, Kabunda, June 13, 2012. Ndola.

Bwalya, M. K. Janet. July 18, 2012. Lusaka.

Bwalya, P. Mwila. January 18, 2014. Luanshya.

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Chibwe, Frank. August 20, 2014. Lusaka.

Chilemena, Kaluwe, Marcha. July 16, 2012. Lusaka.

Chiluba, Z. B. Julio. July 25, 2012. Lusaka.

Chipasha, Binwell. January 18, 2014. Luanshya.

Chisanga, M. Elijah. July 24, 2014. Lusaka.

Chisanga, Nkashi. July 2, 2014. Lusaka.

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Janza, Honor. August 24, 2012. Lusaka.

Kaoma, Daniel, July 13, 2012. Lusaka.

Kapata, Regina, Sokone. August 20, 2014. Lusaka.

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Koloko, Leonard. January 19, 2014. Kitwe.

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Lupiya, Alfred. July 24, 2012. Lusaka.

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Makwaza, Dickson. June 12, 2012. Luanshya.

Makwaza, Linos. June 13, 2012. Kitwe.

Mbiya, William (Col.). June 8, 2014. Lusaka.

Mashambe, Peter. October 4, 2008. Ndola.

Msimuko, John. July 28, 2012. Lusaka.

Mtine, Tom. October 10, 2008. Ndola.

Muchimba, Jerry. August 23, 2012. Lusaka.

Mudeene, Dickson. April 20, 2014.

Munsaka, S. Robin. August 24, 2012. Lusaka.

Mukonde, Kaunda. July 23, 2012. Lusaka.

Mukosha, Ronold. June 3, 2012. Kitwe.

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Mutale, Chalwe, Davies. July 27, 2012. Lusaka.

Mulenga, Kate, Wake. February 8, 2014. Lusaka.

Mwanga, Francis. August 20, 2014. Lusaka.

Mwansa, Joseph. January 20, 2014. Kitwe.

Mwape, Bulalo. June 14, 2014. Lusaka.

Nawa, Richie. August 21, 2014. Lusaka.

Mwenya, Aswell. July 3, 2014. Kitwe.

Namukanga, M. Annie. July 14, 2014. Lusaka.

Nkole, Chasala, Abraham. June 11, 2012. Mufulira.

Pensulo, John, Ginger. February 7, 2014. Luanshya.

Phiri, Enala. July 24, 2012. Lusaka.

Phiri, Stephen. July 8, 2012. Lusaka.

Sakala, B. Julius. October 6, 2008. Ndola.

Saileti, Zeddy. June 13, 2012. Kitwe.

Saili, Kape. July 19, 2012. Lusaka.

Shambulo, Lewis. July 24, 2012. Chainda, Lusaka.

Simataa, Simataa. August 1, 2012. Lusaka.

Sindowe, Hanson. January 10, 2014. Lusaka.

Swana, Ram. June 27, 2014. Lusaka.

Tembo, Ben. July 25, 2012. Lusaka.

#### Interviews by Dr. Davies Banda

Dennis, Liwewe. September 3, 2008. Lusaka

Sakala, Julius. September 3, 2008. Lusaka.

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