

Ambivalent Football

An Ethnographic Approach to Postcolonial Player Migration

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Abstract

This thesis is based on data stemming from fieldwork conducted during the spring of 2007, in a professional football club in Lisbon, Portugal. I am interested in how migrant players from the former colonies are included in the local football community. This thesis thus explores the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of Portuguese football. The ethnographic approach led me to an exploration of local manifestations of global migration processes. Foreign players are making their mark on Portuguese football, and have done so since the 1950s, when Eusébio dominated in Portuguese and European competition. Portuguese football is therefore a multicultural football. I view this multiculturalism in the context of Portugal's semi-peripheral geographic position between Europe and her former Atlantic colonies. Due to modernization processes and obligations to the European Union the Portuguese are compelled to enforce their boundaries with their former colonies, at the same time as the ties to Brazil and Portuguese-speaking Africa are an important part of their tradition and history. Hence, there is ambivalence which is a recurring theme in this thesis. I further illustrate how this ambivalence is reflected in the practices and narratives of Portuguese football.

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

The strength of anthropological research lies in the deep involvement of the researcher, in collecting, interpreting and analyzing data. But this involvement also implies bias, and in order to reduce or moderate this bias, I will state a few words about myself and my background. This thesis is in ways a reflection of me and my interests. During my childhood, I lived in different places in my homeland Norway; in Skien, Hammerfest, and Haslum. I have also spent several years in Africa; in the countries Zambia, Mozambique, Swaziland and Angola. I have a migrational background, and I understand how identification and personal histories can be connected to movement. At the same time, football has been a part of my life in all these places, and football is still a part my own repertoire of narrations and practices. These personal factors have guided me to and through this anthropological study of Portuguese-speaking football immigrants in Portugal. Player migration from Africa is especially a polemic issue in modern football, and some refer to it as “human trade” and “slave labour.” Recently, the story concerning Senegalese Mbaye Ba made the front page of *Dagens Næringsliv* (13/05/2008). Mbaye Ba was brought to Norway by an unlicensed agent, and has since lived as an illegal immigrant in different European countries. However, this thesis is not about how player migrants are made victims by the global football economy, but instead how they represent themselves in Portuguese football and society and how they are included in the local community.

First, I want to thank my informants who let me into their worlds. I thank Anne Leseth for insightful and helpful critical comments throughout the whole process of completing this project and thesis. I also want to thank family and friends for all their support. Last but not least, I give my thanks to Katrine for always asking the important questions, and to a special someone for an endless flow of motivation and inspiration.

Introduction

“Man, that fucking negro! That African is so unstable! Come on, get off the pitch!” These words were thrown by a CF Lisboa¹ fan at a CF Lisboa player, Samor,² during a game. The fan was fed up with the player’s poor performances and wanted him off. The funny thing though, is that when Samor scored the winning goal only a few minutes later, the same fan seemed to burst in ecstasy and had nothing but love for Samor and his qualities. This field experience comprises some of the issues that the following thesis will embrace. What struck me here was the fan’s rapid change of attitude toward Samor. First he curses Samor because of his poor displays, referring to him as an unstable African. Then, when Samor scores, he is applauded as a local hero. Samor is a Luso-African immigrant, i.e. a Portuguese-speaking immigrant from the former African colony Cape Verde. In this thesis, I explore how lusophone (Portuguese speaking) football immigrants are perceived – both by themselves and by others – in Portuguese football and society.

The Football Field

It is not the inviting green rectangular patch of grass that is this project’s field of study, although that is certainly the place from which this ethnographer’s interest for football originates. Like many others, I have played *o jogo bonito* (the beautiful game) since childhood, and my passion for football is what drives me to ignore a deteriorating anatomy and still play on a fairly regular basis. But the joys of football are not restricted to the players who perform on the pitch; people share football experiences in many other settings, such as at work or at the local bar, through acts of lively observation or commenting of the game. It is possible to engage in what Geertz (1973) called “deep play” without ever touching the grass. This builds and expands football’s appeal to include both athletes and other kinds of participants. It is the people involved in the game that are the subjects of my research, with a particular emphasis on migrant players in Portuguese football. In many ways, football

¹ Clube de Futebol de Lisboa is the name I have given the Lisbon club in which I did my fieldwork.

² Samor is a pseudonym. All informants in this thesis are made anonymous.

represents a world of movement. Players and managers move to new clubs locally, regionally, nationally and internationally, and teams continually move to play other teams. The game itself is a theatrical spectacle of movements. And this thesis is a tale of how these movements are fixed and perceived in the local context. In my approach to transnational football migration, I draw on data from different sources and a variety of actors involved in the production of the game are considered as potential sources. They include sports journalists, football researchers, fans, coaches, club administrators and other club employees, in addition to players. These different actors offer pertinent perspectives, and contribute to the general commenting and narration of the game. Their insights will be assembled and applied to this eclectic presentation of Portuguese football. Due to colonial and migrational history, African and Brazilian players have been a salient presence in Portuguese football since the 1950's. In this thesis, I argue that this makes Portuguese football a mixed hybrid, or creole, entity. Hybridity is mixture and the possible transgression of the boundary between "Us" and "Other" (Archetti, 1999: 24).³

Academic Writings

Today, much writing on the football field analyzes the patterns of international movements of people and capital in the game. Two influential works on sports migration are *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World*, edited by Bale and Maguire (1994) and *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies*, edited by J.A. Mangan (2001). Bale and Maguire argue for viewing the sports migration issue within the context of globalization, and thus for analyzing sports migration in the context of global systems. They state that implementing theoretical perspectives such as neo-imperialism, dependency theory and Wallerstein's world systems theory can yield valuable insights to the understanding of sports labour migration (Bale and Maguire, 1994: 15). Neo-imperialism or neo-colonialism describes a maintained economic control resembling the colonial relationship that has survived decolonization (Nkrumah, 1965). Dependency theory is similar to neo-colonialism, but argues that the global capitalist system operates actively to under-develop the third world (Bale and Maguire, 1994: 14). World systems theory is associated with Wallerstein and refers to a world system of commerce and communication that enriches core capitalist

³ For a fuller description of how hybridity has been perceived and used in the social sciences, see Papastergiadis (1997).

countries and impoverishes peripheral countries at the outer edge of the world economy (Bale and Maguire, 1994: 15).

What these perspectives have in common, is that they outline a situation of exploitation, where Western European states use their superior economic resources to drain more peripheral states for skilled labour, leading to the development of the core states and the underdevelopment of the peripheral states. In “The New Scramble for Africa,” Darby (2001) follows this path of thinking, writing that Wallerstein’s work and its application to Afro-European relations has a clear relevance to modern football (Darby, 2001: 235). These works contribute to the conceptualization and imagining of the world as asymmetrically integrated, where the West benefits from trading with the poorer third world countries. Although there is much truth to these perspectives, I believe that they need to be complemented by an approach that takes into account the subjective stories of the actors involved. Works which focus on grand processes are necessarily simplistic and reductive, as they aim to present diverse data in clear-cut descriptions. The autonomous voices and choices of the study subjects, the migrants, in such presentations are often omitted. I want to highlight their voices, and I hope my alternative deeper approach can offer some new and refreshing insights. My approach is also complementary of those above, as it investigates how the migrants are received and integrated in the host society.

Another approach to football is viewing the game as a ritual arena, comparing football to religion (Morris, 1981; Bromberger, 1995). Such works explore how football as ritual reflects and expresses social meaning and solidarity. However, these explorations are often made amongst the football fandom, and how spectatorship in French ethnologist Bromberger’s terms can be conceived as a total spectacle (Bromberger, 1995: 298). In this approach, the ritualized practices of the fans are in focus, while I will concentrate more on the players’ practices. My contribution will thus be a combination of the approaches above; I will study the positions of lusophone football migrants in the Portuguese game, and explore the implications of their presence in Portuguese football. I am interested in how football migrants are included in, and made an integral part of, the Portuguese “soccer tribe” (Morris, 1981). I also see football migration in light of colonial history, and consider the relevance of history for the inclusion of lusophone migrants.

The Argument: Research Question, Context and Theory

Research Question

How do lusophone immigrants in Portugal represent and perceive themselves in Portuguese football and society, and how are they represented and perceived by the Portuguese majority?

This thesis is concerned with representations of identity in postcolonial Portugal. While postcolonial theorists have written extensively about formation of hybrid and creole phenomena in formerly colonized countries (see Stewart, 2007), I write about the creolized Imperialist. I argue that colonial history is both commemorated and forgotten (Billig, 1995), and that this makes identity formation in Portugal a complex issue.

Context and Theory

Richard Handler (1994) has asked whether “identity” is a useful cross-cultural concept, and I actually believe that it can be. However, Handler makes two important points. First, Handler states that the term identity has escaped scrutiny, and that it is consistently used as a reifying concept by social scientists (Handler, 1994: 27). And second, he argues that instead of writing exclusively about the “invention” of minority cultures and identities, social scientists should focus on how the majority itself is reconstructed as a homogeneous entity (Handler, 1994: 38). In response to Handler’s first point, I use the concept of identity as part of an identification process. In this thesis, I am concerned with social identity, which is constituted situationally and “publicly negotiated and objectified by social actors in relation to their imagined audiences” (Werbner, 1996: 92).⁴ Social identification, in classifying oneself as “Portuguese,” “Angolan” or “a CF Lisboa player” is used to orient oneself in relation to other individuals, as either the same or different. My thesis also resonates with Handler’s second proposal, as I investigate the minority in context of the majority’s formation of cultural identity. I explore how the Portuguese majority’s inclusion and exclusion of lusophone minorities is connected to the majority’s own problematic reproduction of themselves as a homogeneous cultural category.

⁴ Pnina Werbner has written extensively about British postcolonial spaces (Werbner, 1996; 1997a; 1997b), and her concepts will be drawn upon throughout the thesis.

Said (1978) writes in *Orientalism* that the West, including Western writers, has contributed to construing a romantic and exotic picture of the Oriental “Other.” And he writes that in identifying “European” in contrast to “Oriental,” the European becomes intimately connected to the Oriental: “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (Said, 1978: 3). This making of “Us” and “Other” then becomes a complex and ambivalent process. Borneman and Fowler (1997) write that the process of identification is always ambivalent: “Identifications are always marked by a fascination with the possibility of resembling or, in the extreme, replacing the Other and alternately by a fear of one’s need for this Other and of what is at stake in acknowledging resemblance or replacement” (Borneman and Fowler, 1997: 493). The ambivalence, fear and fascination, is particularly strong in the case of Portuguese football, as the “Other” as mentioned constitutes a prominent part of Portuguese football. Both Mario Coluna and Eusébio⁵ from Mozambique were outstanding and popular players for the club Benfica and for the national team in the 1950s and 1960s. Many have since followed in their path. The long influence of African and Brazilian players contributes to the creation of a creole football, a football of mixture. Portuguese football can be seen as a contact zone between different national, ethnic and class identities, and in this sense constitutes a hybrid and ambivalent space (Friedman, 2003: 24; Werbner, 1997a: 16). In this thesis, we see how the actors involved in Portuguese football deal with this ambivalence.

The ambivalence of identification is increased in the Portuguese case due to what Boaventura dos Santos (1994) calls Portugal’s semi-peripheral position in the world system between centre and periphery (Santos, 1994: 135). According to Santos, Portuguese culture is a “border culture” that, due to its semi-peripheral position, fell outside the modern nationalist project that the European centre participated in during the nineteenth century, and further that “in symbolic terms, Portugal was too close to its colonies to be fully European and too far from Europe to be a true colonizer” (Santos, 1994: 133). In a similar vein, and inspired by Santos, Portuguese sociologist Coelho (1998) has written that the Portuguese were the only Europeans who saw their colonized subjects as primitive barbarians, while at the same time they were seen in the same way by other Europeans (Coelho, 1998: 163). Coelho explicitly adds that Portugal “is a hybrid zone where we are the European and the

⁵ Eusébio is granted more attention in chapter four.

exotic, the centre and the periphery, the rich and the poor” (Coelho, 1998: 163). The implication of this ambivalence for the lusophone migrants is that they are both included and excluded. If Portuguese are European and central, then they are different, but if Portuguese are hybrid and peripheral, then they are same. I explore how lusophone migrants are integrated and differentiated through their participation in Portuguese football. I also show that in Portuguese football, lusophone migrants can be labelled as both “Portuguese” and “foreigner.”

Portuguese anthropologist Almeida (2002) writes that in discourses of Portuguese nationhood, the present rhetoric on hybridity as part of postcolonial multiculturalism clashes with the return of “race” in policies of nationality and citizenship, and in politics of representation (Almeida, 2002: 182). The brief sequence that introduced this thesis shows this clash, as the fan shifted between embracing a harmonious multicultural community and practicing racial differentiation. I consider this as an instance of what Friedman (2003) calls “the dialectic of hybridization and indigenization” (Friedman, 2003: 18). Friedman states that globalization leads to the decline of state hegemony and to cultural fragmentation (Friedman, 2003: 7). Due to globalization, transnational obligations to the EU, as well as aims for economic growth and development, the Portuguese state is outlining more restrictive immigration policies. These drives collide with the ideal image of a hybrid multicultural Portugal. This subsequently leads to a dialectic alternating between hybridization – in embracing the multicultural heritage – and indigenization – in the rooting of Portuguese ethnic identity. Lusophone migrants also take part in this dialectic, as they also take part in Portuguese nationhood. They shift between identifying with hybrid Portugal and identifying with their rooted foreign ethnicity.

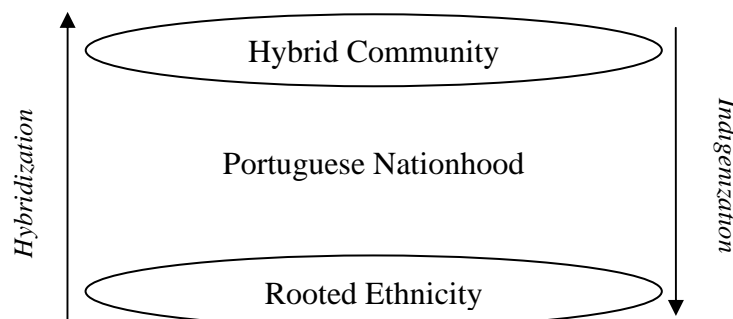


Figure 1: Friedman's dialectic modified to the Portuguese context.

This thesis is about the dialectic relationship between movement and fixity, and focuses on how subjects are fixed, perceived and represented by others and by themselves in their moving through Portuguese football and society (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 21). I argue that how the minority is perceived by the majority is dependent upon how the majority perceives itself. The fundamental political questions for the majority are: “Are we an open multicultural society or a demarcated modern European nation-state?” and/or: “Can we be both?” Such political questions have implications for how people play out their daily lives, and I am interested in how these contrasting views, and what I call ambivalence, are reflected in the practices and narrations of Portuguese football. Thus, I view these practices and narrations in the context of three dialectics: the dialectic of movement and fixity, the dialectic of hybridization and indigenization and the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion.

Thesis Outline

In chapter one, I describe how I approached and demarcated the field. In order to collect ethnographic data, and apply anthropological methods, I had to find and conceptualize my “village.” In chapter two, I introduce the different masculinities of Portuguese football, and show how these are both related to and are different from each other. I show that identification, and the fixing of moving bodies, is a flexible and contested process. People are fixed both by themselves and others, and they are fixed through the telling of stories and narratives (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 29). Chapter three describes football styles, and how these are part of the football narration. On the one hand, I show that football styles provide a basis for differentiation, in connoting football abilities to ethnic stereotypes and “racial” explanations. On the other, in viewing football styles as embodied “incorporated practices” (Connerton, 1989: 73), I explicate how different styles are made part of and reproduced in the hybrid category of “the Portuguese style.” In chapter four, I investigate racist expressions in the Portuguese game, and show how these can be taken as indicators of racist attitudes. I also illustrate how racist attitudes, and attitudes toward racism, are connected to masculinity and past history. In the fifth and final chapter, I take a critical stance on the assumption that football contributes to the inclusion of foreigners and the creation of tolerance. I use examples from the field, looking at mundane and more ritualized aspects, to explain how I consider the game to be inclusive.

Chapter 1: Delimitation of Field and Method

Conceptualizing the Field: Conducting Fieldwork in an Urban Metropolis

The Arrival: Entering Lisbon

I arrived in Lisbon in mid-February, to a city bathing in sunshine, full of human life, noise and commotion. The cold weather did not stay behind back in Norway, but was a salient presence in Portugal as well, in sharp contrast to the inner warm rush I had from meeting my new home environment. To me, this rush felt to some extent like a culture shock, an experience that opposes reigning attitudes in anthropology that culture shocks are limited to first meetings with the more traditional African village sites. I believe the act of entering a new setting, whether it is a continent, or merely a block away from your home, can potentially represent a drastic difference in culture. I had just embarked on a quest to learn about the local and migrant cultures of Portugal.

The climate in Portugal was actually quite rough, with hard winds and chilly air flowing in from the Atlantic. It was the capital's Atlantic location at the south-western tip of Europe, connecting the Iberian Peninsula to Africa and the Americas, which inspired pioneers like Vasco da Gama to explore distant seas and lands in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese empire has encompassed Brazil in America, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Guinea Bissau in Africa, as well as Goa, Macau and East Timor in Asia. In most of these countries, Portuguese remains the official language. The area of Lisbon has long been a city of movement and trade, and migratory streams are part of her rich history. Lisbon has been inhabited by a diverse group of peoples; the city has been home to Iberians, Celts, Romans, Barbarians and Moors. History was proudly presented in modern Portugal, through well-preserved buildings, churches, mosques, statues, plaques and monuments. Lisbon was truly an eclectic city, rich in contrasts, where the new blended in with the old. Natural topography, in the form of hills, helped divide the city centre into distinct areas - the trendy high city to the west; the old Moorish Alfama to the east, that survived the earthquake in 1755; and the modern downtown in between that was designed largely by the Marquis of

Pombal post-1755. My thesis will focus on the diversity of the Portuguese populace, and the ways in which history reflects itself in the images and imaging of Portuguese citizens.

Finding the Field: Discovering Clube de Futebol de Lisboa

An urban environment such as the one I encountered in Portugal, did offer some challenges to the fieldwork process. Modern cities are complex landscapes, and I found it hard to find my way around Lisbon in the beginning. My goal upon arrival was to identify and locate a set of relevant clubs, and thus select one of them as my primary focus. The criteria on which I based my search, were first, that the clubs had a substantial proportion of migrant players with links to former Portuguese colonies, and second, that the club(s) would grant me a fair amount of access. In my experience, the most professional clubs were the most likely to either deny or restrict access to researchers, therefore I decided to seek out clubs at the second or third level. Attaining information about local clubs was a struggle, as the particular information that I was after, such as the nationalities of the teams' players, was not available on the clubs' websites. I also sought information at both a local (Lisbon Football Association) and a national (Football Federation of Portugal) football organization, but these were bureaucratic creatures that did not give out such details lightly. They required formal letters of request and also needed time to consider such requests. So instead I decided to seek out the clubs on foot and make contact in person. This hands-on approach was more successful. The first club I visited, which was the club located closest to my rented apartment, actually became my primary site of data collecting.

In the thesis, the club is named CF Lisboa. Prior to visiting the actual club, I went to see the club newspaper's offices where I learned that they had several foreign players. Talking to the club administration and thus gaining access was relatively unproblematic, as I was instantly welcomed by the senior team's technical director. To me, the process up to this point was quite straining, and I was ecstatic to be able to commence collecting real data. In addition to having a senior team in the third division, the club ran a football academy, and organized teams in basketball and *futsal* (indoor football). CF Lisboa was an old club, founded in the early 1940s, and the stadium showed its age. The club had won the second and the third divisions, and had also appeared in the national cup final. They also had twenty-four seasons in the first division, though the last time was "back in the day."

The Community

Traditionally, the club was intertwined with a local working class community which largely drew on workers and values of a local factory. This factory was eventually closed down, and the club lost much of its support in the process. However, many of those who were involved in the running of the club on a daily basis had lived since those old times, and they contributed in their own way to the remembering and reproduction of traditional values. To me, this is a central aspect of history; that it is not only recorded in written texts, but also in the lives and memories of the people who have lived through it. Society is in this way reproduced through personal memory (Connerton, 1989). Players and others who were new to the club, had to adapt to the hegemonic values of that particular club culture. When it came to players, those who most embodied the conception of the working class male were the most likely to be welcomed by the club's inner circle. Working class traits such as a rugged demeanour, a tough physique, and a hard-working and loyal attitude were seen as desirable player characteristics. The impact of the club *ethos* and morale on player inclusion is discussed later in the thesis.

The club was located in the eastern part of central Lisbon, an area that was once synonymous with industry. Now the factories were absent, and apartment buildings defined the landscape. Here too, contrasts were stark; old traditional *tascas* were located next door to modern coffee bars, and new apartment complexes were raised amidst abandoned ruins. The local neighbourhoods were at once changing and staying the same, struggling to keep up with the demands of modern society. Central Lisbon seemed to be slowly evolving into a modern city, drawing on capital from finance and tourism, but this financial growth was not ubiquitous. Old buildings and ruins were still to be found throughout the city. This illustrates the selective dynamics of modernization, growth and development, and that there may be exceptions to these processes in modern societies (Ong, 2006).

The Place and the People

The club arena and the adjacent office buildings showed their age, and the exterior white coat of paint was greyish and worn down. This was a rather underprivileged organization, and not the wealthy sports corporation that most football players dream of entering. But this more moderate setting is perhaps the one most players are situated in, and where they try to sustain life by practicing the football craft. CF Lisboa was a professional club, but wages

were not high, and the organization would not survive without the efforts of volunteers. The following is extracted from a fieldnote describing my first impressions of the place:

I sensed a distinct smell at the stadium. A smell that enhanced what my other senses were telling me. The stadium was telling me a story, its story, and the story about all the people that have passed through here and in their own way left their mark behind, as players, fans or employees. I could feel the soul of the stadium, if that is at all possible. It resonated within me. The experience brought back familiar sentiments that I have shared with other football stadiums (Fieldnotes).

Experiencing the field brought back nostalgic feelings that originate from my own history, and these memories helped me to understand and resonate with the field. My anthropological focus is not merely directed at a specific phenomenon or at a particular group of people. I will focus on communication and connectedness between separate groups of people, between people and social phenomena, and between people and places. Those who participate in a particular location inherently form an intercommunicative bond with this site as a place, as a place of meanings and contexts.

The club administration was headed by the Club President, who had the Vice President directly under him. Then there was a division between the sports departments, which again were divided into separate teams. The secretariat served the club as a whole, and assisted the administration and the different departments. Each team had a technical director who dealt with the practical matters, a head coach who was responsible for the team's achievements, and one or more assistant coaches. The first team, with which I had the most contact, had a technical director (Jorge, who became one of my most important informants), one head coach, and two assistant coaches. The practice sessions were led by the three coaches; the head organized and supervised the session while the two assistants executed the different exercises with the players. The squad consisted of twenty-four players of which eight had origins in former African and Brazilian colonies. Three players were born in Angola, one in Mozambique, another in Cape Verde, and three were from Brazil. The proportion of foreign talent constituted a minority, which on the one hand limited the number of foreign informants. On the other hand, this enabled me to study foreign players in the minority position that was their reality in Portuguese society.

CF Lisboa was, as mentioned, the organizer of a variety of sports activities, with teams in basketball, *futsal* and football. The athletes varied in age from seven-year old children to forty-year-old adults. The club orchestrated practices in all three sports, but the major focus was undoubtedly on football. The football academy organized training sessions for all the youth teams each day, and the synthetic turf training pitch was packed from six until ten o'clock in the evening from Monday until Friday. Players with ties to former Portuguese colonies were spread throughout the club at all levels. The administration and staff, though, consisted largely of ethnic Portuguese, with the exception of a few Brazilian youth coaches. The club gave the impression of being a prototypic Portuguese club which took pride in playing football "*a maneira português*" (the Portuguese way). But the club was definitely influenced by foreign players, who were an integral part of the organization and contributed to the club's daily football activities. From my perspective, CF Lisboa thus presented a suitable place in which to base an investigation on the field of lusophone football migration.

The People – Key Informants

I now want to introduce my most important informants, who through their time and patience gave me the opportunity to learn about their lives and situations in Portugal. These are the people who we will follow and draw upon throughout the whole story.

Jorge

The first person to share his knowledge of Portuguese football with me was Jorge. He was the technical director of CF Lisboa, and offered me an endless amount of help and patience. Jorge was forty-eight years old, and had the grey hair to prove it. He had always struck me as a typical Portuguese; he was rather short and stocky, with dark hair blended in with the grey, and a distinct moustache that matched. He spoke fast and often about anything that had to do with football, and even faster when it came to something concerning his dear club CF Lisboa. He had two children, one young boy named Vitor and an adult daughter named Vitoria. Vitoria was married and the mother to Jorge's only grandchild, Matilda. Vitor played for one of CF Lisboa's youth teams, while Vitoria worked in the club secretariat. Jorge had worked for the club for more than twenty years, and was a consistent presence in the club ambience. He came to work at nine in the morning, and stayed until approximately nine in the evening. His workplace was his office, which was visited by co-workers and friends throughout the day, and the other club arenas. He watched all the first team's

trainings and matches, almost all youth games, as well as most youth trainings that took place on the synthetic pitch. He lived with his wife and child nearby the stadium in an old apartment, which he had lived in since his late twenties. His tasks at FC Lisbon were to handle the practical end of running a team in the Portuguese league system, and answering to needs of players, coaches and the administration.

Lua

Lua was from Brazil and a member of the first team. He was dark skinned, but not black. He shaved his head, and had a thoroughly trained body. He was approximately one meter and seventy centimetres tall, and slightly bowlegged. As a player he had overall good technique and skill, and mastered any midfield position, although he preferred an offensive role. He was twenty-nine years old, and had spent most of his playing career in Portuguese football. He was brought to Portugal by a well-known agent, who discovered him in Brazil when he was only twenty. He remembered vividly the difficult times he experienced when he first arrived in Portugal, when he was young and lonely, and abroad for the first time in his life. But he was clear on the fact that it was his own choice to migrate. He was also very fond of Portugal, expressing that he felt at home here. He had a Portuguese wife with whom he had a child, a little boy named Immanuel. They lived together in an apartment twenty minutes from the stadium by car, and he drove to practice every day. He had a professional approach to football, and when he got an injury to his knee, he trained alternatively for several hours every day in the gym on his own. When I asked if he was disappointed about getting injured and missing out on the final games of the season, he put on a smile and replied: “Sure, but these things happen, don’t they?” (Fieldnotes). It was clearly not his first injury, and he saw it as an inherent part of playing football professionally. His statement can also be read as an expression of “Brazilian-ness” – he handled the situation with calm, accepting the injury without letting it agitate him. Lua told me that having a laid-back attitude to life and life’s obstacles was part of the Brazilian lifestyle and identity. He added that a typical Brazilian is playful, social and extroverted, traits which are also evident in the Brazilian football style. In this sense, his behaviour resonated with how he perceived and explained a Brazilian should be. Such narratives as constructions of self and identity are an important aspect of this thesis. Lua further ran a marketing business together with his wife, which he planned to dedicate more time to once his football career was over. He was also a dedicated Catholic, and actually dreamt of becoming a priest in the future.

Leandro

Leandro was a towering figure, tall, dark and strong. He had a full head of hair, giving form to a typical Afro hairdo. He was thirty-one, and a dark black ethnic Angolan. He came to Portugal on his own when he was twenty-two years old. He had shaped his own career in football, starting in the lower leagues in Portugal, and working his way up the system. He was a striker who combined fine technique with brute force, and he had an evident flair in his game. When he gave his all on the pitch, he had the potential to inspire and excite both his team and his fans. However, he was also perceived as capable of quite mediocre performances, and some considered him an unstable player. Leandro lived with his wife in the northern outskirts of Lisbon, in an area with a substantial proportion of African immigrants. He had a few aunts who lived nearby his house. The family was central in his coming to Portugal, as he had relatives who had lived here for many years before he came over. They helped him to establish himself in Portugal, and aided him in getting a job in construction. Aware of his talent, he pursued a football career and eventually got a contract in a semi-professional club. Leandro has since played professionally for a number of clubs in the Lisbon area, all in the second or third divisions. These divisions are home to most of Portugal's professional and semi-professional players, of whom many have a second job in order to make ends meet. Leandro's family and friends in Portugal helped each other when it is needed in daily life, forming a supportive social network.

Samor

Samor was an eighteen-year-old junior player from Cape Verde. He was an important part of the junior team, dominating in the attack with speed, technique and physical strength. He was a typical striker, tall and slender, with the ability to score goals with either his head or his feet. When I met him, he had been at CF Lisboa for one year, and he had come from a small club in the eastern part of the city. Many of his football playing years were spent outside the realm of organized football; he was actually excluded from organized football due to his foreign nationality. The old regulations that determined the number of foreign players on a given team made it difficult for him to enter a new team, seeing that they often already had their allotted quota of foreign players. Samor learnt the football craft by playing with friends and cousins in the streets and by playing *futsal* on pavement courts. Samor was always playing football during his childhood, and in time he also participated in minor *futsal* tournaments. However, it was football he wanted to play, so he kept at it until a team was

willing to take him in. Samor lived with his parents and his two sisters in an impoverished area in Eastern Lisbon – they lived in *o bairro*, a clandestine shanty-town consisting mainly of shacks and rundown housing. All of the inhabitants in this particular city district were African immigrants, and it was a lively environment, where everyone hung around outside in the streets most of the day. Samor did see problems in living there, such as car thefts and noisy nights, but he also saw the appeal in the neighbourhood's atmosphere.

Fieldwork Methodology

In the initial fieldwork period, I spent much time learning to navigate in the new “exotic” landscape. But all first approaches and movements were also strategic in the sense that they were influenced by my theoretical perspectives and goals. One of the characteristics of qualitative methods is the interplay between theory, method and collected data (Wadel, 1991). Finding a club which had a fair proportion of foreign players was essential as they were my primary subjects of study, as formulated in my research question. In this section, I want to describe my methodical approaches and also, how field experiences offered insights on what had to be included in the project. The problem of identity labels as indicators of ethnic and national backgrounds early came to the foreground, as it seemed impossible to find a club with Luso-African and Brazilian players. It was difficult because almost all players in the Lisbon area on whom I had information were “Portuguese on paper,” and labelled with Portuguese nationality. However, I only had information on teams in the higher leagues, and I assumed that the number of foreign players would be greater in the lower divisions. When I gained additional information about the respective “Portuguese” players I also discovered that many were actually born in foreign countries, such as Cape Verde, Brazil, or Angola, but had since taken Portuguese citizenship. This highlighted the complexity of nationality categories in modern society, and showed me that place of birth is not determinative of nationality.

The more day-to-day fieldwork routine came into play when I started frequenting the stadium of CF Lisboa and the activities there. Here I shall give a brief presentation of the methods used in the fieldwork process and the types of data that they generated. I used a variety of methods in order to strengthen the whole research project. As Stewart (1998) writes, “the use of multiple modes of data collection – or triangulation – is an important

tactic in the service of veracity” (Stewart, 1998: 28). Triangulation of methods is a vital device to strengthen the validity of a project because no one type of data or data collection is flawless.

Methodological Roles and Tools

Participant Observation

Participant observation is considered as the one method that defines our science, and holds a pivotal role in anthropological research. Participant observation is to observe while taking part in the field’s activities. My participant observation was mostly conducted at the first team’s training sessions, where I observed the trainings and talked to different people involved in the club. I talked to players before and after training, or even during the training, if they were injured. This act of observation allowed me to see the players in interaction with each other and with the coaches. There was no apparent differentiation between Portuguese and foreign players, quite to the contrary, the team seemed a homogeneous and well-integrated group. There were few apparent conflicts, and when situations did arise on the pitch, players were quick to shake hands and make friends again. A challenge to my participant observation of trainings was to be participant as well as observer. Ideally, ethnographic participant observation should balance the two (Bernard, 2006: 347). With aspirations to achieve a greater balance, I started working out at the club’s gym, where I could take a stronger part in the interaction and converse more with the players. This worked out well, and I felt that it helped me build a trusting and more natural presence in the club setting. The club became my main arena for participant observation during my time in Portugal. However, I was never completely out of the field, as I considered phenomena observed outside the club as potentially pertinent to my research. In this respect, I extended the concept of field to be valid in all aspects of Portuguese society. The experience of multiple contexts is also a strategy to “learn culture,” as culture is not a homogeneous entity (Stewart, 1998: 25). Hence, I kept my eyes open while participating in other social arenas such as cafés and restaurants, and was careful to take notes when I registered something of interest. For instance, while dining with friends at Lisbon’s restaurants, I noted that almost all restaurants and cafés showed football matches, revealing the ubiquity of football in Portuguese society.

Semi-structured and Unstructured Interviewing

The interview styles that I used to collect data were semi-structured and unstructured. The semi-structured interviews were the most formal, where I had a prepared design with individual questions and topics that I wished to cover. Unstructured interviewing has a looser form and is more flexible (Bernard, 2006: 210). I carried out unstructured interviews with players and other people in the club's settings, either at the training field or in the gym. Semi-structured interviews were both done at the club and at players' homes. Interviewing people in their homes gave a deeper insight into how they lived their lives, and offered another relevant arena. Most interviews were not intimately scheduled, and therefore only recorded in the format of fieldnotes. A few interviews, the most structured, were recorded digitally. Digitally recorded interviews offered the possibility of finding patterns of speech, which are visible in the narrations depicted in chapter two. Interviews provided a platform for discussing topics that were more private, and that did not surface in general conversation. In the interview context, I learned informants' life histories, and their experiences in Portuguese football and society. Interviews also provided me with an opportunity to probe and get more data on subjects that I was most interested in, for instance whether foreign informants had experienced racism in Portugal.

Exploring Written Text

A fruitful method that offered knowledge about general attitudes in Portuguese society concerning foreign players was to study articles in the popular sports newspaper *Abola*. This research was done at the archives of this particular newspaper which also gave access to articles in some other journals. In this thesis, I draw on data from *Abola*, which offers extensive coverage of Portuguese sports and football. Football is by most people considered the national game of Portugal, and is seen as an omnipresent social phenomenon (Coelho, 1998). In studying *Abola's* texts, I became more interested in the issue of racism. The field influenced the further direction of my research, especially when I discovered discrepancies in comparing newspaper articles on racism to what my informants told me. Briefly put, journalists seemed to think that Portuguese football was free of racism, while two of my informants, Samor from Cape Verde and Lua from Brazil, both expressed that they had experienced racism in Portuguese football. This discrepancy and more is discussed in chapter four. I believe that treating written texts as empirical data can be rewarding. In this thesis, I want to consider news articles and other texts, such as sociological writings, as data,

and to integrate these in my analysis. Like Archetti (1999), I wish to combine traditional fieldwork and orality with textual analysis (Archetti, 1999: xii). Archetti (1994) writes elsewhere that identities may be created and re-created through writing and reading and that “any literary product is not only a substantive part of the real world but also a key element in the configuration of the world itself” (Archetti, 1994: 5). Following this line of thinking, I want to explore how written cultural texts narrate and reproduce Portuguese football.

Sports newspapers are an important actor in educating the Portuguese populace on football-related issues. The national significance of football implies that football is intimately linked to conceptualization of the nation. Anderson (1983) writes that the consumption of the morning paper can be seen as a mass ceremony that is part of the state’s daily practices as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983: 35). I believe that these newspapers make a solid contribution to the production of Portuguese football, and that football takes part in the imagining of the Portuguese nation. Journalists write articles about topics that they believe concern and preoccupy the readers. And the readers in this case represent a major proportion of all Portuguese males. Attitudes and views that are inferable from newspaper articles could then be extended to express hegemonic concerns or attitudes among the Portuguese population. An analysis of how foreign players were represented in the media could thereby give an indication of how foreign players were viewed by people in general society. Formation of nationhood is a topic that revealed its relevance after the reading of texts in the field, and that seemed unavoidable if I were to get a grip on identity formation in Portugal.

Reflective Note

Frøystad (2003) writes that there is a distinction between geographical and cultural proximity (Frøystad, 2003: 40). My field, Portuguese football, is in this sense geographically distant but culturally near. I have participated in the cultural world of football for as long as I can remember, as player and observer, and this poses both opportunities and challenges. What strengthens my research is the fact that I have cultural knowledge of the field, which helps me understand and interpret observed sequences. As football player and follower, I have a “long term involvement” with the field (Miller and Slater, 2000: 21), which complements the months I spent collecting data in the actual Portuguese setting. However, this same cultural knowledge and involvement implies that I take certain things for granted (Wadel, 1991), and that my representations are somewhat biased. This thesis is a symbiotic

convergence of my subjective perspectives and the objective realities I witnessed. My “interpretative community” (Archetti, 1994: 25) shapes both my interpretations and writings.

Chapter 2: Postcolonial Males: Similarity and Difference in Portuguese Football

The purpose of exploring the lives of postcolonial migrants in Portugal is to gain knowledge about formation of identity in Portuguese football. In this chapter I show how masculine imageries are reproduced in Portuguese football, and how these are connected to history and narration. In so doing, I illustrate that the process of fixing and perceiving identity is complex and flexible. In the first section of this chapter, I use Almeida's (1996) concept of hegemonic male to depict the dominant mode of masculinity in Portuguese society (Almeida, 1996). By "masculinity," I mean a certain form of enacting manhood, a form connected to bodily ideal and morality. In his analysis of the construction of modern European masculinity, Mosse (1996) writes that "masculinity was in fact dependent upon a certain moral imperative, upon certain normative standards of appearance, behaviour, and comportment" (Mosse, 1996: 8). Then I introduce the other masculinities of Portuguese football, and show how they as narratives are connected to struggle and achievement. In the second section, I discuss the flexibility of identification, by employing a linguistic approach. Postcolonial flexibility is particularly evident in what is called *naturalização*. Naturalization⁶ as "becoming Portuguese," and acquiring Portuguese citizenship, highlights the complexity involved in this postcolonial space. These points will be complemented and illuminated by stories and observations from my fieldwork at CF Lisboa.

The Portuguese Football Arena: A Space of Masculinities

When I commenced the process of collecting data at CF Lisboa, I quickly assessed that Portuguese football was a thoroughly male arena. But there were a few women in the club organization; Jorge's daughter worked as a club secretary, and there were three young Brazilian women who were trainers for the academy. In addition, a player's mother managed the affairs of one of the youth teams. Other women I observed were the occasional female fan and the club's bar waitresses. Despite these examples, I hold that the Portuguese world

⁶ My use of the term "naturalization" strictly refers to the process in which immigrants apply for and are granted Portuguese citizenship.

of football is still mainly a place designated for men. Women in Portuguese football, who are fans or players, do constitute a small minority.

The Hegemonic Male

In the beginning of my fieldwork, I asked Jorge if CF Lisboa had a woman's team. To this Jorge replied with a smile "women belong at home in the kitchen." Jorge here displays a typical Portuguese male attitude, in which the house is considered a feminine space. In *The Hegemonic Male*, the Portuguese anthropologist Miguel Vale de Almeida (1996) writes the following about the meaning of the house in a Portuguese town: "Apart from the roof – which is a man's job to maintain – the woman cleans, whitewashes the house walls, sweeps the street area outside her door, starts the fire (before gas stoves became common), takes care of the garden if there is one, and accomplishes quite a lot of the maintenance work, including painting and bricklaying" (Almeida, 1996: 51).

The quote is quite telling of traditional gender roles and responsibilities, where the house is the woman's domain. Almeida also draws on the Portuguese language, where "house" (*casa*) is feminine, while "work" (*trabalho*) is masculine. He further writes that men are uneasy about being at home, that men think it makes you soft, and he concludes that domesticity feminizes (Almeida, 1996: 53). This can be used to shed light on more of Jorge's behaviour. For Jorge was indeed very much present at the football club and subsequently spent little time at home. He arrived at his office early every morning and spent the whole day at the club. After he had finished his required paperwork, he walked around the arena, visiting and watching the different practices that took place there. And when I came to watch the activities of the youth academy, which could last until nine-thirty in the evening, Jorge was always there. Nonetheless, Jorge did tell me that they had tried to put together an all girls team, but that this was a short-lived project. "There was no interest," he shrugged. Like Almeida, we can look to linguistics for affirmation, and find that *futebol* naturally is a masculine term according to Portuguese grammar.

Thus, I argue that the football arena is a masculine place, where men can share experiences and stories. Men like Jorge, who are involved in the club's activities, spend almost all of their time there. They comment on football matches, on teams and players and on other topics that interest them. This commenting on the players and the game contribute to the narration of Portuguese football, and of its players. Outbursts of emotion are mainly limited

to when men were engaged in the football game, as active spectators of games on the bar TV or at the stadium. Giulianotti and Armstrong (1997) write in their introduction to *Entering the Field* that football play and spectatorship allow men to act out the same diversity of emotion as women. Almeida (1996) claims that the display of emotions is generally considered as feminine by Portuguese men. In regard to the suppression of emotions among Portuguese males, I would like to describe an illustrative field sequence.

One day I was talking to Jorge in his office, when a Portuguese lady came through the open door. She greeted him and me, and then started to tell Jorge about her husband who was hospitalized. Her husband, an acquaintance of Jorge, was having heart problems, and she was afraid he would pass away. She soon started to cry while she talked. At this point, I studied Jorge's face, and it looked as though he were having difficulties in restraining his emotions. As he expressed his sympathy, I thought he seemed to be close to tears. I, too, became moved to the brink of tears as she poured her heart out, and we were both compelled to hug her before she left. After she had gone, I said to Jorge that I felt sorry for his friend. Abruptly, Jorge's demeanor seemed to change, as he pulled himself together and snapped "Yes, of course, it is sad, but it is his own fault for drinking and smoking the way he has been for the last forty years." He then started to shuffle his papers, which to me indicated that he did not want to discuss the matter any further.

This situation could be interpreted in light of Almeida's (1996) writings that sentiments are suppressed by Portuguese men, and that the show of emotions indeed is regarded as a feminine quality. The show of emotion is thus incompatible with the reigning male imagery. In combining Almeida's (1996) insights with those of Connell (1998), I propose the traditional hegemonic male image as the hegemonic masculinity in Portugal. Connell (1998) writes that there may be plural masculinities within the same cultural setting, that these exist in definite relations of exclusion and hierarchy, and that there is generally one hegemonic or dominant form of masculinity (Connell, 1998: 5). Portugal's colonial history must also have contributed to the production of a specific masculinity, one of conquest and settlement. The Portuguese image of "the great navigator" fits in with this type of masculinity. And as Connell (1998) writes: "The imperial social order created a hierarchy of masculinities, as it created a hierarchy of communities and races" (Connell, 1998: 13). This thesis investigates whether such imperial representations of race and hierarchy are manifest in modern Portuguese society. I do this by exploring the experiences of the other masculinities in

Portuguese football. Portuguese football and CF Lisboa will be explored as the intersection in which different masculine identities come together. The Hegemonic Portuguese male, depicted by Almeida and embodied by Jorge, has already been introduced, and we now turn to the foreigners; the Brazilian and African masculinities. These denominations invoke specific male imageries which will be discussed throughout the thesis, but first I shall establish some male migrant experiences.

Brazilian and Luso-African Masculinities

In the following section, we see explicit experiences of difference and contrast as indicators of the differentiation practices that existed in the cultural world that I entered. The unwillingness of Portuguese men to show their emotions, a characteristic quality of the hegemonic male, was also brought to the foreground by my Brazilian and African informants. Lua from Brazil, for instance, felt different from Portuguese people in the sense of being more expressive of feelings. In an interview, he said the following about Portuguese people:

“Portuguese people are different from all other people. They are a cold people. You know how it is, don’t you? When you came here was it easy to talk to people? It wasn’t, was it? People here are a little cold when you first meet them, but when you get to know them they are a wonderful people. Now I have a Portuguese wife, and a Portuguese child. And I have many Portuguese friends. (...) Portuguese people are mau amado (Lua here looks around to be certain that no Portuguese is near enough to hear him), they do not have much love, and they don’t show love. They don’t speak about love, not even to their girlfriends. You have to give love to receive love, and Portuguese people don’t do that. (...) If you go to Brazil, people are more amoroso, more loving. People are more open to each other and to foreigners as well. Here, people are shut out” (Interview with Lua, my translation).

Lua describes Portuguese people as cold, and as not showing emotion. Lua says that they do not have much love because they do not give love and that one has to give love in order to receive it. Lua thus sees the reciprocal nature of love, as it is more likely to be given to those who themselves give it. Portuguese people need time to warm up, and to open up. There is an apparent contradiction in his statement, in the one sentence, he says that Portuguese people are cold, and lacking in love, while he in the next says that they are a wonderful people. I believe that this contradiction shows how migrants are also involved in the

dialectic of hybridization and indigenization. As a lusophone immigrant in Portugal, Lua alternately includes himself in and excludes himself from the category “Portuguese.” He is both drawn to the Portuguese through his involvement with Portuguese society, friends and family, and drawn away from the Portuguese due to differentiating external experiences and his own internal sense of difference. Lua is thus in a “liminal” position to borrow from Turner (1969), as he is variably in and in-between the categories of “Portuguese” and “Brazilian.” This “liminality” is discussed later in the chapter. Lua thinks that Brazilians are a warmer and a more loving people, who welcome people from other parts of the world. In Portugal, he says, foreigners are excluded. Lua is, as he himself expresses, more inclined to show emotion than a Portuguese male, and he does not consider the display of emotions as a purely feminine quality. A relevant question here is as follows: Is he really as extroverted as he claims to be? According to my observations of him among other players on the pitch during trainings, he seemed neither more nor less expressive of emotion than his team-mates. But the more private times we spent together, showed me that he certainly was a jovial and outspoken individual. This indicates that discourse may diverge from practice, and also that Lua’s behaviour in the setting of Portuguese football and society is informed by the values and norms set by the hegemonic male ideal.

In the end of the extract above, however, Lua says that people are excluded in Portugal. This view is reiterated by big Angolan striker Leandro, who said “*senti a segregação na pele*” in a conversation about his first years in Portugal, which literally means that he felt the segregation on his skin (Fieldnotes). He told that he felt excluded by Portuguese people, and that sometimes he felt avoided when he first arrived at a new club. But he also said that things always improved when he became more involved and known in the club’s social environment. Leandro also said the following about life in Angola compared to in Lisbon: “Life there, in the streets of Luanda, is difficult. There is a lot of trouble, crime and violence. But there is also laughter and life, people really live in Angola, and show their emotions. Here people don’t even see each other in the streets” (Fieldnotes, my translation).

Both players have experienced Portuguese people as colder than themselves, and that Portuguese society is also colder than the ones they left behind. In coming to Portugal from warmer climates in Angola and Brazil, they arrive in a colder environment, both in regard to natural climate and social relations. Showing emotions is not frowned upon by these migrating males as it is by Portuguese men. It seems then, that feminine qualities are less

taboo in Angolan and Brazilian masculinities than in the Portuguese. This also indicates that there are experienced differences between these masculinities, and that the Portuguese male indeed is different than the Angolan and Brazilian. Nonetheless, we shall now turn to migrant stories of travel, struggle and “home.”

Narratives of Struggle and Achievement

In this section, the migrants’ stories will be analyzed as grounds for building an identity. Connerton (1989) writes in *How Societies Remember* that personal histories are connected to a person’s identities (1989: 22). Rapport and Dawson (1998) are also aware of the importance of narratives and histories; they write that in seeing themselves in stories and telling the stories of their lives, people “recount their lives to themselves and others as movement” (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 33). People in this way portray their identities in the telling of their histories. These narratives also construct visual images of how they see themselves and others. Narratives of movement and performance often have visual qualities (Archetti, 1999: 14). The personal stories that are outlined below reflect a male imagery that entails overcoming obstacles and coming from humble beginnings. Lua was born in a Brazilian *favela*, a shanty town in the outskirts of Rio do Janeiro. He told me the following about his life in Brazil:

“I grew up in the favela, and life there was very complicated. Before I became a footballer, I was a chicken killer. I’d run around and hunt and kill chicken. I had a very rough childhood. We had nothing. We had no resources whatsoever. Life was very, very complicated. (...) My hero was Romario, and I started playing football when I was sixteen. When I was twenty, I played for Fluminense, and that was when I was discovered by José Vega, the agent, who wanted me to come to Portugal” (Interview with Lua, my translation).

His early years were spent in what he describes as a complicated area – an area graphically depicted in the film *City of God*⁷ – and his life (pre-football) consisted of killing chicken and surviving in this tough environment. His football skills eventually helped him gain a place at Fluminense, a top Brazilian club that finished fourth in the 2007 championships. Here he was discovered by an agent, who offered him an opportunity to play professional football in

⁷ This acclaimed film, which depicted the poverty and violence of Rio’s shanty towns, won a large number of international awards.

Portugal. Lua told me that he was never in doubt what to do, although most people in his old neighbourhood thought he was *loco* (crazy) to travel to Portugal alone. “Today,” Lua said, “when I return to the *favela*, everyone knows who I am, and people are proud of me” (Fieldnotes). Lua is, in all, content with the career he has had in Portugal, and feels that he has succeeded. Lua’s transition from Brazil to Portugal was initiated by an agent, and this is often the case. Brazil is the country with the largest proportion of emigrating professional players in the world. However, many foreign players in Portugal have also travelled here without the assistance of an agent or club. Narratives are, in my view, intimately connected to migrants’ identities. Narratives tell a story about who they are, they are a “migrant’s tale” (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 27). Football migrant masculinities are to an extensive degree built upon a history of struggle, and a tale of moving beyond obstacles. Lua’s narrative paints the image of a man as a strong and independent figure, who does not crumble when faced with adversity. This kind of narrative also follows and builds under the “rags to riches” plot, which is popular and commonly told in the world of modern sports. At the same time, I view this narrative as compatible with the dominant masculinity in Portugal that is the hegemonic male. The similarities between migrant and “local” masculinities, between the “strong male” and the “hegemonic male,” facilitate the incorporation of foreign male migrants in the masculine space of Portuguese football. Portugal has also traditionally been a nation of emigration (Eaton, 1999: 365), and thus identifies with the migrant image.

Similar narratives of struggle are also told by Leandro and Samor, two foreign players who were not aided by agents. Samor came to Portugal with his parents, while Leandro came alone, although he received some help from family who already lived in Lisbon. Whereas Lua was taken care of by his agent when he came to Portugal, Leandro and Samor had to rely more on themselves and their respective relatives. Lua was always provided housing by his agent or club, and he recently bought his own apartment in a Lisbon suburb. Leandro and Samor, on the other hand, dwelled in more modest accommodation while in Portugal. What they all shared, though, was a humble beginning. For like Lua, Leandro and Samor came from poor households in their former home countries Angola and Cape Verde. Their coming to Portugal can be seen in the context of a widespread migratory movement from the former colonies to Portugal that was initiated in the late eighties and lasted throughout the nineties (Eaton, 1999: 366).

Many immigrants struggle in Portuguese society, and one might ask if they really are better off in Portugal than in, for instance, Angola. The social network that helped Leandro settle in Portugal, had grown in numbers as more of his relatives had come to live in the Portuguese capital. Leandro lived north of Lisbon in a lower class area dominated by immigrants from Africa, and his closest friends were Angolan. Lua, on the other hand, lived in a suburb south of Lisbon, in a more middle class neighbourhood. He had a close relationship with his Portuguese wife's relatives, and he had many Portuguese, as well as Brazilian friends. As illustrated, both Lua and Leandro though, as respectively Brazilian and Angolan, felt that they were of a different people than the Portuguese. The Portuguese were described as cold and closed, whereas both the Angolan and Brazilian were considered more emotional and open. Samor, who came to Portugal as a young boy, again had a different story to tell. He lived in a *bairro*, which is a Portuguese urban shanty town.

Exclusion from Football and Society

Samor came over to Portugal from Cape Verde in 1992, when he was four years old. He did not remember much from the voyage, but he did recall, as Lua and Leandro, his first meeting with the cold Portuguese weather. In Cape Verde, he said, it is warm all year, and not just in the summer. When he arrived, his mother and father were already in Portugal, and he had lived with his grandparents in Cape Verde. He has a lot of family in Portugal, several aunts, uncles and cousins. So he too, like Leandro, came to Portugal with the help of his family. Samor now lived with his parents and two younger sisters in one of the *bairros* located in the eastern part of the city centre, which are shanty towns consisting mainly of African immigrants. A brief sequence that can illustrate the position of these *bairros* in Portuguese society involves Jorge, the moustache-wearing technical director of CF Lisboa.

When I was to visit Samor at his home for the first time, I showed the address to Jorge, asking him how I could get there. The address read: *Casal Santa Maria, Rua C, No 1B* (this translates to: Husband and wife Santa Maria, Street C, Number 1B). Jorge sat up in his chair and exclaimed: "You can't go there! They will rob you. They will steal your books!" Then he tapped onto the address written on my notebook, shook his head and said: "I'm telling you, in Portugal, this is the worst there is. The very worst there is. You can't walk around in this neighbourhood" (Fieldnotes). This naturally made an impression on me, but I comforted him (and myself at the same time), saying that it would be all right, and that Samor was

going to meet me at the train station. When I did go there the next day, he and his father met me at an East Lisbon train station and we drove through the *bairro* to his home.

Visiting Samor was my first experience of a Portuguese shanty town, and I was stunned to see the environment in which some of Lisbon's inhabitants dwelled. It awoke associations to my earlier personal experiences in southern Africa. People lived in shacks and small brick houses with tin roofs, and there was no asphalt, only dirt roads with old soda cans and plastic bags lying alongside the edges. Samor's house was in the heart of the neighbourhood, located on a small peak in the natural topography. Their house was quite large in comparison to many others, and he told me that they had recently moved there from a smaller house elsewhere in the *bairro*. They also had two cars outside, and I thereby assumed that they were not among the poorest in the neighbourhood. Inside, they had a small living room and three bedrooms. Samor had his own bedroom, and his parents had their own, while his two sisters shared. Samor's room had no door though, but was separated from the living room only by a blanket hanging in the opening where the door should have been. When I asked him if he would like to get a place of his own, he said, "Sure, someday I want to earn enough money to get a nice apartment for myself." Then he added with a soft smile, "But I have to bring my mother. I could never leave my mother," after which he showed me his arm on which he had a tattoo of his mother's name (Fieldnotes). This is an interesting point, as the mother traditionally is an important figure for Portuguese boys as well.

Samor, being only eighteen years old, still lived with his parents. He had lived in the *bairro* since he came to Portugal, and dreamt of being able to afford an apartment in a "proper" neighbourhood. Many African immigrants are forced to take housing in one of Lisbon's shanty towns due to poor economies. And they are thereby forced to live "on the margins" of Portuguese society. The *bairro* constitutes a "liminal" space (Turner, 1969), in the sense that the privileges and regulations that are placed upon wider Portuguese society are not valid there, and there is a certain lack of social control. The Lisbon landscape thus reveals a certain "urban segregation" and differentiation of social space similar to what Caldeira (2000) notices in São Paulo. The inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are social exceptions or "exceptions to neoliberal mechanisms" as they are excluded from zones of growth (Ong, 2006: 16). To Ong, exceptions to neoliberalism are the result of introducing market-based calculations in the management of populations and the administration of social space (Ong, 2006: 4). Using Friedman's perspective, this can be seen as cultural dis-integration, and the

fragmentation of larger homogeneous social worlds (Friedman, 2003: 21). In Samor's neighbourhood, there was not water or electricity in all houses, and the inhabitants had to tend to themselves. Samor told me that life there was difficult, as there was a lot of crime, and that the police rarely bothered to enter the area. Migrating to Portugal, then, does perhaps not always represent an improved living situation. The *bairro* is not much different from the environment of the *favela* which Lua left in Brazil. Football was what aided him to leave the *favela*, and football is also what Samor hopes will get him out of the *bairro*.

Ever since he was a kid, Samor has loved playing football. And he still remembers playing back in Cape Verde. And when he came to Portugal, he wanted to play here as well, but entering Portuguese football was not easy for young Samor.

"I started to play football quite late, when I was around sixteen years old. Before that, I was excluded from teams because I was a foreigner. Clubs could only have one or two foreign players in the squad, and as most had already filled up with foreigners, they always said "you have to try again next year." In the meanwhile I played football in the streets and around the bairro. I also played futsal with my friends, and we entered some local tournaments. We even won a few. Now people know that I am a good player, and everyone wants me to join their team, so I still have to play futsal occasionally. But then finally, I started to play for a smaller club nearby, after which the CF Lisboa junior coach saw me in a match against them, and he told me that he wanted me to come to them. So, the following season I came to play for Lisboa. This was one year ago" (Interview with Samor, my translation).

At the beginning of his football career, Samor was excluded from organized football because of his foreign nationality. Because of regulations restricting the number of foreign players on Portuguese teams, he was not able to find a club. This shows the local and peripheral impact of a central directive given by the transnational football unions FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) and UEFA (Union of European Football Associations). The directive, which had the explicit purpose of regulating the number of foreigners on professional teams and leagues, had an unfortunate consequence for this young Cape Verdean immigrant, who just wanted to play football in his new home country. Samor's story also shows how foreigners are excluded from Portuguese football and society. But over time, the same foreigners are more and more included. Samor has now settled as a promising junior player at CF Lisboa and in Portuguese football. The following year he would be a

senior, and the odds were good that he would then join the first team. Leandro, who also lived in a *bairro* when he first came to Portugal, rented a place in an apartment building at the time I met him. He still lived close to the *bairro* though, as he still had friends and family there. Lua was, in comparison, the most included in Portuguese society. Lua was socially and geographically most included in the centre; he had a Portuguese wife and thereby a Portuguese extended family. He had also bought his own apartment in western Lisbon suburbia, and had many Portuguese friends, in addition to Brazilian and African friends. In addition, he ran his own business in Portugal.

Seeking Masculine Work

Postcolonial migration is not unproblematic, and reality is not always reflected by expectation. The reason many left urban Africa was also part of Leandro's reason to leave Luanda. As a result of mass migration to the capital, many men struggled to find jobs in Luanda. Leandro was one of those unable to find what he describes as a "good job"; most jobs available were "women's work." This is a recurring pattern in migrant explanations according to Brazilian anthropologist Gusmão (2004). Leandro's dream, which later was realized, was to become a professional footballer, and since this was not possible in Angola in the nineties, he came to Portugal. Before he was taken in by a professional club, he had to take odd jobs in Portugal as well. To me, he said that he worked in "construction and other things," and I assume that the "other things" he omitted to specify were jobs he considered less masculine. It is probable that many male migrants struggle to find macho jobs in Portugal's capital just as they did in their home countries. Samor, to exemplify, was taking classes to become a waiter, in case his plans to become a professional footballer fell through. For football, on the contrary – at least in the lusophone world – is one of the most masculine careers out there. A token of football's and sports' foregrounding of masculine traits is the manner in which sports heroes are taken as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity and are required to live up to it strenuously (Connell, 1998: 5). This has, of course, implications for the behaviour of athletes, and this is shown later in the way black footballers in Portugal are reluctant to take the role of the victim when confronted with racist discrimination.

Fluidity and Change of Identity: Investigating Local Identity Markers

What differences are there in how these migrant players see themselves compared to how they are seen by others? My argument is that while identity labels in most situations appear as fixed and steady categories, they are in reality open to change and negotiation. This does not mean that I see identity purely as a constructed entity, but that categories used to present and represent national and ethnic identities are cultural and social products of a specific socio-cultural setting. Social identities are fixed and perceived in specific times and places. The postcolonial setting offers me an appropriate and fruitful place to study the fluidity of such categories. A situation that occurred during my fieldwork in Lisbon can cast light on this. I argue that terms that denote national identities have different meanings in different situations and contexts. What is understood as “Portuguese” by some people might be considered as “non-Portuguese” by others.

This evening I was introduced to a black eight-year-old kid at the club’s academy by Jorge, the middle-aged ethnic Portuguese technical director of CF Lisboa. As Jorge was well aware of my research’s focus, he proudly exclaimed: “This is Miguelzinho, he is also a foreigner!” The young boy, who was of Cape Verdean heritage, was clearly discontent with the description and spoke up, arguing that he too was ‘Portuguese.’ To this Jorge replied matter-of-factly: “Yes, yes, you are Portuguese, but you are also foreign.” They then looked at each other and at me, before Miguelzinho left us to commence his practice (Fieldnotes).

In this brief sequence of time, Miguelzinho’s “Portuguese-ness” becomes a subject for discussion. How are we to understand their brief debate? First, it is necessary to place the episode in the right context. The situation in question surfaced when José introduced me to the football academy and some of their players. I had told him the focus of my research, and this surely influenced the way he referred to Miguelzinho. In this regard, the subsequent interaction was derived from my bodily presence in the field, and was thus a result of my being there at that particular time. The ethnographer, in this way, creates the field, both by giving rise to such situations and by writing them down as fieldnotes, and delimiting them as relevant social situations and empirical data. Although an episode to some degree is created by an anthropologist, informants’ acts and verbal communications are their own, and must be assumed to express their individual and collective attitudes; individual, in the sense of

stemming from the individual self, but also collective, in the sense that they are products of a wider social morale, community or culture. Since the analysis of such banal everyday situations is one of anthropology's fortes, I shall now discuss what insights that may be gained from this particular episode.

What then can be learnt from this little incident? In my eyes, the interaction between Jorge and Miguelzinho illustrates the potential ambiguity of Portuguese national identity. The two actors of the story express contrasting perceptions of little Miguelzinho's identity.

Miguelzinho's narration of his own social identity is, in this encounter, challenged. In the given situation, Jorge labels him as both a "foreigner" and a "Portuguese" while Miguelzinho labels himself only as a "Portuguese." What are the meanings of these categories and how can the two actors have different understandings of Miguelzinho's national identity?

In daily life people portray identity, and especially national identity, as something fixed and concrete on the basis of identity papers. Identity papers are part of the state's apparatus for regulating its inhabitants, similar to the census. Kertzer and Arel (2002) have written the following about the impact of censuses on the formation of identity:

In short, the use of identity categories in censuses – as in other mechanisms of state administration – creates a particular vision of social reality. All people are assigned to a single category, and hence are conceptualized as sharing, with a certain number of others, a common collective identity (Kertzer and Arel, 2002: 5).

The purpose of a state's use of identity categories is thus to fix, and make clear and separable its subjects, to impose a "totalizing classificatory grid" to borrow from Anderson (1983: 184). Anderson further adds: "The effect of the grid was always to be able to say of anything that it was this, not that; it belonged here, not there" (1998: 184). Through imposing definite identity categories on its subjects, the state makes its populations understandable, "readable" and countable. I am interested in the temporary (and actually misleading) property of this fixity; that although identity may appear as fixed, it is in reality contested, flexible and open to change and negotiation. Social identity is objectified and negotiated for imagined audiences (Werbner, 1996: 92). In the episode above, there is precisely this, a *negotiation* of Miguelzinho's Portuguese-ness. First, Jorge refers to him as foreign, which Miguelzinho objects to and claims that he too is Portuguese. Jorge agrees with this, but adds that he is foreign as well. Finally, they seem to agree to disagree, and the

interaction ends. So, although they reach a compromise in this delimited sequence of time, it does not appear as though they reach a shared mutual understanding. Their different views are based on their different individual understandings of Miguelzinho's identity. And these views are manifest in the different ways they author his identity in this given situation.

A Linguistic Approach

Now we shall take a closer look at the categories that are activated in this episode. A linguistic and cognitive anthropologist, David Kronenfeld (1996), distinguishes between the core referents of a term and its extended referents. A core referent is prototypic; i.e. "a referent that unites all the senses that are definitional" (Kronenfeld, 1996: 5). A "core-Portuguese" in this sense incorporates all prototypical attributes; that is, all the traits that are fundamental elements to being Portuguese. In my mind, such attributes would include descent from Iberian and southern European ancestors, a physical appearance to match, official citizenship in the Portuguese nation-state, an idiosyncratic Portuguese accent, and a somewhat reserved and serious demeanour. However, in colloquial speech, words as labels seldom refer to prototypic referents (Kronenfeld, 1996: 5). Thus, in order to be termed Portuguese in natural language, one is not required to possess all the given traits.

Miguelzinho is not a core Portuguese due to non-Iberian descent, but as a citizen of the Portuguese nation-state, he is deserving of the label Portuguese.

On the other hand, in a "Portuguese" versus "foreign" paradigm, where the two terms are used to differentiate and thus identify each other, he could be placed in both categories. The prototypic characteristics that determine a foreigner in Portuguese society are: foreign descent, foreign or non-Portuguese appearance, foreign citizenship, and foreign language. Let us take a closer look at Miguelzinho's place in the Portuguese versus foreign paradigm. He was born in Portugal, and therefore, rightfully a Portuguese citizen. He is also Portuguese-speaking, although he speaks with a slight Cape Verdean accent. These traits do include him in the Portuguese category. However, he also speaks some Creole at home with his parents, and Creole is arguably a foreign language. He has foreign ancestors as well as a foreign appearance, which define him as a foreigner in Portuguese society. Miguelzinho can thereby be represented as either Portuguese or foreign in the Portuguese setting, depending on the specific context. In the situation above, the two representations were introduced in the same context, and in this particular setting, the two labels contradicted each other. In this

linguistic perspective, Miguelzinho could be considered as both “Us” and “Other” in Portuguese society. His “Portuguese-ness” is poorer in the sense that he is not core Portuguese, and thereby lacks certain Portuguese traits, but he is also richer in having two cultural toolkits (Portuguese and Cape Verdean) from which he, in Kronenfeld’s perspective, can choose and select behaviour and speech. Colonial history complicates the issue further, as Cape Verdean is presumably less foreign in Portugal than, for instance, Senegalese. This has to do with the common language, of course, but also the long historically grounded relationship that these countries share. The empirical sequence above is an instance of what Richard Jenkins (2002) calls the apparent contradiction of ethnic and national identity; that on the one side, ethnic and national identities mean a great deal to those who claim them, and on the other they appear to be flexible, “capable of transposition and transplantation” (Jenkins, 2002: 117). However, this does not mean that ethnicity is infinitely flexible. Jenkins himself states: “Some aspects of ethnic identification are less malleable than others” (2002: 126). As I have shown above, ethnic flexibility is limited to the number of cultural toolkits one masters, and even then, it is problematic. Although Miguelzinho authors himself as Portuguese, his “foreign-ness” is in this situation an “imperative status” (Barth, 1969: 17), and not something he can transcend. Barth (1969) writes that ethnic identity is a superordinate and imperative status that cannot be “temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation” (Barth, 1969: 17).⁸

The identities of ex-colonial immigrants are thus in a betwixt and between position, and can either be represented as Portuguese or as foreign. At the same time, they have fixed identities in particular social situations. They are in that situation concretized both for themselves and for others involved. This fixity is, in my perspective, temporal, in that it can change according to the context. Identity is never a finished product, it is always “unfinished and in process” (Holland et al, 1998: vii). Does this fixity alternate between different opposite categories, for instance Portuguese and Angolan, or does it rely on something in between, a hybrid category? I believe that both the Portuguese and Angolan categories are alternatives for the Angolan immigrant living in Portugal. And hybridism lies in this capability to play with identity. There has been some discussion of the hybrid identity category, and how it relates to truly felt and experienced identity. Some argue that the hybrid

⁸ In chapter four, I question whether it is possible to transcend ethnicity and “race” through participation in football.

or creole is a reliable identity category, and that this, for instance, is the case in Cape Verde (Almeida, 2007). Here people take pride in being culturally mixed. This pride is also an essential element in Brazilian nationalism, and this is discussed further in the next chapter on football styles. A praxis that further sets the light on the flexible and hybrid nature of identity is *naturalização*, or naturalization.

Strategic Change of National Identity

A practice that truly highlights the changeability of national categories is naturalization, which is widespread among lusophone immigrants in Portugal. With naturalization, I here refer to foreigners acquiring Portuguese citizenship. Jenkins (2002) writes that sports offer pertinent examples of the meaning of ethnic and national identity in the modern world, seeing that modern sports have produced “an Irish international soccer squad most of whom were born outside Ireland and some of whom have, at best, one Irish grandparent (Jenkins, 2002: 115-117). My observations offer similar examples; Lua, for instance, held both a Brazilian and Portuguese passport, and although he was well integrated in Portuguese society, it was clear that he still identified himself as a Brazilian. This indicates that a person’s designated label is not necessarily the same as the individual’s experienced or felt identity.

Naturalization is considered by many immigrants as an advantageous move that can open doors in Portuguese society. At the time of my fieldwork, Samor was waiting for his Portuguese nationality to come through. He had then been waiting for approximately one year. He told me that his whole family had actually applied at the same time, and that the only one with Portuguese papers in his family was his youngest sister, who was born in Portugal. Samor said that he was looking forward to getting his Portuguese citizenship because it would make it easier for him find work as a professional player in a Portuguese club. His “foreign-ness” was, as we remember, what excluded him from organized football during his childhood. Naturalization is a common strategy for many foreign players throughout Europe, due to the restrictions that are laid upon players from non-European countries. These players thereby adopt either a single new or a double citizenship, depending on what they are allowed. In Portugal, double citizenship is allowed, and hence desirable, for most lusophone immigrants. Aihwa Ong (1999) states in *Flexible Citizenship* that modern Chinese subjects who are able to benefit from participation in global capitalism, celebrate

flexibility and mobility, which give rise to figures such as multiple passport holders. Further, she states that flexibility and relocation have become practices to strive for rather than stability (Ong, 1999: 19). This may be the case in China, but Portuguese citizenship is desired in Portugal because of the stability (and not the instability) that it offers. Possessing Portuguese identity papers offers a more stable existence in Portugal, and gives the immigrant a more legitimate grip on the category “Portuguese.” The general rule that governs Portuguese citizenry, states that Portuguese citizenship by naturalization can be granted to foreigners that have legally resided in Portugal for at least six years. In addition, there are certain conditions, such as sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language and a clean criminal record.⁹

Angolan Leandro said he had given up Portuguese citizenship, because he did not want to go through the hassle. For many, acquiring Portuguese identity papers is a tiring and long-enduring process. An official at one of the other clubs I visited in Portugal said to me that he found it odd that Brazilians quickly became Portuguese after they arrived in the country, while it seemed that most Africans spent years going through the bureaucracy.

Anthropologist Sarah Lund has analyzed Peruvians’ process of attaining valid identity papers in Peru (Lund, 2001). Lund argues that movement through bureaucracy provides Peruvians with an embodied experience of state that forms their subjective experience of self (Lund, 2001: 20). Leandro’s and Samor’s disenchanting meetings with bureaucracy may in this line of thought lay emphasis on their “difference” and “foreign-ness.” This then, becomes an encounter of power and hierarchy, as their wish to attain officially recognized citizenship is hindered by the state. Officially, there are, as seen above, no distinctions between citizens from Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau, but there might be differentiating practices in reality. In the realm of professional football, high profiled and resourceful clubs influence the process by sending special requests. Special consideration has also been requested by the national football federation. Lately, Brazilian Pepe acquired Portuguese citizenship, and his papers came through as soon as he had spent the required six years in Portugal. Others, such as Samor and his family who had been part

⁹ Information gathered from a Portuguese governmental website: www.dgrn.mj.pt/rcentr/naturali.asp.

of Portuguese society for more than ten years, were still waiting a year after having sent in the necessary documentation.¹⁰

My point is that the postcolonial migrant experience is fraught with complexity and ambiguity. On the one hand is expectation; they are migrating to a new place, and making themselves a fresh and hopefully improved home. On the other is reality; they often face a more difficult environment than they expected, as they find themselves in a lower hierarchical position. Many must settle in *bairros* on the margins of Portuguese society. There is a clear differentiation of social space, as many Luso-African immigrants live in Lisbon's socio-geographic periphery. Gusmão (2004) also writes about Luso-Africans first meeting with Portugal, and she states that many lusophone migrants learn in their home countries that they are part of Portuguese culture and lineage. But when they come to Portugal, they are excluded and treated as foreigners, and thus feel less Portuguese in Portugal than they did overseas (Gusmão, 2004: 73). Lusophone migrants are, as demonstrated in the cases of Miguelzinho and Lua, often in a liminal or hybrid position, not completely foreign but not completely Portuguese either. But over time, these migrants establish stronger links to Portuguese society, and increasingly take part in it. In this way, the postcolonial experience not only affects the identities of the migrants, but of the Portuguese as well. A deeper dive into the world of Portuguese football, and an analysis of its styles, offers valuable insights in this respect.

¹⁰ Today, near two years after submitting their application, they are still waiting for an answer.

Chapter 3: Football Styles: Stereotypes and Incorporated Practices

This chapter is dedicated to distinctive football style categories, and how these are created and perceived. In the previous chapter, we learned to know the masculinities present in Portuguese football, and now we shall see how these are connected to distinct ways of playing football. My understanding of football styles is similar to my view of identity labels; they are – albeit to a limited degree – socially constructed categories, and part of the general narration of Portuguese football. Football styles, as distinct “body techniques” (Mauss, 1973; Connerton, 1989: 80), are used by commentators, media and fans to distinguish between players and to place them in predetermined stereotypical categories. As defined by Eriksen; “the concept of stereotyping refers to the creation and consistent application of standardized notions of the cultural distinctiveness of a group” (Eriksen, 1993: 23-24). I will now investigate how football style concepts contribute to the production of stereotypical and essentializing images where Brazilians are consistently portrayed as playful, and Africans as volatile. By “essentializing” I refer to the process of attributing someone a fundamental and almost “natural” quality, or as Werbner (1997b) puts it:

“To essentialize is to impute a fundamental basic, absolutely necessary constitutive quality to a person, social category, ethnic group, religious community, or nation. It is to posit falsely a timeless continuity, a discreteness or boundedness in space, and an organic unity. It is to imply an internal sameness and external difference or otherness” (Werbner, 1997b: 228).

This is not to imply that all forms of differentiation are essentializing, but that to essentialize can be utilized to differentiate. Essentializing is similar to indigenizing in Friedman’s dialectic and the opposite of hybridization where internal difference is embraced. However, football styles are embodied, and hence communicate something. They are “incorporated practices” which are transmitted while “bodies are present to sustain that particular activity” (Connerton, 1989: 73). Incorporated practices are thus re-enactments of the past and vehicles for continuity and social memory. Styles of playing are also practiced identities, performed through movement by the athlete for himself, his team, and all those who observe him. First, this chapter discusses the different inherent styles of Portuguese football – the Brazilian, African and Portuguese – and second, shows how this plurality of styles contributes to the

diversification of the entity “Portuguese football,” thus relating football styles to Portuguese ambivalence.

The mentioned styles are all present in Portuguese football, and the question is whether or not this has bearings on the conceptualization of the Portuguese football style. The CF Lisboa first team consisted of players from various Portuguese regions, as well as from Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Cameroon. At an everyday practice session, these men played together, combining and interacting, guided by their Portuguese head coach. While all the players had individual styles, strengths, and weaknesses, together they created the collective style of the team. The head coach, referred to as *o mister*¹¹ by the players, was an authoritative fifty-five-year-old figure with a strict moustache. When I asked him how he wanted the team to play, he answered: “What is important to me is that all the players understand my philosophy. All the players have their tasks on the pitch, and these have to be performed as I want them to be. Dribbles and individual skills are also important, but must be limited to when it is appropriate” (Fieldnotes, my translation).

O mister was aware of the individual differences of his players, but wanted these to be adapted to his playing model. He had thirty years of experience in coaching Portuguese teams, and said he was well-educated in training teams to play “*o jogo Português*” (the Portuguese game). CF Lisboa’s playing style was a possession-oriented football, a passing *pé a pé* (foot to foot) game, with most attacks coming from the flanks. According to Jorge, my entrusted Portuguese football expert, these were typical characteristics of the Portuguese way of playing football. Now let us take a closer look at the different styles that are perceived to be present at CF Lisboa and in Portuguese football in general.

The Styles of Portuguese Football

Brazilian Samba

There were five Brazilian players in the CF Lisboa squad, and they had all come to Portugal assisted by professional agents. Lua, who as mentioned, was one my most important

¹¹ This is commonly used to refer to head coaches and managers in Portuguese football, means “the mister” or “the boss.”

informants, took pride in playing *a maneira brasileira* (the Brazilian way). After many observations of him on the pitch, both in matches and practices, I gained a fair amount of knowledge of him as a player. And Lua was indeed a good player, with good all-round technique. His rather short and compact anatomy together with his slight bowlegged-ness gave him a natural low gravity point. He had great ball control, seldom giving the ball away, and he had excellent passing skills. He usually played wide in the midfield, and joined the attack whenever the opportunity presented itself. Although these qualities may be compatible with the Brazilian style, they do not distinguish his style from others. What then are the distinctive marks of a true Brazilian player? Lua himself said the following about the Brazilian style: “If you look at a Brazilian player on the field, he plays in a way that is different from all others. Brazilian football is playful and unpredictable, it is like a dance. It is happy football” (Fieldnotes, my translation). His association between dance and football is not unique, but has been drawn before in regard to both Brazilian football and other national styles. Archetti (1999), for instance, considers the tango and football as arenas for “national male” identities, and as “free” zones where liminality, hybridism and creativity may thrive (Archetti, 1999: 18). The connection between football and dance is also made by Gilberto Freyre, a grand figure in Brazilian (football) literature. He states that the improvisation and spontaneity that characterizes Brazilian football is related to Brazilian “mulattoism,” dance, and capoeira (an Afro-Brazilian dance/martial art) (cited in Lopes, 1999: 95). In this perspective, Brazilian football and dance can be perceived as cultural expressions, stemming from the same distinctive “movement culture” that is, the same culture of body and movement (Bale and Sang, 1996). At the heart of the Brazilian movement culture is, according to Freyre, the ability to improvise, exemplified by acrobatic moves such as the *bicicleta* (bicycle-kick, or in Norwegian *brassespark* which literally means “Brazilian kick”).¹² A more recent example of Brazilian football innovation is “the seal dribbler” Kerlon Souza who passes his opponents with the ball bouncing on his forehead. His frustrated opponents take drastic measures to stop him, and he is often the victim of desperate and vicious tackling attempts.

¹² The invention of the bicycle-kick is polemic; in the 1920s it was supposedly named *la chilena* after Spanish-Basque born Ramon Unzaga Asla who played for Chile, while in Brazil it is attributed to Leônidas da Silva who played for Brazil in the 1930s. These players both used the bicycle-kick in international games.

What is interesting about the Brazilian movement culture is that it is a result of cultural mixture. It is a mix between European, South-American and African elements. Freyre praises the Brazilian “mulattoism,” writing that it is what makes the Brazilian people unique and extraordinary. His writings emerged during a time when a white elite group ruled Brazil, and football was an elitist pastime from which black and working class people were excluded. Freyre argued for the inclusion of the black working class, claiming that the Brazilian people should take pride in their mixed background, and that the “mulatto” Brazilian national team’s surprising bronze medal at the 1938 World Cup was proof of their special potential (Lopes, 1999: 95). This contributed to providing all Brazilians with a place in the imagination of the Brazilian nation, but also gave platform to a racial awareness in which white and racially mixed people were perhaps still more valued than black people. Lua, whose skin colour was a typical Brazilian blend, emphasized that he had never experienced *racismo de cor* (racism of colour), but that he had experienced *racismo de nacionalidade* (racism of nationality). He meant that the racism he had experienced had never been directed at his skin colour, but rather at his foreign-ness as a Brazilian citizen. In my interpretation, his “mulattoism” was a source of pride and identity, and was therefore not open to discrimination. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Brazilian players are respected and desired for their skills not only in Portugal, but all over the world. Football migration from Brazil can truly be said to have a global reach.

Football Nomads

The Brazilian anthropologist Marcos Alvito (2006) is concerned with the vast and systemic exodus of Brazilian talent. Brazilian football has, in his view, become thoroughly commercialized, almost taking the form of a candy-shop for international clubs and agents. In 2004, he shows, 857 professional players travelled overseas, and 132 of these migrated to Portugal (Alvito, 2006: 461). This goes a long way to confirm my hypothesis that there is a strong Brazilian influence on the Portuguese game. However, other countries are also increasingly exploring the Brazilian “player market,”¹³ Norwegian clubs such as Stabæk, Start, Aalesund and Tromsø all have Brazilians in their midst. And Brazilian players are, as in Portugal, entering national squads around the world. We have yet to see a Brazilian player

¹³ Analytical terms borrowed from economics to describe player migration problematically reduce players to pawns and commercial properties. For this reason, I use quotation marks to remind the reader that this is problematic.

in the Norwegian jersey, but that idea is perhaps not as farfetched today as it would have been a decade ago. Today, naturalized Brazilians are making their mark on (among others) the national teams of Japan, Croatia, Tunisia and Mexico. FIFA President Sepp Blatter worries that Brazilians will flood the world's national teams in the future, and predicts that they will comprise half the national soccer squads in the next ten years.¹⁴ He has also stated the following: "Over the years and decades, clubs have gradually lost their identity, first locally and regionally, and today even nationally as in some cases all players hail from abroad or even from a different continent."¹⁵ Here Blatter expresses that team identities, be they local, regional or national, are lost through diversification. I argue that this view is somewhat outdated and essentialist, and that migration does not have the capacity to erase a specific team and club identity, but, that a given team's identity may be transformed. I hope the reading of this thesis can provide the reader with an understanding of how such a transformation, or at least considerable impact, can take place. Through their involvement in particular teams, migrant players become part of these teams' narratives and stories, and in this way, constitutive elements in how these teams are fixed, perceived, and made meaningful (Rapport and Dawson, 1998). African players are also a marked presence and impact on European leagues as well as on a number of European national teams. Now we turn to the African style of playing.

African Magic

Let us now turn to the category "African style of football." This concept embraces as mentioned many different national traditions. A Portuguese social scientist, José Neves, writes in his contribution to the anthology *A Época do Futebol* (The Epoch of Football) that the images related to African football reflect a reified imagining of African culture, stemming from a culturalist narrative that leaves no room for national differences (Neves, 2004: 109). There were five African players on the CF Lisboa first team, and five among the juniors. These players were from Angola, Mozambique, Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Two players that were considered by the fans to possess typical African playing

¹⁴ Information gathered from the Washington Post article published online "FIFA's Blatter Warns that Brazilian 'Invaders' may Flood National Teams," at <http://www.washingtonpost.com>.

¹⁵ Blatter is quoted in an article on the 6+5 rule, which designates that a team must start with at least six players who would be eligible for the domestic national team, at <http://www.fifa.com>.

styles were Angolan first team player, Leandro, and Cape Verdean junior player, Samor. In my eyes, these players did share the following traits: they were both strikers, they were tall and slender, they showed great dedication to the game, they were at the same time both physical and technical players, and they had good pace. There were also differences though; due to the age difference (Samor was eighteen and Leandro thirty-one) Leandro's anatomic physique was naturally more developed. His torso was impressive, and he was seldom pushed off the ball. Samor on the other hand grew up playing *futsal* due to early exclusion from Portuguese football, and therefore had quicker feet and hence great dribbling skills, making him exceptional in tight spots. One characteristic that might be perceived as distinctive of the African style of playing, and that I (as a long time football fan, commentator and observer) see present in Samor's and Leandro's individual repertoires, is the ability to combine brute force with soft technique. Stars like AC Milan's former striker George Weah of Liberia and Senegalese born French national Patrick Vieira are other players who may in one moment show massive power and in the next make the most delicate of technical moves. The ability to combine these extremes may contribute to the myth and "magic" of the African style.

The actual use of magic, or *juju*, in African football is another aspect that builds on its exotic image. Giulianotti and Armstrong (2004) write in their introduction to *Football in Africa* that many African clubs employ religious specialists to perform rituals in order to ensure victory, and that such experts were in fact officially banned by CAF prior to the 2002 African Cup of Nations. However, these helpers were then "smuggled in" under new titles (Giulianotti and Armstrong, 2004: 15). Leseth (1997) writes about the use of *juju* in Tanzanian football, and that match results are there explained as magical and the outcome of the best ritual "treatment" (Leseth, 1997: 161). The modern game of football then becomes secondary to traditional ritual acts, and a vehicle for determining who performs the best magical medicine. The use of rituals is widespread in European football as well, exemplified by the pre-match rituals of players and fans hoping to influence the match in which there is a vast amount of chance and unpredictability involved (Hognestad, 1995). The stereotypical image of African football as magical may be taken as a sign of the "irrationality" of African culture, contributing to the imagining of the exotic "Other," rather than as a more universal aspect of football fans' and players' dedicated participation in the game.

Establishment and Maintenance of the Cultural Bond

A context that is pertinent to describing the relationship between European and African football is colonial history. For football, as we know the game to be today, was introduced to the African nations by European colonialists. And the role of sports in the colonial project has been adopted as a subject of study. The historian J. A. Mangan (1992) introduced *The Cultural Bond*, in which he argues that sporting practices have been used to create “cultural bonds” between the colonizers and the colonized. In this line of thought, these bonds facilitated the local populations’ acceptance of the colonizers’ practices and values. Mangan (1992) emphasizes the morality of the imperial sportsman, who he denominates *homo ludens imperiosus*:

“His culture was an instrument of imperial bonding. To effect bonding, of necessity, all cultures contain in their repertoire of myth, symbol and ritual certain compelling images, narratives, actions and models which social actors, especially their chosen charismatic figures acting as culture heroes, re-enact again and again precisely because of the aura effect of mythic, symbolic and ritual patterns. Throughout the Empire sportsmen, and to a far lesser extent sportswomen, and sports fields were acknowledged agents and agencies of the respectively of this bonding process. Through this process by virtue of domination, control and contact, cultural links were established between Great Britain, dominion and colony which affected irrevocably the nature of indigenous cultures, political relationships, and subordinates’ perception of superiors and vice versa” (Mangan , 1992: 3-4).

As we read, Mangan stresses the meaning of the imperial sporting hero, who was able to infuse change in, and connect with, colonial subjects in a profound and ritual manner, establishing a definite cultural bond. Colonialism was not merely about political control, then, but also about changing the minds and bodies of the colonized peoples. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) have termed this form of colonialism “colonization of consciousness.” In their work on the rural Tswana people of South Africa, they write about “the efforts of others to impose on them a particular way of seeing and being, to colonize their consciousness with the signs and practices, the axioms and aesthetics, of an alien culture” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 235). This is according to the Comaroffs a phenomenon of both earlier colonialism and later post-colonialism. An important aspect of colonial relations, and that, in my view, is also manifest in today’s postcolonial world is what Mangan touches on at the very end of the excerpt above, where he recognizes that the process of “domination, control and contact” affects and produces change in both the dominate and subordinate parties of the colonial relationship.

Nevertheless, I do not want to portray the colonial subjects as passive recipients of sports and football. For football was early adopted and appropriated by African populations. The use of traditional magic, mentioned above, illustrates one way that football has been made an intrinsic part of local cultural practices. Portuguese social anthropologist, Nuno Domingos (2006), describes how Mozambican players and spectators helped transform the game from a mere gentleman's leisure activity to the "carnival"¹⁶ that conceivably it is today. A newspaper article from 1923, describing the match between a team of Englishmen and local *Desportivo* in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), cites that *Desportivo* "employed plenty of violence and more than one foul was noticed," and that since the spectators could not control their feelings, the referee "was forced to reprimand section of the crowd" (cited in Domingos, 2006: 407). The characteristics of the players and spectators that shocked the colonial representatives during this past match are common elements of modern games. Domingos further shows creolization of football, in Mozambican expressions that involve some kind of violent football behaviour. One example is *tyimbela*, which refers to shooting the ball at an opponent with maximum force so that he is intimidated in later plays of the game (Domingos, 2006: 411). These examples show how football has been appropriated in the former colonies, and adapted to the local setting. The football arena allowed the colonized subjects to express their opposition toward the colonial powers, through "playing tough" on the pitch and in the stands. Politically, the use of football was also a conscious strategy in the post-war era of Pan-African independence (Giulianotti and Armstrong, 2004: 9). But, as Tenga writes, this strategy was hampered by the various nations' economic difficulties. Tenga also writes that the Pan-African project implied a struggle against colonialism and racism and a striving to achieve the aspiration of African unity (Tenga, 2002: 50). The postcolonial Pan-African movement and the oppositional nature of African football in the colonial era have bearings on African football culture, shaping it as a football of opposition and struggle.

The fragile economy of the various African national football organizations, which Tenga considers a hindrance to football's role in the Pan-African nation-building project, has been a general and enduring problem for the growth of African football (Lanfranchi, 2001: 167). A result of their weak economy is that those responsible for the education and training of

¹⁶ The idea of football as carnival is explored in chapter five.

players, coaches and administration officials, have fewer resources than what is common in Western European clubs. Poor African clubs are unable to compete with their European counterparts, and unable to hold onto their best players, making African players “cheap labour” for European clubs. In this way, African football is open to exploitation by wealthier European clubs, and this has been viewed in a neo-colonialist perspective, by various actors and authors (Bale and Maguire, 1994; Mangan, 2001). Prominent figures, such as Sepp Blatter of FIFA, and Issa Hayatou of CAF (Confederation of African Football), have expressed concerns regarding football migration from Africa to Europe in line with the Marxist inspired neo-colonialist perspective. Blatter claimed in 2003, that the European clubs that have gained most in trading African players have behaved as “neocolonialists” and engaged “in social and economic rape by robbing the developing world of its best players.” Hayatou has stated that after the flight of brains “Africa is confronted with the muscle exodus” and that the inequality of exchange “creates a situation of dependence (...)” (cited in Darby et al, 2007). Darby confirms their concerns as he states that the operations of international football migration today lead to the enrichment of European football and the consequent deskilling and impoverishment of African football (Darby, 2006: 428).

The establishment of football academies has also received critical attention, and the discussion revolves around whether they contribute to the development or the underdevelopment of African football (Darby et al, 2007). On the one hand, academies funded by European-based interests provide training facilities that would otherwise not be present. In addition, some academies offer means to education. On the other, they facilitate the continued extraction of football talent from the African continent. Some also claim that African players become “de-Africanized” in terms of football style through playing in Europe. Jafret Noram, a former professional in France, stated that the creativity and imagination of African players are lost through training in French academies and thus “de-culturized” in football terms (Darby et al, 2007: 155). This statement acknowledges that the African football style is creative and connected to the African body, but at the same time, that it can be changed, through learning and adaptation to European football traditions. The African football migrant, is in this explanation transformed through his experiences in European football in a similar vein to the way the colonizer “disciplined” the colonized in the colonial era. The association of imagination and creativity with “African-ness” is in this case used in a positive light, to describe the special qualities of African players. But this sort

of associating is nonetheless essentializing, and takes for granted ethno-racial difference. Essentializing explanations are also used to portray African players in a negative light.

Africans as “Other” in European Football

Football migration from Africa to Europe is not, however, welcomed by everyone involved in European football. As a young immigrant, Samor was, as described in chapter two, excluded from Portuguese football. The resistance toward African players by European actors also takes the shape of essentialist perspectives. Many European actors are ambiguous in their attitudes toward African players. The following comments stem from renowned Norwegian player agents: “Players from Africa are a difficult market,” and “African players have a culture that is hard to integrate in Europe; this has to do with their language, identity and behaviour.”¹⁷ These agents consciously avoid signing African players, assuming that they imply problems. Their “African-ness” is, as we see, what makes them both wanted and unwanted. Their flair and creativity are desirable as traits on the pitch, but these assumed differences, in culture and identity, are not as desirable as manageable players. The creativity and unpredictability of African footballers are, in these agents’ views, difficult to integrate in Europe, and their nature should, in this sense, be cultivated before they can be useful to European clubs. Here, European football is considered more cultural than African football, which is more natural. In the traditional West/Other dichotomy, the West has been associated with culture while the Other with nature (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991). During colonial times, the West/Other distinction was undoubtedly reigning also in Portugal, and in their attitudes towards their colonial subjects. Portuguese anthropologists Perez and Carvalho (2002) write the following about the constitution of “Other” during the colonial period: “In the construction of a Western identity during the colonial period, Africa, and particularly sub-Saharan Africa, represented an ‘absolute Otherness’” (Perez and Carvalho, 2002: 8). In light of the quoted player agents above, one can question if these attitudes are completely non-existent in contemporary European football.

Turning back to the African style in Portuguese football, Portuguese sociologist José Neves (2004) writes that representations of African football in the Portuguese media often focus on three aspects, the magical, infantile and corporal. African football is portrayed as magical in

¹⁷ This is gathered from Aftenposten’s website: www.aftenposten.no

the sense of being creative and unpredictable, infantile as being tactically naive, and corporal in the sense of representation of the African physique as different, and often superior, to the European (Neves, 2004: 110). These conceptions, and those above, are based on racial categories, and must perhaps be seen in the context of a more general racialization process. These representations of African football can be used to further stereotype African players. Racism as a phenomenon in Portuguese football and society is further discussed in the next chapter. Here I point out that African players are also attributed specific traits in Portuguese football. I experienced that several Portuguese CF Lisboa fans commented on the unpredictability of their African players, and particularly of Leandro. During one match, a Portuguese CF Lisboa fan said in frustration that “Leandro does so many strange things during a game. And most of the time he is bored and lazy. If he only did his best all the time he would be a much better player.” This statement ascribes to Leandro the attribute of being lazy, which was a trait often assigned to the African indigenous during colonial times (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 242). It is also noteworthy that unpredictability is described as innovation when Brazilian, and when African, it is equated with “doing strange things.”

The Portuguese Style: Continental European or Multicultural Football?

Early on during the fieldwork, I asked Jorge, the Portuguese technical director of CF Lisboa, the question: “How is CF Lisboa’s style of playing the game?” To this he answered that they played “a typical Portuguese game, which is Latin European football.” These styles are characterized by technique and passing. In his narration of Portuguese football, Jorge inscribes it in the Latin European football community. Based on my observations of a countless number of games in Portugal, I follow this logic. For in most of the Portuguese matches I observed, passing possession football was a dominant pattern, often combined with fast counterattacks on the flanks, and the technical skill level was in general high. But the dominating presence of African and particularly Brazilian players was unavoidable, and one could almost claim as one *Abola* article does (11/10/2006),¹⁸ that the old Imperialist is now herself being colonized by football migrants.

¹⁸ An article with the title “Futebol Colonizado” notes that out of the 321 starting players of the first five games in the 2006/2007 season, 170 (53%) were foreigners (*Abola*, 11/10/2006).

Portugal is in a semi-peripheral position, between Europe and the Atlantic territories. Coelho writes the following: “The discourses of nationhood, in Portugal, show the idea of a national character which is perfectly unique, a blend of positive and negative features that produce an ambiguous result” (Coelho, 1998: 162). The Portuguese style is a “border style,” a mixture of Latin European and South American skill with African talent (Coelho, 1998: 162).

Portugal’s liminal geographic position in between Europe and the far Atlantic, is in this way reflected in the realm of football. Brazilian and African players are present in a great number of clubs at the whole range of levels. Their contributions are thus an integral part of the production of Portuguese football. The national team is quite telling of the situation, where Brazilian Luis Filipe Scolari is the head coach. In addition, important players, like Deco and Pepe, are born in Brazil. Makukula and Bosingwa are born in Congo, while Nelson and Nani are born in Cape Verde. And more players are descendants of immigrants. The importance of the national team’s playing style for the narrative formation of a distinct national style is pivotal. This can be illustrated by the influence of Drillo-football in Norway. Due to the national team’s success with the controversial long-ball, this style was implemented throughout the national football system, and other aspects of the game, such as technical ability, were arguably neglected for a long time. This has slowly changed over the years, and technique is today at the forefront, nursed through training programmes. When I observed a friendly game between Portugal and Brazil in February 2007, I couldn’t help but think that the Portuguese were playing more “Brazilian style” than the Brazilians. The skill and what may be perceived as unpredictability of Portugal’s players Deco, Cristiano Ronaldo and Quaresma caused endless difficulties for Brazilian defenders. I see this as an example of how Brazilian playing styles are incorporated in the Portuguese game.

As I have shown, football styles are intimately connected to social representations of players. But what does this say about the Portuguese football culture? All these football styles, the Brazilian, African and Portuguese, are cultural products and results of mixture. First, Brazilian football is, according to Freyre, a mix of African, American and European elements. Second, football as we know it was originally introduced to the African nations by European colonists, and the term African football entails, as mentioned, a collection of many different national styles. Third, Portuguese football can be viewed as a blend of Brazilian, Southern European and African influences. Yet, it is possible to portray the given styles as distinct and separate categories. Portuguese football can still be trusted as a distinct national form of playing the game, although the contents of this particular category are open to

discussion. Portuguese football can thus be used either to strengthen the idea of a hybrid Portugal, or to show the internal differences of Portuguese society. On the one hand, football forefronts the potential wealth in embracing multiculturalism, as Portuguese football becomes more competitive with good foreign born players. On the other, football styles are used to differentiate and stereotype; Brazilian players are consistently referred to as playful and artistic, Africans are often perceived as unstable and volatile, while Portuguese players are seen to follow the continental short pass tradition. This illustrates how football is involved in the dialectic dynamics of hybridization and indigenization. Portuguese football can both be perceived as a multicultural hybrid construction or as a collection of distinct ethno-national components.

In an article on Brazilian football, Tiago Maranhão (2006) discusses Gilberto Freyre's distinction between Brazilian and European football. Freyre drew inspiration from Nietzsche's opposition between Greek gods Dionysus and Apollo in writings on Greek culture. Freyre sketched Brazilian football culture as Dionysian (impulsive, individualist and emotional), and its European counterpart as Apollonian (formal, controlled and rational) (Maranhão, 2006: 443). In my view, all football entails a negotiation between purely unstructured creative football and purely structured football. I consider this to be universal of all football styles, be they individual, team or national. This scale then presents a table of diversity on which a wide variety of idiosyncratic styles can be built. All representations of national styles are also simplifications in the sense that they amalgamate the individual styles of the players and the collective styles of the teams that are practiced in the nation.

Football Styles as Incorporated Practices

Embodying the Nation: But Whose Nation?

Playing styles are adopted through years of play in a delimited community in which a particular style is idealized. But football styles are not separate from other social body techniques. Body techniques are understood by Mauss (1973) to resonate better with the Latin *habitus* than the French *habitudes* (habits), and do not only vary with individuals and their imitations, but especially between societies, educations, proprieties, fashions, and prestiges (Mauss, 1973: 73). Bourdieu (1990) sees the *habitus* in the context of history: "The

habitus – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product” (Bourdieu, 1990: 56). I, too, consider *habitus* and body techniques as products and incorporations of the past. Mauss (1973) further states: “I call technique an action which is effective and traditional (...)” (Mauss, 1973: 75). To Mauss, a technique has a purpose, it works, and it is related to tradition and history. I am interested in how specific body movements are educated through what Mauss refers to as “prestigious imitation” (Mauss, 1973: 73). I see football styles similarly to how Mauss saw body techniques; they are part of a distinct movement culture. Football styles are attained through training and imitation of desired movement patterns, gestures and gaits. Cultural norms determine what types of movements are correct, and social beings seek to internalize these movements. These movements are in the socialization process both internalized as cultural models and incorporated as body techniques. Connerton (1989) is also aware of the cognitive and bodily aspects of body techniques: “Bodily practices of a culturally specific kind entail a combination of cognitive and habit-memory” (Connerton, 1989: 88). I want to extend his understanding of cognitive memory to that of cultural models, as mental scripts for movement. Mind and body are in this way communicatively connected, informing and shaping each other. Cultural models are described by Holland et al (1998) as simplified worlds; they are “stereotypical distillates, generalizations from past experience that people make” (Holland et al, 1998: 55). An observation I made in the field can help clarify the point that movement styles have to do both with cultural models and embodiment.

Today Lua’s wife Maria had brought their son Immanuel to watch the CF Lisboa training session. I sat beside Maria and Immanuel and watched the training with them. Immanuel was three years, and seemed to enjoy the ‘show.’ And every time Lua was involved in any action on the pitch and had contact with the ball, Maria would comment: “There, look at your father, isn’t he doing well?” This was often followed by smiles, applause and cheers from both of them. And after the session, the three of us joined Lua down on the grass. There, Lua took a football, and used it to amuse Immanuel. He held him by the arms, and encouraged him to kick the ball. Immanuel giggled and followed his father’s cue. Apparently pleased, Lua said in his flamboyant Brazilian accent: “Yes, Immanuel wants to be footballer, a virtuoso, like Romario, and like his father.” He continued to play with him, even helping his legs to move in specific ways, simulating a few basic moves and dribbles (Fieldnotes).

In teaching his son to play football, Lua strived to shape both his mind and body. To his mind, he tried to convey the joy of football, in particular, Brazilian football, and to his body he tried to imprint certain movements. In watching the session with his mother, Immanuel also learnt to appreciate the individual style of Lua, lending his style social *prestige*. Lua is in this situation a “living model” (Connerton, 1989: 73), and embodies the “correct” playing style. “Cultural models can have motivational force because these not only label and describe the world but also set forth goals (both conscious and unconscious) and elicit or include desires” (Strauss, 1992: 3). The prestige of the Brazilian style makes it a desirable cultural model, and thus motivates Immanuel to incorporate and internalize this style. The situation above can be considered as an example of reproduction of Brazilian style in Portuguese football, as Lua teaches his child by example and instruction to play a certain way, to play in the way he does, following the style that he incorporates. As a cultural model the distinct style becomes a desired pattern of movement, connected to movement and motivation. However, there are other movement patterns present in Portuguese football as well, and Immanuel is “exposed” to these too. Connerton (1989) writes that incorporated practices are transmitted in a society during the time that bodies are present to sustain that particular activity (Connerton, 1989: 73). But, what then, if there is a diversity of particular activities in that society? To answer this, we must acknowledge that cultures are not bounded entities, and that those involved in Portuguese football are influenced by several different cultural elements simultaneously. To use the words of Strauss and Quinn (1997): “This makes each person a junction point for an infinite number of partially overlapping cultures” (Strauss and Quinn, 1997: 7). The football styles discussed above are all inherent elements of Portuguese football, and they all have prestigious properties. This makes them all part of the reproduction of Portuguese football culture. Portuguese football is, because of this, necessarily *hybrid*, i.e. it is formed in a multicultural sports environment, shaped in and by diversity.

These styles are, as seen above, learnt and performed. But at the same, time football styles are not carelessly reproduced by the players, they are consciously used to communicate identities, both personal and collective. To play like a Brazilian is to identify oneself as Brazilian. The same goes for African players, on the one hand they are expected to play a certain way, and on the other they want to play a certain way. Football is a clear example of how identity is communicated through movement (Rapport and Dawson, 1998); through body movements players tell a story of who they are, and make themselves at home in

Portuguese football. However, there may be discrepancies between discourse and practice, and between expected and performed behaviour. For instance, since he was trained in Portugal, Samor said that he viewed himself as an exponent of Portuguese football, but he was perceived by fans as an African-style player. For instance, when I asked a fan what kind of player Samor was, he answered: “Samor is a typical African player, strong, with excellent technique, but often hopeless tactically” (Fieldnotes). This fan invoked a predetermined stereotype to explain Samor’s qualities as a player, by rooting and indigenizing him. However, Samor was also aware of his “roots,” exemplified by his following words: “Of course, I feel Portuguese, but Cape Verde is still *minha terra* (my soil/land)” (Interview with Samor). Samor also listened to Cape Verdean music and occasionally wore Cape Verdean clothes and necklaces. The rooting of migrants’ ethnicity, to a foreign “homeland,” is thus not only done by the local ethnic Portuguese, but also by the migrants themselves. This shows that the lusophone immigrants themselves are involved in the dialectic of hybridization and indigenization.

Narrations of identity through body movement are also contested and relational, as are the verbal narrations illustrated in the previous chapter. The quote above also illustrates that narrations of players often invoke stereotypical explanations. And the narration of Portuguese football is ambiguous; the Portuguese style can either be represented as a Latin European style, or as a diverse and multicultural one. As a result, Luso-African and Brazilian players can be perceived and narrated either as Portuguese or as foreign. This multiplicity is particularly observable in naturalized national team players, who may embody salient African or Brazilian playing qualities while at the same time be wearing the Portuguese colours, representing the Portuguese nation, and thus embedded in the narration of Portuguese nationhood as revered sporting heroes. These naturalized players can be seen as multicultural “flaggings” and reminders of Portuguese nationhood (Billig, 1995:38), contributing to the formation of *Hybrid Portugal*.

Hybrid Performances

The concept of performance is useful to illustrate the enactment and production of identity in football. If one doubts that this is an appropriate perspective, one can take a quick glance at the exhibitions of Cristiano Ronaldo. If there ever were a football performer, it would be he. Performance, as Edensor (2002) writes, “foregrounds identity as dynamic; as always in the

process of production” (Edensor, 2002: 69). Using this understanding, I believe that individual players, such as Ronaldo, or my informant Lua, communicate a sense of who they are through the football performance. Through a bodily performance, a dribble, or a simple gesture, Lua may state that he is Brazilian. Ronaldo, on the other hand, seems to claim that he in fact is the best player in the world through his performances. Cristiano Ronaldo is born on the island of Madeira, also an “extended” Portuguese territory. But Ronaldo’s “Portuguese-ness” is, as I have experienced it, never doubted. I believe that Portuguese history has provided the Portuguese with a view of identity and belonging, similar to the “our sea of islands” perspective on Polynesian identities (Hau’ofa, 1993). The ocean is in this perspective not seen as a boundary separating lands from each other, but rather as something with uniting qualities, binding lands together. In the Portuguese context, the Atlantic Ocean connects the former “ultramarine provinces” to the Portuguese nation. This understanding of the ocean derives from the colonial experience, when the great navigators established the routes to the new colonies of Imperial Portugal.

Consequently, I have shown that ex-colonial immigrants living in Portugal can be considered as more Portuguese than non-colonial immigrants; in that colonial history offers a collective memory on which shared post-colonial identities can be based. Connerton (1989) states that it “is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory” (Connerton, 1989: 3). *Lusophonia*, the community of Portuguese-speaking countries, constitutes a “social order” by force of the shared memory of colonial past. And the imperial past is remembered and reproduced in Portuguese society through incorporated practices, stories, monuments and other commemorations of history. Colonialism was not, however, experienced as the same by the involved parties, for Portugal experienced it as colonizer, while Brazilians and Angolans experienced as being colonized. The difference between these hierarchical positions is a vast one, and this must also be taken into account. Back to Connerton, who in the next sentence writes: “To the extent that their memories of a society’s past diverge, to that extent its members can share neither experiences nor assumptions” (Connerton, 1989: 3). Depending on who writes or represents it, colonial history can be used either to differentiate or integrate; i.e., whether one emphasizes the shared history, or the social hierarchy it implies. For the use of colonial history and images of the past in legitimating a present social order has problematic implications, given the racial representations that were dominant in the colonial period. This is discussed further in the next chapter.

Through exploring the styles of Portuguese football, I have shown the diversity of Portuguese football culture, and how this is manifested in the Portuguese football style. The narrations of football styles illustrate the ambivalence and tension between two contrasting representations; that of Portuguese football as purely Portuguese and that of Portuguese football as a hybrid and multicultural style. Local Portuguese and Lusophone migrants can thus be perceived both as the same and as different, in how they are both included and excluded in Portuguese football. Identification in Portugal is thus an ambivalent process, and entails a dialectic alternation between inclusion and exclusion, and hybridization and indigenization. In wrapping up this chapter, a reminder of what Borneman and Fowler (1997) write about identification: “Identifications are always marked by a fascination with the possibility of resembling or, in the extreme, replacing the Other and alternately by a fear of one’s need for this Other and of what is at stake in acknowledging resemblance or replacement” (Borneman and Fowler, 1997: 493). The “Other” is not only a present figure in Portuguese football, but is also a respected and desired figure. Brazilian and African playing styles are reproduced through narration and practices. The plurality of styles makes Portuguese football an ambivalent space; on the one hand there is fascination, mimicking, and mixture, while on the other hand there is fear, differentiation and stereotyping.

Chapter 4: Racism as Narrative and Practice

This chapter will explore the sensitive issue of racism, and how it is made present in Portuguese football. My argument is that racism indeed exists in Portugal, but that it is downplayed in everyday life, both by immigrants and the Portuguese majority. When discussing the topic in Portugal, black players were reluctant to talk about experiences of racism. They also had conflicting views on the subject; on the one hand, they found such acts abusive, and on the other they saw it as “a part of the game.” I see the negation and rationalization of racism as part of the hybridization process, the ideal wish for an open multicultural society. I see expressions of racism as signs of the opposite process, that of indigenization, differentiation and rooting of ethnicity. If “Portuguese-ness” is as contested and ambivalent as I have shown in previous chapters, then racism is a way to deal with this ambivalence. A useful perspective that I want to implement in the contested space of Portuguese football, is Werbner’s (1997a) view of racism as “a violating, exclusionary process of essentialism that ultimately seeks to negate ambivalence” (Werbner, 1997a: 16). This chapter also investigates the implications of colonial history on the racism issue, as the shared history unites Portugal to the former colonies, while at the same time as it represents hierarchical difference between colonizers and colonized.

Racism in Portuguese Football

A female researcher, and an educated expert on the field of Portuguese football, said the following when I asked if racism was common in Portuguese football and society:

“Of course there is racism in Portuguese society, but when it comes to football players it is something different entirely. If you are a good player, nothing else really matters. But there is definitely racism in Portuguese society, a subtle kind of racism. Just take Mantorras, the crowd loves him, they always shout his name, and when he finally runs out on the pitch for his usual fifteen minutes (joke), the crowd goes wild!” (Fieldnotes).

In this excerpt, she draws a line between football and society; there is racism in Portuguese society, but there is a difference when it comes to football. To me, it seems odd that racism is non-existent in football if it is present in other social arenas. The quoted scholar

emphasizes that “if you are a good player, nothing else really matters.” In my understanding her view can be extended to mean that if you are a good player, your ethnic background is not that important. This again means that foreign players are more easily accepted if they are good players, and that “race” in this way can be transcended through performance. Contrary to Barth’s (1969) view, “race,” as ethnicity, can in the scholar’s perspective, be disregarded and temporarily set aside. I argue that racism exists in Portuguese football as a relational phenomenon, and as a negative form of exclusion. The Portuguese majority has the capability to invoke “race” and ethnicity when perceiving immigrants as different in Portuguese football and society.

The mentioned player, Pedro Manuel Torras, is an Angolan Benfica player, and was seen as the next big African player some years ago. He goes by the nicknames Mantorras or Manu, and has even been called “the new Eusébio.” Although his development has stagnated the last few years, partly due to injuries, he is still popular among most Benfica fans. Mantorras has in fact experienced racism in Portuguese football, and I think the way he revealed this is telling of the ambivalence attached to the racism question in Portugal. When Mantorras was asked if he had ever experienced racism in Portuguese football, he at first said no (*Abola*, 10/11/2006). But then, only a few days later at a press conference, he admitted to have suffered racial abuse in Portugal. He revealed that he had been the victim of racist acts once at *Estádio dos Barreiros* against Marítimo and twice at *Estádio do Dragão* against Porto. In Porto they had called him *preto* (*preto* means black, and can be used to describe black people in a derogatory sense), thrown coins at him and told him to go back to his home country. He further disclosed that he had been hurt by the abuse, and felt that such acts should be severely penalized (*Abola*, 14/11/2006).

First, these articles illustrate that when Mantorras was first asked whether he had ever received racial abuse in Portugal, he denied it. Then, days later, he came forward and admitted that he had experienced racism on several occasions in the context of the Portuguese game. I believe that this ambivalence shows that there is a certain unwillingness to admit that there is racism in Portugal, an unwillingness that I also detected from others I talked to during my fieldwork. Why is racism negated in narration if it exists in practice? Lua once said that “The Portuguese cannot speak about racism; they cannot be racist, because they are immigrants themselves all over the world” (Fieldnotes). Here Lua points to the problem of racism in Portugal, seeing that the Portuguese nation has long been a nation

of emigration. There is a certain morality involved; “If you treat the world as your oyster, you must let others treat your own world as their oyster.”¹⁹ Second, the articles above also illustrates that although Mantorras is a good player, his qualities do not exempt him from being abused because of his ethnicity or “race.” I now describe the first game I witnessed on Portuguese soil, and some insights that may derive from that particular field experience.

The following empirical event took place at my first FC Lisbon match, and was actually my very first experience as a spectator of a Portuguese football match. At the time, Lisbon was in third place in the tables, with opponent Lutano in second place, only one point ahead. Both teams were then in contention for winning the third division and thereby qualifying for climbing to the second division. The game against Lutano was thus an important one, and it was greatly anticipated – players, coaches and fans had talked about it daily for the past week.

CF Lisboa vs. Lutano

I was sitting in the midst of CF Lisboa’s home team fans when the game started. The stands were not full all around the stadium, but the side I was sitting on was packed. There were approximately one thousand spectators present. Lisboa’s starting line-up consisted mostly of ethnic Portuguese players, except for Brazilians, Edmilson and David, and Angolans, Simão and João. The opposing team had five dark-skinned players. The beginning of the game was rather uneventful, with both teams showing restraint. But suddenly, Lutano created a goal out of nothing. This led to great disappointment among the CF Lisboa fans, and many expressed their frustration by cursing loudly and shouting out obscenities. After the goal there was a lot of aggression among the home team fans directed toward the away team’s players. And when a black player fouled a Lisboa player, an elderly fan cried out: “*Aquele preto pá!*” (The two first words *aquele preto* mean “that black man” while the last word *pá* gives emphasis to the two former and is commonly used to give a statement weight and emotion). CF Lisboa struggled to create real chances in the first half, and the fans were frustrated with both their own and the opponent’s players. Toward the end of the first half, another black opponent took his time to leave the field when he was being substituted. A new elderly Lisboa fan sitting two rows below me then bellowed: “*Essa merda é das Açores*

¹⁹ This is modified from Shakespeare’s “Why, then the world’s mine oyster, Which I with sword will open.”

pá! Isso é merda de preto pá!” (This can be translated to: “That shit is from the Azores! That is the shit of black people!”). This outburst only caused discreet reactions; people raised their eyebrows and gave crooked smiles. A black fan placed between me and the sender of the verbal abuse did nothing but share a hopeless look with a white friend sitting beside him. Leandro came in for the second half, and the home team fans were still aggressive. Soon a white opponent was “ripped” (verbally abused) and called “*cabrão*” (literally translated this means “male goat,” and it is used to describe men in a negative manner, for instance to denote a cheating husband) repeatedly by several fans after he dove in a dramatic and almost theatrical way. The ambience started to turn more positive though, when Lisboa equalized through Leandro. Leandro continued to create problems for Lutano on the pitch, leading his fellow players in the attack. He was all over the attack, tackling, running, passing and shooting. CF Lisboa was playing great football, and the fans were cheering the players on. Then Leandro scored the deciding goal, winning the match for the home team. He hammered in a great volley on a cross from the right, and then ran to the fans that were ecstatic in their praise of him. The fan who was frustrated with the black Lutano player was now near bursting with joy. Lisbon controlled the remainder of the game, winning it 2-1, and when it ended they received applause and gratitude from their many followers in the stands (Fieldnotes).

In this little story, I observed players and participated as a spectator. I felt part of the club as a community, and was there as a CF Lisboa fan. However, the behaviour of some Lisboa fans, which I interpreted to be racist, made me want to distance myself from the crowd I was a part of. This feeling – along with the subtle reactions of other spectators – illustrates that “the fans” or “the crowd” are not homogeneous entities. They consist of a diverse set of people, young and old, rich and poor. But what insights does the episode have to offer on the subject of racism in Portuguese football?

Complexities of Racism

I now present my interpretational findings in a chronological sequence, following the timeline of my observations of the match. For FC Lisbon, there were two players from Angola and two from Brazil in the starting line-up. The other team had five players with a dark complexion, and I assumed these players were not completely of Iberian heritage. After the game I asked a Lutano fan where these five players were from, and I learned that there

were two Brazilians, one Azorean, and one Mozambican. The last player, he told me, was simply Portuguese, and that he did not know where his parents were from.

Players with links to former colonies constitute a significant proportion of the players in the Portuguese football system. Portuguese football is multicultural, with players from the old colonies and other foreign countries. Most of the Portuguese teams I saw at different levels and arenas had at least a few players that appeared to be either African or Brazilian. This however, does not mean that these particular players are subscribed to the categories of African or Brazilian. One of the Lutano players I took to be foreign was, as mentioned, described by a Portuguese fan as Portuguese. All countries consist of diverse populations, and the people of a particular nation-state do not all possess the entire set of traits that make up the image of the prototypical citizen. This again illustrates the potential openness of the category “Portuguese.”

I immediately interpreted the verbal abuse that was directed at a black Lutano player to be racist remarks. If racism is the discrimination or exclusion of a group for reasons that are presented as natural (Wieviorka, 1996: 246), then all discriminatory remarks based on biological properties such as skin colour constitute racism. And this racist outburst can also be understood in Werbner’s terms, as an attempt to negate the ambivalence in Portuguese football and society. It shows that although Portugal may be considered multicultural, this multiculturalism is not embraced by all. Since the word *preto* was articulated in combination with apparent aggression, it was difficult for me to interpret it as anything other than racism. The context in which a linguistic expression is realized is also relevant for determining the expression’s meaning. For instance, when I use the term “black player” it is in a purely descriptive sense. In order to portray the empirical reality as I experienced it, I deem it necessary to describe people by skin colour as well as other relevant personal characteristics. The manner in which *preto* was exclaimed in this situation, however, was interpreted by me to be racist. But there are two observations that are noteworthy. First, that the same fan that disrespected the Azorean Lutano player applauded Angolan Leandro when he scored. Second, that the home team fans were also very aggressive in their demeanour toward a white Lutano player, calling him *cabrão*.

These observations provide some complexity to the racism question. The same person who lashed out racist remarks at a black away player paid tribute to a black home player. This can

be explained by the fact that Leandro is part of the same club as the fan, they are part of the same football community, and thereby share loyalty and solidarity to their club and to each other. Norwegian anthropologist Hognestad (1997) writes the following about club solidarity and identification:

“This strong sense of a ‘club-feeling’ is continuously carved out in relations to a series of relevant Others. Football necessitates a meeting between different teams from different places and with differently composed identities. Throughout the history of football, fans and players have expressed these antagonistic aspects of the game” (Hognestad, 1997: 194).

Hognestad (1997) places emphasis on how club and team identities are formed and reproduced in contrast to other clubs, and how this creates an “Us” of which both fans and players are integral parts. Leandro and the fan are consequently part of the same “Us.” Conversely, the Azorean Lutano player is the “Other,” and is in this sense therefore more open to abuse from Lisboa fans and players. But this perspective encounters a problem when racial discrimination appears within the same club culture. This sort of racism reveals the internal differentiation and “horizontal fragmentation” that exists within the same club community (Friedman, 2003: 7).

Verbal abuse in football is not solely based on racial categories, however, the ripping of the white Lutano player shows that verbal abuse is just as easily thrown at white players as black players. White skin colour does not shield naturally for all verbal abuse, only a certain type. Verbal abuse at football matches is often based on physical appearance. For instance, at another match I attended, a white player was lashed out at because he had a pony-tail, and he was subsequently named a *maricas* (faggot) and a *menina* (girl). In light of all this, verbal abuse based on black skin colour may be construed as part of the ordinary football ritual of expressing emotion toward the opponent. Hognestad (1997) states the following: “The vitality embedded in the identification with a team has been carved out and continuously maintained through various constructions of enemies and rivals” (Hognestad, 1997: 194). Abuse directed at opponent players and fans can be conceived as part of this polarizing construction of otherness, of “enemies and rivals.”

Back, Crabbe and Solomos (2001) write in *The Changing Face of Football* that much earlier research has conceived racism as part of hooliganism, and that to truly understand football racism, one must decouple the racist/hooligan couplet (Back et al, 2001: 28). According to these authors, the coupling of racist and hooligan conceals “the complexity and variety of

expressive racism at all levels of football” (Back et al, 2001: 28). An example of racist complexity is Lua’s explicit distinction between racism of colour and racism of nationality. He said that he had experienced racism directed at his foreign nationality, but never racism directed at his skin colour. He had thus felt discriminated against because of his “Brazilian-ness” in Portuguese society, but never because of his skin or “race.” However, during the same conversation, he told me that he had once been called a “monkey” by an opponent during a match. Is such racism directed at nationality or race? I interpreted this as a shielding of his “mulattoism,” which is a source of pride in Brazilian literature (Lopes, 1999). Nevertheless, this illustrates the variety of ways that racism can be expressed and felt. Back et al (1998) further state the following:

“A man in his seventies who shouts abusive racial epithets at a black player doesn’t comply to the image of what the racist is supposed to look like. Thus such name calling can be explained away and rationalized: ‘Well, everyone gets abused – if you’ve got ginger hair, or fat you’ll get grief as well. It’s not racism, they are only winding them up.’ In order for ‘racism to count’ within this logic the exponent has to be a fully paid up card carrying Nazi” (Back et al, 1998: 85).

As I have mentioned, CF Lisboa did not have the typical hooligan following, and when racism did occur, the perpetrators were mainly as described by the authors above. They were elderly Portuguese men, ranging in age from fifty to eighty. These elderly men are in a sense carriers of the past and represent continuity. Their expressions of racism can thereby be conceived as “incorporated practices” (Connerton, 1989: 73), and as embodied reproductions of the colonial past by the community elders. Such reproductions of racist discrimination are allowed to live on because they are not taken as racism *per se*, but are instead explained and rationalized as part of the game. Abuse from opponent players can be perceived in the same way: “It’s not racism, they are only winding them up.” Some players who have been at the receiving end of racist remarks also tend to reproduce these rationalizing sentiments. For both Samor and Lua told me on separate occasions that verbal abuse based on skin colour or not, is simply a part of the game and something they have to get over. They did not want to label such acts as racist, and their explanations stood in stark contrast to my preconception of the racism. In an article on racial stereotypes in Norwegian sports, Mette Andersson (2007) states that black players are reluctant to make public complaints about racism, because they run the risk of rendering themselves suspect, and giving their own football club and others a bad reputation (Andersson, 2007: 53). Racism seems to break with the ideal

image of football and sports as unifying, and as contributing to social integration and tolerance. In chapter five, I pursue this topic, while I now view the reluctance to admit racism in context of sports' masculine hegemony.

Racism, Masculinity and History

The importance of identifying with masculine qualities in football is apparent in the use of femininity to offend opponents. By referring to opponent players as “girls” and “faggots” fans implicitly assume their place as masculine. In this way, they design a distinction where “Us” becomes masculine by contrast to the feminine “Other.” Comaroff and Comaroff write that in the late eighteenth century, Europeans similarly identified themselves as masculine by contrast to Non-Europeans, and that “the feminization of the black “other” was a potent trope of devaluation” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991: 102). In football, it seems, feminization is still “a potent trope of devaluation.” Football players, who according to Connell (1998), are taken as exemplars of masculinity, are forced to embrace that which is masculine. Making complaints about racism perhaps does not fit with the image of the strong male who overcomes adversity, which I have shown forms migrant male behaviour in Portugal.

Eusébio: Sports Hero, Icon and Exemplar of Masculinity

Eusébio da Silva Ferreira was born in Mozambique in 1942, and after a controversial signing with Benfica in 1961, he went on to dominate Portuguese football both domestically and internationally. He led Benfica to seven national league titles, two national cup titles as well as the European Cup, while he led the Portuguese national team to third place at the 1966 World Cup in England, where he was also the top scorer with nine goals. He was also crowned European footballer of the year in 1965 (Armstrong, 2004). Eusébio was the star of Benfica and Portugal during his long and distinguished career, and he was adored by Portuguese and Africans alike. He remains to this day a hero to the club Benfica as well as to the Portuguese nation, and the long historical presence of Eusébio and other African players in Portuguese football is often used as “proof” of inclusiveness and acceptance of foreigners. I am interested in how Eusébio as a Mozambican football migrant has become a symbol for Portuguese football, and in the implications of his status for other football migrants.

I believe that Eusébio, as an icon of Portuguese football, has contributed to the production of a particular image of migrant masculinity that has strengthened black players' unwillingness to be victims. Eusébio embodies the image of "the strong male who overcomes adversity," as his life follows a successful "rags to riches story," which is a narrative popularly reproduced by sports migrants around the globe. I hereby argue that Eusébio and the image of the strong male are to Portuguese football similar to what Maradona and the image of the *pibe* are to Argentinean football (Archetti, 1999). Eusébio, as sports hero and living model (Connerton, 1989: 73), inspires the reproduction of narrative identities of taking problems head on and overcoming them. Such stories were as we remember dominant in my informants' retellings of their stories. They told stories of exclusion and struggle, and how they had transcended difficulties. Thus, I believe that the dominant masculine image excludes making public complaints of racism from appropriate and desired behaviour in Portuguese football culture. In addition, I see the symbolic figure of Eusébio as an embodiment of the "hegemonic male" image, which Almeida (1996) considers as the dominant masculinity in Portugal. Eusébio was an independent, powerful and physically strong player with great technical abilities. This made him a strong male, and the strong male migrant image resonates with the hegemonic male image, as they both represent masculinity in sharp contrast to femininity. In establishing himself in Portugal, he possessed what Back et al refer to as the right kind of "cultural passport" (Back et al, 2001: 278), enabling him to identify and be identified with the normative masculine identity embedded in Portuguese football culture. Foreign players are in this way "assimilated within the local identities" (Back et al, 2001: 283). A practice that illustrates the way foreign players are assimilated and appropriated by their new milieus is the practice of player naming.

Bale (2004) writes that the appropriative language used to describe African players often reveals them as versions of an African ideal (Bale, 2004: 243). He adds that such appropriative discourses can lead to the idealization and "naturalizing"²⁰ of African players (Bale, 2004: 244). Eusébio can be illustrative of this point, for he has been called both "the black panther" and "the black pearl." These names associate him with the natural, as well as the "discoverable." Not only players are given such names, however, African national teams

²⁰ By "naturalizing" I here refer to the ascription of natural properties to African players. This is different from the naturalization process discussed in chapter two.

are also popularly named. The Angolan national team is called “the black antelopes,” the Mozambican team “mambas,” the Ivorian team “the elephants,” and the Cameroonian team “indomitable lions.” All these names make connotations to nature, and may in this way be utilized to reproduce the analogy Europe: Africa:: Culture: Nature.²¹ They also point towards “discovery,” as when Mourinho presumably wrote the following about John Obi Mikel: “I have discovered the gold.” Would these words be used if Mikel were Danish instead of Nigerian? I think probably not. But on the other side, these names can also be a source of personal pride, and are a token of the players’ inclusion in the given football community. Eusébio, for instance, still takes pride in the name “black panther”²² (Armstrong, 2004: 252). These names imply that players are embraced by the club community. Bromberger (1994) writes the following about how foreign players are adopted in the French club Marseilles: “A common device to show that the foreign player has been adopted is to nickname him, which is a kind of local baptism. These players soon become socially acceptable, make friends and are often invited as guests” (Bromberger, 1994: 175). For Bromberger, nicknaming players is a form of baptism, a *rite de passage* that gives entry to the local cultural community. But the degree to which these players are initiated and truly included in the local club culture, and consistently perceived as one of “Us,” is open to discussion.

History as Legitimation of Tolerance

As we see from above, analyzing racist phenomena in Portuguese football is not a simple matter. Racism can take a great variety of forms, and all are not as easy to detect. In my view, racism was generally negated in Portugal, and omitted from public discourse. But through talking to black players and attending matches, I quickly learned that racism indeed existed. Back et al (2001) write that “racism is inherently a complex and changing ideology that needs to be situated in specific social and political environments” (Back et al, 2001: 2). It seems, then, that an ethnographic approach at least promises a good start. The authors, who have gathered much material in the context of English football, also believe that “in practice the rejection of overt racism in one moment can co-exist with exclusion in other times and places” (Back et al, 2001: 3). On the basis of my experiences in Portugal, I must

²¹ This analogy reads as follows: Europe relates to Africa in the same way as Culture relates to Nature.

²² In an interview by Armstrong, Eusébio stated that he liked the nickname “black panther,” but that he was worried about the association with the “sect Black Panthers” who kidnapped Patricia Hearst (Armstrong, 2004: 252).

agree with their observation. Although the Portuguese community in many ways seems open and tolerant, there are “outbreaks” of racist abuse, at least in football. One should not dismiss that racism may appear in other social arenas as well. The following is extracted from my fieldnotes:

After observing today’s junior practice, I was walking with Samor, accompanying him to the bus. We were both thirsty and tired, so I asked him if he wanted to join me for a snack and beverage at a local tasca. Samor seemed reluctant, and proposed to buy something to drink at a kiosk. “I prefer just to buy a sumol” he said. When I asked him why he didn’t want to sit down at a café, he answered: “That’s not for us” (Isso não é para nós). “What do you mean?” I wondered. Then he explained: “That’s for the Portuguese and not for us, not for us Africans” (Fieldnotes).

Later Samor told me that he often felt labelled when in certain Portuguese domains. It seemed that some spaces were more Portuguese than others, and that his acceptance in these social spaces varied accordingly. At cafés and restaurants he felt that people were suspicious of him, and expected him to be a thief or gangster. With this, he states that as a tall eighteen-year-old black Cape Verdean, he is often included in the stereotypical description of “the dangerous black male.”²³ Racism in this case takes subtle forms of communication, as looks, whispers and body language. At the traditional Portuguese *tasca*, Samor explained that he felt out of place, and that he did not belong. Lua also told me about feeling discriminated against in Portuguese society; that since he was Brazilian people treated him as a criminal. “At restaurants, they place me in a corner, away from people, as if I was to rob other customers” (Interview with Lua). These forms of discrimination are more difficult to detect than the explicit cries from a racist fan. They are nonetheless very much experienced as racist by those at whom these acts are directed. The more subtle types of racist expression receive less critical attention, and are consequently allowed to live on. In Portugal, as most likely in other European nations, the antiracist norm applies to flagrant racism and not to subtle racism (Almeida, 2004: 78). However, as shown, flagrant racism is practiced in Portuguese football, at the same time as it is narrated as not to pose a real problem, both by offenders and even victims.

²³ In *Streetwise*, sociologist Elijah Anderson writes about life in an American urban community, and he states that the “black male in public” is often swiftly stereotyped as dangerous, criminal, and deviant (Anderson, 1990: 166).

I have argued that there is a narration in Portugal that dismisses the idea that of racism. After a Champion's League game between Benfica and Manchester United at *Estádio da Luz* in Lisbon late September 2006, Manchester United filed a complaint, stating that their black players Louis Saha, Patrice Evra, Keiran Richardson and Wes Brown had been victimized by racism that given evening. The Benfica fans had allegedly made "monkey sounds." This event unleashed a series of newspaper articles that discussed whether or not the allegations could be true. One article displays the following title: "Racism? Not in the club of black idols!" This article compares the histories of the two clubs, showing that there has been an "immense minority" of over one hundred black players at Benfica, while only twenty-five at Manchester United. At the head of Benfica's black players is Eusébio, "symbol of the club by merit and excellence" (*Abola*, 06/12/2006, my translation). The prominent position and meaning of Eusébio in Portuguese football is already discussed, here I want to illustrate the use of history as an explanation for Portuguese tolerance.

In another article, a renowned Portuguese football journalist calls English team United's complaint "a great irony of universal history." He writes that the country (England) who sees the world's differences without tolerance, and who has always "colonized everything and everyone," complains of the racism of a country (Portugal) whose "tolerance and spirit of universal openness has always been praised" (*Abola*, 01/10/2006, my translation). This article narrates Portugal as an historic nation of "universal openness," in contrast to the colonizing British. In this narration, Portuguese history is represented in a specific way to explain Portuguese tolerance and solidarity. Connerton (1989) is concerned with social memory and how "images of the past legitimate a present social order" (Connerton, 1989: 3). This implies that other past images are forgotten. Billig (1995) writes that the remembering of national identity also involves a forgetting and that "there is a complex dialectic of remembering and forgetting" (Billig, 1995: 37). The representation of Portugal as a nation of tolerance and openness implies such a dialectic; one remembers that Portugal traded and related with foreign lands, but one conveniently forgets the colonialist project upon which these relations were based. But colonial history – and colonial representations of race – is embodied and incorporated in the body as practice. I state that racism, although forgotten as history, is in this way internalized as "second nature" (Bourdieu, 1980: 56). Thus, racist acts are negated in the daily narration of past and present, while they, in present embodied practices, function as "natural" reproductions of the past.

Although the articles above condemn racist acts, they are problematic if they negate the possibility of racism existing in Portuguese football. For, as argued, the rejection of racism in one setting can co-exist with discrimination in other times and places. One place and time in which I experienced racism in Portugal, was in the football match as described above. But racism was definitely not considered a problem at CF Lisboa either. Jorge said that “Racism is not a part of our culture, not here and not in Portugal” (Fieldnotes). This statement summarizes what I see to be a general narration in the local community of Lisboa. CF Lisboa too, had a long history of black players, who were still admired and talked about among the community elders. In frequenting the club and the local community on an everyday basis, I did get the impression of a harmonious and inclusive ambience. However, racist expressions were articulated in the particular setting of the Lisboa vs. Lutano match. The setting where these xenophobic emotions surfaced – the football match – is a ritualized arena, where emotions are let loose. I believe that the contested emotions involved in the football ritual, which enables fans to simultaneously embrace and discriminate against black players, are connected with the contested values inherent in the community, in which they are played out. Football and society are not separate entities; players and fans move daily between, and connect with these realms. But football does provide a different cultural world, and racism which in society is expressed in more discreet (albeit structural) ways is in the spectacular frame of the football match overt and unashamed. Now we explore how football, as game and ritual, contributes to social inclusion and empowerment.

Chapter 5: Social Inclusion through Football: Exploring Mundane and Ritual Aspects

The previous chapters have dealt with levels of differentiation in Portuguese football, differentiation in time, space and practice. I have also shown how Portugal's contested identification with Europe and the lusophone world creates an ambivalent cultural identity. Football can be seen to contribute to this ambivalence, through its inclusion and highlighting of lusophone migrants. Players from the former colonies are a dominant presence in Portuguese football and thus, an integral part of Portuguese football culture. Does this imply that lusophone migrants are being included in the social centre through practicing football? By using the term inclusion, I refer to how immigrants are empowered and move from the socially peripheral to the socially central, in time, space and practice. In football circles, there is a general assumption that football and sports do contribute to inclusion. This is exemplified by various projects such as Right to Play, and the joint UEFA and EU report written by José Luís Arnaut (2006), which takes for granted that football includes, through involving social life, and teaching tolerance and common rules.²⁴ This chapter will discuss whether this assumption is legitimate. For, as Barth (1969) has taught us, it is in the meeting with others that difference is made relevant and thus articulated. The differentiation found in the diversity of Portuguese football, and depicted in the chapters above, is in this light, not surprising. Nonetheless, we now examine more closely the inclusive aspects of the Portuguese game, and see how the postcolonial football encounter contributes to mutual understanding and solidarity. We will take a look at the inclusive properties of the day-to-day practices of football, as well as the more ritualized practices, such as the match.

Inclusion through Portuguese Football

In Portugal, players from different countries come together to play the game. These players master the football language – a language expressed through movements of the body – and articulate themselves through body techniques. These are identities in motion (Rapport and

²⁴ This information is gathered from the *Independent European Sport Review 2006* written by José Luís Arnaut.

Dawson, 1998). There are different cultural identities present in the form of football styles, and these are, as I have shown, united in Portugal, giving rise to a conception of a multicultural football. However, as I have also shown, this gives rise to differentiation as well, and to a conception of Portuguese football as distinct from the African and Brazilian. Portuguese football is a contested space because “Us” and “Other” are involved in a dialectic process of fusion and fission. They are in one moment the same, and in the next they are different. Here I focus on how foreign footballers become part of their local club communities.

Lusophone football migrants not only speak the football language, but also the Portuguese language and communication is then facilitated further. At CF Lisboa the first team practiced daily. When playing together at least once a day the players learn to understand each other and form relationships on the field. The competitiveness of football teams relies on a strong sense of unity, through which players must trust each other, and play on each other’s strengths. The idea of complementary qualities is, as illustrated by the words of *o mister* in the chapter on football styles, central in the composition of a football team, and perhaps something that should be extended to other social domains.

Multicultural Football

The following observation is extracted from my fieldnotes:

In observing today’s CF Lisboa football practice, I get the impression of a united and harmonious squad. These players, from different countries, play together on a daily basis. They all seem to know each other pretty well. They interact, talk, play, shout, suffer, sweat, work, shower, and have fun together for a few hours every day. In addition, they win and lose games together, and this surely creates bonds. When things happen on the pitch, like today, when Leandro accidentally hit Manuel (a white Portuguese team-mate) in the face, they quickly reconciled. After his hand hit the tip of Manuel’s nose, Leandro gently put his hand on Manuel’s shoulder, making sure he was alright and that there were no hard feelings. Leandro then offered his hand which Manuel accepted (Fieldnotes).

This description illustrates my impressions of the CF Lisboa squad as harmonious, and shows that football offers a field where people of different backgrounds are united. Unity and professionalism seemed to be key elements in the team’s morality. However, this does

not mean that all the players spent time together off the pitch as well. As mentioned, Leandro, for instance, had mostly foreign friends, and had little contact with Portuguese team mates outside the CF Lisboa domain. But, nonetheless, the club offered a multicultural space, where people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds participated on equal terms, unified by their shared football craft. At the club's academy, children of all ages played under the supervision of qualified trainers. As you may remember, several trainers at the academy were Brazilian, and these were thus actively engaged in reproducing Portuguese football. Young players were accompanied by their parents, coming from different neighbourhoods located somewhere in the club's surroundings. The youngsters were there to play, to have fun and to develop their skills, while their parents were there to support them. On the pitch and in the stands, their internal differences were not made relevant, but they rather communicated on the basis of what they had in common: football. The parents' differences were visible through material goods, such as clothing, and the cars that brought them to the stadium. Inequality in material wealth was less apparent among the players, as they wore the same jerseys and shorts, although boots were open to variation. In the football context, these differences were not made important. This shows that football perhaps does contribute to inclusion, or at least to bring people of different social strata together.

In addition to becoming part of the club and team spirit, players were also made part of the team's local community, in which the club is embedded. The community around CF Lisboa came together when the team had important matches, and the team was seen to represent their area. Foreign players were in this way made to represent the local community, and made to represent the people of the community as well. They were part of "Us," and significant contributors to "our" team. The players became symbolic representations, and included in what the philosopher Hannah Arendt has coined the "nationalism of the neighbourhood" (cited in Back et al, 2001). But, some players still were more included than others. Those players with characteristics and traits that were most compatible with the values inherent in the given community became the most welcomed additions to the "neighbourhood."

Simão and Leandro, both first team players from Angola, had different styles of playing. Simão was the team's hardworking anchor in the midfield, and he was constantly supported and treated like a local hero. Leandro, on the other hand, who was a more virtuous striker,

was shown less patience. Qualities such as a hardworking morale and stability of performance were highly valued in this particular traditional working class club community. This illustrates the importance of possessing the right “cultural passport” (Back et al, 2001) which I mentioned in the previous chapter. The transcultural adaptability of footballers, and their contingent inclusion, is perhaps best illustrated by Maradona’s position as archetype and icon for males in both Argentina and Naples (Archetti, 1999; Bromberger, 1994). As a virtuous, wily, and slightly fat player, Maradona fit the ideal image of the rascal boy, the local boy image of *pibe* in Argentina and *scugnezzo* in Naples. However, when he was at Barça, he could not fulfil the Barcelonian cultural dream and ideal of seriousness and smartness, and he was consequently never fully embraced by the club community (Bromberger, 1994). There are many other examples of migrant players who have struggled in certain clubs despite good performances, and who have later come to thrive in other clubs. There are several factors involved here of course, but I state that the *ethos* of the club and community is a prominent one.

The Football Carnival

Now I use the concept of carnival to grasp the complex dialectic of inclusion and exclusion in the football ritual. The link between football and carnival has been drawn before (Hognestad, 1997; Giulianotti, 1995; 1999), but in these cases, it has been in regards to fandom, while I want to explore the implications of the football carnival for players. In order to show how football truly can be seen as a carnival, I conceive football in light of how anthropologist Damatta (1991) conceives the carnival parade in *Carnivals, Rogues and Heroes*. Like carnival, football represents “a special place” (Damatta, 1991: 81). The football match requires a special place; i.e., the football stadium. The football stadium is a produced space, produced and decorated for and by the club, painted in its colours, commemorating their heroes and history. Football is also “a manifold space” (Damatta, 1991: 85). As in carnival, there is a multiplicity of events taking place in a single space. There is a game and match both between the teams on the pitch, and there is a contest between these teams’ fans. Damatta considers this as typical of “rituals of inversion,” and that this permits one to transfer the strongest loyalties to a situation, a single context (Damatta, 1991: 85). Football is also imagined as “a rite without a patron” (Damatta, 1991: 87). Football, like the carnival, belongs to everybody. It is a moment without a patron or

master. If there is a patron, it is the home team, the hosting community. But they are also the people, the people who together form the local community. Damatta's last element of carnival is "the groups of carnival" (Damatta, 1991: 90), which means that there are different groups of people present. In football, people from different social classes, and from different communities (local, regional or national) come together to take part in the same ritual event. Damatta further writes that there is organizational inversion, as carnival organizations bring people who are uneducated and politically alienated together (Damatta, 1991: 91). In his view, carnival produces a moment of equality. This is also a characteristic of football matches, people who belong to different places in the social strata, but who identify with the club, are joined together as equals, as *fans* and *players*.

It is this carnivalesque inversion that I now demonstrate (Bakhtin, 1968), and in order to illustrate this complex inversion of hierarchy and dialectic of inclusion and exclusion, I reintroduce and elaborate on the empirical story that kicked off the whole thesis. This experience was my first meeting with Samor and his junior team.

One sunny, early spring afternoon during my fieldwork, I attended a junior match between home team Clube de Futebol de Lisboa and a team from the rural outskirts of Lisbon. I had heard much about the high quality of CF Lisboa's junior squad, so my expectations were equally elevated. And the young Lisboa players did not disappoint me or their loud fans. They were a talented team, playing a fast and accurate passing game, and displaying strong overall technique. Due to my explicit focus on migrants in Portuguese football, I paid particular attention to the home team striker. He was a tall and slender Cape Verdean named Samor who showed outstanding skill, and who was later to become one of my most entrusted informants. Soon I started talking to an elderly fan beside me, who was wearing a faded CF Lisboa jersey. His name was Manuel. We stood and watched the remainder of the game together. Manuel constantly commented the events on the pitch, dishing out both compliments and profanities, and the referee was naturally awarded his share of the latter. After Samor had missed a couple of chances and fouled an opponent, Manuel expressed his frustration. "Man, that fucking negro! That African is so unstable! Come on, get off the pitch!" I was surprised by his lack of patience with Samor and by his blatant use of the word negro, especially since he wasn't playing that badly. After a while Samor improved his game, and near the end of the second half he scored the winning goal, ensuring three important points for the home team. Manuel reacted by jumping up and down ecstatically,

praising Samor as he came running toward him and the rest of the fans to receive their applause. Joyfully, Manuel cheered and saluted Samor and CF Lisboa with his fellow fans (Fieldnotes).

This segment shows the shifting emotions of a dedicated fan, who in one moment criticizes Samor, and labels him as an African, a black, an “Other.” In the next moment, he praises Samor, and embraces him as a hero, a local, an “Us.” In my eyes this presents a situation of inversion, from “low” to “high.” Samor is first stigmatized as an unstable African, and then elevated to a local hero because of his performance. He is first made different and an “Other,” and then made the same and an “Us.” In treating football as a ritualized arena, we can clarify the implications of this contestation.

Carnavalesque Ritual

Using Bakhtin’s (1968) understanding of carnival together with Turner’s (1969) concept of liminality can shed some light on this hierarchical inversion. Hognestad (1997) writes that entering the ritualized frame around a football match is for supporters often experienced as passing a threshold, where the codes embedded in the immediacy and authenticity of active support tend to transcend other concerns (Hognestad, 1997: 197). In this way, the football arena represents a ritual space in which football concerns transcend those of other social moralities. Football, then, provides a different cultural world. I believe that this is pertinent to the experiences of the players as well. If football is for dedicated supporters an instance of “deep play” (Geertz, 1972), it is certainly also the case for the participating players.

Entering the field as a player gives way to an experience of *communitas* (Turner, 1969), where the eleven players share an egalitarian bond of comradeship with each other, as well as with their fans. Anderson (1983) writes that the nation is imagined as a community because, “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, *horizontal comradeship*” (Anderson, 1983: 7, my emphasis). The football community is, in this same way, imagined as a horizontal comradeship, which stands united against the competing club community. The relevant “Other” in the context of the football match is therefore the opposing team. This is reiterated by Hognestad (2003), who writes that the football game provides a clear cut “us against them” drama, and “opposing sides are generally constructed in terms of stereotypical otherness during matches” (Hognestad, 2003: 99). However, there is, as my previous

chapters and the empirical sequence above illustrate, also internal differentiating, stereotyping, and “horizontal fragmentation” (Friedman, 2003: 7) within the same football community. I propose that the inclusion of certain players, who are not fully integrated in the “Us” of the given football community, is contingent and dependent on their performances. The inclusion of these players is then more temporary than that of other more fully accepted “local” players.

Samor, who as demonstrated in previous chapters, is socially peripheral in different ways, becomes through playing football for CF Lisboa included in the club and the community. He becomes part of the local “Us” during parts of the game, but is still vulnerable to differentiation, as he is differentiated by Manuel, the fan. His belonging thus alternates from “Us” to “Other” within the context of the same game. It is through performance that Samor’s “outsider-ness” can be transcended, and at the same time his “insider-ness” is dependent on this same performance. This alternation is an expression of ambivalence, or hybridity, not merely of Samor’s identity, but also of the “Us” that is the local club community. Archetti argues that male hybrids have a transgressive power, “subverting categorical oppositions and creating conditions for cultural reflexivity” (Archetti, 1999: xvi). The question, then, becomes whether Samor’s inclusion in the high “Us” creates conditions for cultural reflexivity.

In treating this question, I use Bakhtin’s (1981) distinction between unconscious organic hybridity and conscious intentional hybridity. Hybridity is for Bakhtin the mixture of languages, and the encounter between two different linguistic consciousnesses (1981: 358). Organic hybridity consists of the continuous unreflective changes and transformations, which conceivably are a universal feature of cultural reproduction. Papastergiadis (1997) and Archetti (1999) have stated that the history of the hybrid must be as old as the stories of origin and encounter (Papastergiadis, 1997: 257; Archetti, 1999: 24). Werbner (1997a) argues that “organic hybridity creates the historical foundations on which aesthetic hybrids build to shock, change, revitalize or disrupt through deliberate, intended fusions of unlike social languages and images” (Werbner, 1997a: 5). To me, Portuguese football offers examples of both these hybrid processes; on the one hand, there is organic hybridism through the mundane practices and narrations of multicultural football, where migrant players through their styles, and by their mere presence at the various levels, make their mark on – and hence diversify – the Portuguese football community. Organic hybrids

function as “unwaved flaggings,” which are numerous mindlessly operating symbols (Billig, 1995: 40). On the other hand, migrant players are aesthetic hybrids in the football ritual, they utilize artistic inventions, to shock, change, challenge and revitalize. It is also important to note, that according to Werbner, it is the intentional aesthetic hybrid that is the most threatening to the social order and identity (Werbner, 1997a: 5). Aesthetic hybrids are “waved and saluted symbols” (Billig, 1995:40), the most overt and visible exponents of hybridism and, therefore, the most “dangerous.” This sheds light on the need for the differentiating practices portrayed in previous chapters.

Through his participation in Portuguese football, Samor travels in and out of what I have conceptualized as the socio-geographic centre that is the neighbourhood of CF Lisboa. Coming from the peripheral areas of clandestine *bairros*, the foreign low “Other” enter the domain of the high “Us.” When wearing the CF Lisboa jersey, they also become synonymous with the high “Us,” and this represents, in my view, a transcending subversion of hierarchy, from low to high. Whether this subversion instigates reflection among the hegemonic “Us,” or if it merely is an instance of the socially peripheral becoming symbolically central (Stallybrass and White, 1986: 5), is difficult to say. But what can be said is that it causes reflection in and empowerment of the individual transgressor. Indeed, in filling the role of the hero sportsman and taking a paramount position in the football ritual, Samor gains a considerable amount of confidence and autonomy that he otherwise, without football, would have to seek elsewhere. If we consider society as “structure” and the football ritual as “communitas,” we can say that “men are released from structure into communitas only to return to structure revitalized by their experience of communitas” (Turner, 1969: 129). In the football context, the revitalization of foreign players leads to their subsequent empowerment, as they gain confidence and prestige that can be transferred to other social arenas. They are revered as players, and the Brazilian and African styles are also prestigious body techniques that are incorporated in the Portuguese football culture.

The prestigious qualities of Luso-African and Brazilian players can, as suggested in the previous chapter, lead to the diversification of Portuguese football. The incorporation of the “Other’s” football styles is inspired by their heroic status in Portuguese football, most vividly represented by the living model Eusébio. In postcolonial discourse, this can be seen as a subverted version of what Bhabha (1994) refers to as “colonial mimicry” (Bhabha, 1994: 86). In Bhabha’s terms, this was the process in which the colonized “took” or were

afforded the “privilege” of acquiring the dress, habits or social values of the colonizers. The colonial mimics were Anglicized, but not English, they were “almost the same, but not white” (Bhabha, 1994: 89). But in the Portuguese football context, the colonial mimic is the Portuguese player who incorporates the prestigious African or Brazilian styles, and is in this sense “almost the same, but not black.”

In this chapter, I have discussed the inclusive mechanisms of Portuguese football, in which foreign players are included in the local community. However, this inclusion is in some ways contingent and temporary. Contingent in the sense that those players who lack the right cultural passport, and who do not fit the reigning masculine ideals, are likely to experience differentiating practices also from their own fans. Migrants’ temporary inclusion is illustrated by Samor’s case; Samor travels in and out, and to and from, the social centre, and this way alternates between being peripheral and central. The question remains if this carnivalesque inversion from “low” to “high” leads to transformations of the social structure, to speak in Turner’s terms. I hope at least to have shown that Luso-African and Brazilian player migrants hold prominent roles in Portuguese football culture. By employing Bakhtin’s understanding of organic and intentional hybrids, I have also tried to show how that there are both mundane and ritualized aspects to hybridization and inclusion. Luso-African and Brazilian subjects are active participants and producers in the day-to-day practices of Portuguese football, as well as mythical football heroes in the more ritualized frame of the football match.

Concluding Remarks

Dialectic Interplays

In this thesis, I have questioned how lusophone football migrants perceive and represent themselves in Portugal, and how they are perceived and represented by the Portuguese majority. In so doing, I have illustrated the interplay of three dialectic processes: 1) the dialectic of movement and fixity, 2) the dialectic of hybridization and indigenization, and 3) the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion. Now, I summarize how perceptions and representations of immigrants in different ways are involved in these dialectics.

The world of football is a world of movement, as players and managers migrate to new homes, and teams continually travel to play their adversaries. At the same time these movements are fixed when perceived by a specific actor in a particular space and time. The dialectic of movement and fixity can be considered a fundamental dynamic of the football environment. Migrant players conceive their own histories as personal tales, stories of whom they are and of whom they want to be. In chapter two, I analyzed migrants' stories, and demonstrated how they narrate a masculine tale of struggle and achievement. The Brazilian and Luso-African narratives that I collected follow a "rags to riches" plot, and entail stories of coming from humble beginnings and going on to transcend them, and achieving the status of professional footballer. Identity is further perceived in terms of movement when it comes to football styles. For instance, Lua was judged by observers as a typical Brazilian player, and ascribed a certain playfulness; "Look at Lua, he is Brazilian. You can see it in the way he moves" (Fieldnotes). Through narration of players and player performances, subjects are fixed and categorized in predetermined stereotypes. But these stereotypes are not necessarily negative when used to identify and characterize players. Such explanations are also given by the players themselves, Lua stated that the Brazilian playing style was intimately connected to the Brazilian way of life, which was playful and laid back. These explanations are indigenizing, and expressive of rooting foreign ethnicity. And this rooting is carried out both by the majority population, as well as the migrants themselves.

The opposite tendency, hybridization, is also present in the narrations and practices of Portuguese football. This tendency is articulated by migrants when they perceive themselves as "Portuguese," and by Portuguese journalists when they invoke the imperial past to depict

Portugal as an open multicultural society. Hybridization is an inherent part of the reproduction of Portuguese football, in that Brazilian and Luso-African players are contributing actors in the day-to-day practices of Portuguese football. The Brazilian and African styles, as prestigious body techniques, are reproduced and incorporated in Portuguese football and become part of the Portuguese style. “Foreign born” players are also prominent figures in the national squad where they are representatives for the Portuguese nation-state, which they have been since the early 20th century. I have identified some mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion in this hybrid space. Due to globalization processes, and goals of modernization, the Portuguese are drawn toward enforcing their state borders in regard to *Lusophonia* and to the “third world.” Portugal’s semi-peripheral position is more than political and economic; it characterizes Portuguese identity formation (Coelho, 1998: 162). Postcolonial Portugal is an ambivalent space, in which postcolonial migrants are both feared and desired. In this thesis, I have considered differentiation and racism as attempts to deal with this ambivalence. The dialectic of hybridization and indigenization consequently leads to the respective inclusion and exclusion of lusophone migrants.

I propose that racist expressions in the Portuguese game can be read as the reestablishment of Brazilians and (particularly) Luso-Africans as “Other” in line with the dominant racial representations of the colonial period. This hypothesis is strengthened by my observations of racism in Portugal; that acts of racism were carried out by Portuguese elders. Racism is in this perspective an incorporated practice; racist attitudes and practices are habitually and cognitively remembered by persons in the postcolonial Portuguese setting. However, the same elders who in one moment discriminated the migrant player could in the next embrace the migrant, as illustrated by the case of Samor, depicted in chapter five. But the inclusion of migrant players is, as shown in chapters four and five, both contingent and temporary. It is contingent, in the sense that migrant players are dependent on possessing the right cultural passport to be truly included by the club community, and temporary, in that their success and status within the stadium grounds are, as illustrated in this thesis, not always transferred to external social arenas. In the ritualized frame of the football match, the dialectic shift between inclusion and exclusion occurs within a limited space and time.

A Practiced Utopia?

Further explorations can be made to investigate whether the football ritual has the capacity to alter social structure. A traditional view of rituals is Gluckman's (1970) perspective which emphasizes that rituals are intended to "preserve and even strengthen the established order" (Gluckman, 1970: 109). In this perspective, the football ritual and the temporary worshipping of migrant players, only leads to the confirmation of the reigning hierarchical order. Personally, I find Connerton's (1989) perspective more exciting. He suggests that we read carnival as "anticipative representations," which do not reaffirm reigning hierarchy, but rather provide the people with a symbolic representation of "utopia" and "the image of a future state" (Connerton, 1989: 50). In this sense, multicultural Portuguese football represents the future of Portuguese society, which includes and incorporates Brazilian and Luso-African migrants at almost all levels. The diversification of Portuguese football occurs through organic (unwaved flags) and aesthetic (waved flags) hybridism, leading to ubiquitous manifestations of multiculturalism. Brazilian and African actors are involved in the Portuguese game not only as players, but as mythical heroes, managers and officials. In this thesis, I have found that football play leads to empowerment in the individual migrant player, who receives a new respect in both Portugal and "homeland." Or as Lua put it: "Today, when I return to the *favela*, everyone knows who I am, and people are proud of me" (Fieldnotes).

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