



African Footballers in Sweden

RACE, IMMIGRATION, AND
INTEGRATION IN THE AGE
OF GLOBALIZATION

CARL-GUSTAF SCOTT



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in the Age of Globalization*

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AFRICAN FOOTBALLERS IN SWEDEN
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To Frank B. Walter Scott

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Preface

This book employs men's football (or soccer) as a lens through which to investigate questions relating to immigration, racism, integration, and national identity in present-day Sweden. Specifically, this study explores if professional football serves as a successful model of multiracialism/multiculturalism for the rest of Swedish society to emulate and further asks whether the amateur game acts as an avenue of integration for members of the country's non-Nordic immigrant communities. This research additionally examines both overt and more hidden institutional forms of racism in Swedish football, paying special attention to the experiences of African (and other black) footballers at all levels of the sport. All these subjects will in turn be considered in a broader, comparative, Western European context.

Football is the most widely watched and played team sport in Europe, and its popularity is nearly universal. The game's appeal transcends virtually all existing socioeconomic, religious, ethnic, and racial barriers, arguably making it the most diverse cultural institution in contemporary European society.

During the past few decades, football has proved to be of particular significance to the continent's new racial and ethnic minorities. These minorities are primarily composed of economic immigrants from Europe's former colonies in South Asia, North Africa, and the Caribbean or from Turkey. The latter originally arrived during the financial boom years of the early postwar era, though in recent years, they have also been joined by a rising number of political refugees from the Middle East as well as a new generation of economic migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Generally speaking, these groups are not very well assimilated into mainstream European society, and they have become the permanent underclass in many parts of Western Europe.

Given this socioeconomic marginalization, football is frequently regarded as a key avenue for upward mobility among the continent's dispossessed immigrant communities. And young men with immigrant roots are currently a conspicuous presence in most Western European football leagues and increasingly on many European national teams as well.

At the elite level, such diversity has been further augmented by the intensified importation of non-European players, not least from Africa. Although this practice dates back to the interwar era, it has grown immensely in both momentum and volume since the end of the Cold War.

Originally, most of these football migrants landed in one of the former colonial metropolises, such as Belgium and France, but today they can also be found in many parts of the continent that have few (or no) previous colonial ties to Africa of their own, like Sweden. The bulk of these imports likewise tend to end up far removed from the international spotlight in one of the less prestigious European leagues—a category to which the Swedish top division, *Allsvenskan* (“the all-Swedish league”), indisputably belongs.

While some African football migrants achieve both fame and riches in Europe, the overwhelming majority does not. Indeed, the youthful dreams of most of these players are quickly dashed upon arriving in Europe, where they routinely face highly taxing and hostile work conditions. This has caused critics to denounce the trade in African footballers as exploitative, and this issue has been investigated by both the European Union and the United Nations.

Franklin Foer was the first to bring the trials and tribulations of these players to the attention of a wider audience. In his 2004 book, *How Soccer Explains the World: An {Unlikely} Theory of Globalization*, Foer introduces the reader to the plight of Edward Anyamkyegh, a Nigerian forward recruited to Karpaty Lviv in Ukraine. Anyamkyegh's story of mistreatment and dislocation personifies the experience of many African footballers in Europe today.

Yet even prior to the publication of Foer's book, a handful of anthropologists, economists, and political scientists had already examined this trade and have since continued to produce a number of excellent studies on this subject. These scholars have been especially interested in the impact of this importation on the donor countries, causing them to speak of a "de-skilling" of the African domestic game. They have likewise explored the numerous cultural, economic, and historical considerations that have led to particular migration patterns during the course of this exodus (Maguire and Stead 1998; Darby 2001; Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001; Bale 2004; Poli 2006). Finally, these researchers have sought to apply various theoretical frameworks, such as neoimperialism, world systems theory, and dependency theory to this trade (Magee and Sugden 2002; Poli 2005; Darby 2007). This study invokes this literature and further analyzes how the recruitment of African footballers to Sweden has been shaped by a number of different economic, geographic, and linguistic factors.

The present study thus takes inspiration from earlier works, yet it simultaneously distinguishes itself from its predecessors by examining the importation of African footballers from the point of view of both the players and the larger host society. This work not only provides an ethnographic study of the lived experience of African footballers in Sweden but, in relation to the host society, also investigates how these players are perceived by Swedish clubs, football fans, and the media.

Despite the central role of sports in the reproduction and public dissemination of racial stereotypes, very little has so far been written about this topic in Sweden. (The few exceptions are Fundberg 1996; Fundberg 2001; Andersson 2005; and Andersson 2009.) Given this paucity, this book draws heavily on studies that investigate related questions in other European countries, and these sources are likewise employed for comparative purposes. Yet unlike many of these works, this research scrutinizes racism in both amateur and elite football. Furthermore, in contrast to most of these earlier surveys, it analyzes not only overt expressions of racism but also institutionalized and more veiled, symbolic forms of racism in all areas of the sport (Merkel and Tokarski 1996; Vasili 2000; Garland and Rowe 2001; van Sterkenburg, Janssens, and Rijnen 2005; Pallade, Villinger, and Berger 2007; Testa and Armstrong 2010). In addition, this will be the first major historical case study of its kind concentrating on one of the smaller European countries.

Equally importantly, this research engages a larger body of academic work that reviews the relationship between sports and integration in Europe today (Dubois 2003; Agergaard and Sorensen 2010; Vermeulen and Verweel 2011). Above all, this literature is preoccupied with the question of whether increased ethnic and racial diversity in popular sports, such as football, inevitably results in greater social integration overall.

While Swedish studies on this topic take a generally hopeful view of the integrative potential of football and of sports in general (Järtelius 1983; Ehn, Frykman, and Löfgren 1993; Peterson 2000), many others European scholars are less certain (Back, Crabbe, and Solomos 2001; Giulianotti 2006; Spaaij 2011). This research tests the validity of this hypothesis and finds that in the Swedish case, the evidence on this score remains unconvincing. It certainly does not give one reason to be overly optimistic about the supposedly integrative value of sports, nor of football's ability to combat racism.

For though it is true that overt expressions of prejudice are becoming less frequent in northern European and Swedish football, this does not necessarily mean that racism has been eradicated at either the elite or the amateur level. Rather, it manifests itself in increasingly subtle ways, and this book posits that popular conceptions of African (and other black) footballers continue to be implicitly informed by racial stereotypes that date back to the earlier colonial era. These views moreover have become so ingrained and institutionalized that they for the most part go unrecognized in Sweden.

To be sure, in the past decade, some African players have on an individual basis been enthusiastically embraced by Swedish football fans, but as a rule, this acceptance is still quite conditional in nature. Similarly, the general tenor of the public debate surrounding the importation of African footballers remains pretty negative. If anything, this discussion dovetails with the larger societal debate about immigration that by and large treats non-Nordic immigrants as a net burden for Sweden. In this respect, *Allsvenskan's* African imports thus face many of the same prejudices that confront other non-Nordic immigrants, and it is additionally clear that racism in Swedish football and society are often mutually reinforcing.

With this in mind, this study explores why the (alleged) integrative value of sports continues to be an article of faith among Swedish policy makers, in spite of ample evidence to the contrary. It finds that this can be explained by a complex combination of psychological, economic, and political factors. This project further submits that while overt expressions of racism are increasingly contested in Sweden, this does not automatically translate into an unequivocal endorsement of multiculturalism or of racial and ethnic diversity. All this, in turn, raises questions about what it exactly means to be "Swedish" in an era of intensified European integration, transcontinental immigration, and globalization.

This study specifically investigates whether the inclusion of players from the country's new racial and ethnic minorities, such as Henrik Larsson and Zlatan Ibrahimović, onto the Swedish national team has opened the door to a more all-encompassing notion of citizenship. In view of the fact that the national team has long served as a potent symbol of Swedish nationalism, this development represents a direct challenge to older and more restrictive conceptions of "Swedishness," which have traditionally been organized around ethnicity and race. In this way, this research is linked to a broader academic debate about these same issues in Swedish society as a whole (Pred 2000; Popoola 2002; de los Reyes 2002; Arnstberg 2008; Kolade 2009; Ngeh 2011).

Even though this research primarily utilizes football as a laboratory for studying a series of interrelated challenges that are presently facing contemporary Sweden and Europe, it also offers a transnational framework for understanding the international dynamics of modern professional sports. This work consequently examines Swedish football in a global perspective. Above all, it illuminates the dramatic impact that the country's entry into the European Union has had on Swedish professional football. This development, along with the current state of globalism, has brought about a radical transformation of the game in last decade and a half. These changes have not only had a

profound effect on the outward appearance of the sport but also resulted in brand new recruitment strategies as well as a new set of economic dictates.

Disciplinary Breadth and Scope

Despite drawing upon scholarship from a number of different disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, political science, and cultural theory, this work is designed to be a “history of the present.” Though some of the book’s chapters are thematically organized, others adhere to a more conventional chronological narrative. Chapter 3, for example, provides a general overview of the history of immigration in postwar Sweden, while also tracing the rise and fall of organized fan racism in Swedish elite football.

It is also a “history of the present” in the sense that its emphasis is unmistakably on the near past and on the first decade of the twenty-first century in particular. While this study does cite a few sources from after 2010, it only does so in cases when these materials apply either to preexisting situations or to players that were already in *Allsvenskan* prior to the end of the 2010 season.

The 2010 season is an appropriate cutoff for this study for a number of different reasons. For starters, 2010 was the first time that an African country had ever hosted the World Cup—a development that also had the effect of generating increased media interest in *Allsvenskan*’s African footballers. Second, during 2010, two new official reports regarding racism and integration in sports came out. The first entitled “Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott” (Ethnic Diversity within Swedish Elite Sports) was published by *Riksidrottsförbundet* (the Swedish Sports Federation); the second report titled “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” was released by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Taken together, the two reports suggest that patterns of social exclusion and other forms of institutional discrimination continue to be a persistent issue in Swedish and European sports. A final reason for selecting 2010 as a bookend for this work is because this was also the year that the Swedish Democrats—a populist xenophobic party—entered the Swedish parliament for the very first time. Consequently, this is an appropriate moment in time to take the pulse of Swedish football and society in regard to these various issues.

In terms of this study’s principal subjects, most of the attention is obviously on *Allsvenskan*’s African imports. Between 1977 and 2010, more than a hundred Africans were signed by clubs in the Swedish top division. Yet this book likewise considers the experiences of other footballers with non-Nordic origins, including those of Swedes of African descent. In addition, this research looks at a handful of Africans in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system, whose experiences in Sweden are not appreciably different from those of their better-paid and more well-known peers in *Allsvenskan*.

Sources

In addition to a broad assortment of secondary sources, which this work employs for comparative purposes, it relies heavily on primary materials culled from both the “old” and “new” media. This includes everything from newspaper editorials to the contents of football-related discussion threads on the Internet. It also makes use of a wide variety of Swedish government and EU reports.

Chapter Descriptions

The main purpose of Chapter 1 is to introduce the reader to the broader historiographical debate surrounding sports—and football, in particular—as it relates to xenophobia, immigration, integration, and national identity in present-day Sweden and Europe. In addition, this chapter examines the parameters of the current public discussion about racism, arguing that this problem is still far too compartmentalized and narrowly defined, as it is normally only applied to overtly politicized expressions of racial prejudice. This chapter maintains that part of the trouble lies in that Swedish ideas about race are rooted in the earlier colonial era to a far greater degree than is commonly recognized.

Chapter 2 studies the history of African football migration to Europe and Sweden. This chapter identifies the particular economic, geographic, and linguistic factors that have shaped the migration of African footballers to Sweden. It further explores how sweeping changes in the global football market, along with the Swedish decision to join the European Union, have profoundly affected the Swedish elite game over the past decade and a half. Above all, this chapter shows how the country's entry into the EU in 1995 has had a number of dramatic, and largely unforeseeable, consequences for Swedish professional football.

Chapter 3 analyzes racism toward footballers of African descent and other players with non-Nordic origins at both the amateur and elite levels. It does so in order to better contextualize the experience of African football migrants in the Swedish professional game. This chapter is chiefly concerned with overt expressions of racism, tracing the rise and fall of organized fan racism during the late postwar period. Finally, it identifies patterns of exclusion among Swedish football supporters and it proposes that while open manifestations of racism have become less frequent at the elite level, racism has not necessarily disappeared but has only become less visible. This chapter will additionally show that racism is still a serious problem in the amateur game. This is the first comprehensive scholarly study of racism in Swedish sports.

Chapter 4 explores more veiled and symbolic forms of racism in Swedish elite football. It likewise inspects institutionalized discrimination at the club level and how this affects *Allsvenskan's* African football imports. This chapter maintains that these types of racism largely go unacknowledged in Sweden and are rarely, if ever, subject to any serious debate. It argues that this is mostly explained by the fact that the working definition of racism in Sweden remains too limited in scope to effectively address these issues.

Having discussed racism in Swedish football and society at large, Chapter 5 seeks to define who exactly should be considered “African” versus “European” in the Swedish elite game. This chapter moreover provides a brief sociological overview of *Allsvenskan's* African football imports, and it additionally investigates the latter's motives for coming

to Sweden. It concludes with an examination of these players position in the global football market.

Chapter 6 looks at how African footballers are perceived and treated in the Swedish professional game. It is particularly interested in how the clubs' racialized policies and attitudes negatively affect the career prospects of these players. This chapter further delves into the various adjustments that African footballers have to make in order to succeed in *Allsvenskan*. Ultimately, it maintains that by not providing sufficient institutional support, the clubs, in many instances, fail to capitalize fully on the potential talent of these imports.

While Chapter 6 studies the challenges that African footballers face on the field, Chapter 7 instead outlines the numerous obstacles that confront these players as they try to adjust to living in a new country with very different cultural norms. It proposes that this acclimation process requires at least as much effort as adjusting one's approach to the game. This chapter ends with brief a discussion of how these African players rate their own experiences in *Allsvenskan* and in Sweden overall. In this sense, this is also an ethnographic study that examines the lived experience of these imports in Sweden.

Chapter 8 considers how Swedish football supporters and the media regard African imports and other players of African descent. The central question is to what extent, and in what specific ways, the public and media discussion surrounding these footballers remains informed by earlier colonial stereotypes regarding the racialized black body. This chapter furthermore looks at how the debate concerning these imports relates to the larger societal one about non-European immigration and finds several striking parallels between these two discussions.

Chapter 9, the conclusion, examines institutional discrimination at the national level and reveals that integration is not being achieved even within the sport itself. This, in turn, highlights that enhanced diversity does not automatically translate into successful integration. Chapter 9 also questions to what degree the Swedish national team actually acts as a legitimate representative of the new multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural Sweden, suggesting that its symbolic importance is vastly overstated. This chapter ends with a discussion about why the (alleged) integrative value of sports continues to be an unassailable dogma among Swedish policy makers, despite mounting evidence to the contrary. It proposes that this disjuncture can be accounted for by a complex combination of psychological, economic, and political considerations.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Racism and Integration in Contemporary Swedish Football and Society

The modern game of football was first invented in the United Kingdom and then gradually spread across the planet. Today football is the most popular team sport on earth, making it the global game par excellence. Yet at the club level, Europe still remains at the epicenter of the sport. This is because the continent is host to the world's wealthiest and most prestigious football leagues, and for this reason, it also draws the best footballers from around the globe.

Ever since the early 1990s, more and more of this talent has been recruited from the global south and from Africa in particular. Indeed, one of the most striking trends in the European elite game over the past two decades has been the precipitous rise in African footballers who now constitute anywhere from 5 to 10 percent of the players in the top divisions of many European leagues. As the first decade of the twenty-first century drew to a close, at least three thousand Africans were thought to be playing either professionally or semiprofessionally somewhere in Europe.¹

In many cases, these players could be found in leagues that usually elicit very little international attention, like *Allsvenskan* ("the all-Swedish league"), and as the 2010 season came to an end, roughly two dozen of these imports were plying their trade in the top Swedish division. This research takes an in-depth look at 109 African nationals that were signed by *Allsvenskan* clubs between 1977 and 2010.² Although this research spans the entire postwar period, the emphasis is nonetheless on the first decade of the twenty-first century—for it was at this time that the overwhelming majority of these players first arrived in Sweden.

In this same decade, *Allsvenskan* saw a huge jump in foreign imports overall and also in Swedish footballers with family roots outside of Scandinavia.³ Players with non-Nordic origins have been present in the Swedish elite game ever since 1970s⁴ and even earlier than that at the amateur level. However, their numbers exploded during the 2000s, a period in which the first so-called immigrant teams likewise managed to establish themselves in the top tiers of the Swedish league system.⁵ Taken together, these developments have greatly enhanced the racial and ethnic diversity of Swedish football.

Hence in Sweden, like elsewhere in Western Europe, the surge in African (and other non-European) imports—along with the swelling number of domestic players from immigrant backgrounds—has drastically altered the outward face of the sport. Assessing the sociopsychological impact of this change, recent scholarship asserts that the changing makeup of European football has helped foster greater public acceptance of cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity in Europe at large. This idea of “bridging capital” proposes that as indigenous European fans of the game come to identify more and more with “foreign” footballers—and/or with players of more recent immigrant stock—these same spectators also come to adopt a more positive view of cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity in general. Understood in this light, football can then potentially fulfill an important integrative function in society, leading to a more inclusive concept of citizenship in contemporary Europe.⁶

Accordingly, the hope is that the game can act as a dual catalyst for integration: first, at the professional level, where the sport may serve as a model of successful multiculturalism/multiculturalism for society as a whole, and second, at the amateur level, where the game can help promote social harmony by bringing together people from different races, ethnicities, and cultures.

Theoretically the process of integration does not necessarily demand total assimilation but only that new immigrants accept the fundamental values and laws of the dominant host society. In return, they are granted the same legal protections and socioeconomic and political opportunities as the members of the host society.⁷ In practice, however, this is rarely the case. Because in most Western European countries, immigrants continue to be treated as second-class citizens, and this is especially true for peoples originating from the global south.⁸ Under these circumstances, sports are one of the few areas in society where immigrants and members of the indigenous majority can meet and ostensibly compete on equal terms. This also partially explains football’s popularity among young immigrant men in Europe, who see the game as one of the few paths to success open to them.⁹

The idea that sports help advance social integration enjoys strong public support in Europe,¹⁰ and beliefs to this effect are also widely held by European political elites and football authorities,¹¹ including the European Commission and Parliament.¹² The EU, furthermore, regards overt manifestations of racism in football as a direct threat to its vision of creating a more integrated, diverse, and tolerant Europe. For this reason, in the past decade, it has joined together with the governing body of European football, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), to combat racism in the sport.¹³

European studies on this topic have further shown that it is broadly believed that greater diversity on the pitch automatically contributes to creating a more tolerant atmosphere in the game.¹⁴ Such ideas can be found in Sweden as well,¹⁵ not least in the media.¹⁶

In Sweden, too, there is also the belief that the increasingly diverse character of the sport can act as a positive role model for society at large.¹⁷ In relation to *Allsvenskan*, these ideas appear to be particularly pronounced among intellectual elites¹⁸—though decidedly less so among ordinary fans. Yet what the average Swedish football supporter thinks about this matter is perhaps inconsequential, so long as the country’s political and sporting elites continue to treat the integrative value of sport as an unassailable dogma.¹⁹

As will be discussed later in the book, the issue of integration is now regarded with some urgency in Sweden, as there is little dispute about the fact that many of the country’s non-Nordic immigrants are not being effectively integrated into mainstream society. If anything, race and ethnicity have seemingly replaced class as the main fault line

in Sweden today. Swedish government reports indicate that this problem in no small part stems from the persistence of institutional discrimination in many key areas, as well as from other more quotidian forms of prejudice in everyday life.²⁰ This research shows that these same obstacles can also be an issue for *Allsvenskan's* African football imports, and in this respect, their experience in Sweden does not noticeably differ from that of many other non-Nordic immigrants.

This state of affairs is of considerable interest, given that Sweden is generally thought to have done a better job of integrating its immigrants than most of its Western European neighbors.²¹ EU public opinion polls taken during the 2000s additionally indicate that Swedes have consistently assumed a more positive attitude toward both immigrants and multiculturalism than many of their fellow Europeans.²²

Sweden is also a compelling case study because Africans and other non-Nordic immigrants do not have a long history there. Prior to the 1960s, the country had very few foreign-born residents and virtually none from outside of Scandinavia. During the last four decades, however, Sweden has attracted a large number of economic migrants and political refugees, not only from Africa but also from southern Europe, the Balkans, South America, Turkey, and the Middle East. This influx has radically reshaped the country, making it a truly racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse society for the very first time. And at the present, Sweden, in fact, has one of the largest foreign-born populations per capita in all of Europe.²³ (According to Swedish census figures, in 2010 nearly one in five of the country's residents had at least one foreign-born parent.²⁴) Sweden's transformation into a multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural society has therefore occurred at breakneck speed, unfolding essentially in just one generation.

Now needless to say, this transition has at times been accompanied by acute growing pains, and this has often manifested itself in Swedish football, both in open displays of racism and in more hidden forms of discrimination. According to Mike Cole, racism can be defined as "a process whereby social relations between people are structured by the significance of human biological and/or cultural characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social groups. Such groups are assumed to have natural, unchanging origin and status. They are seen as being inherently different and as causing negative consequences for other groups and/or as possessing certain evaluated characteristics. Since these evaluated characteristics are stereotypes, they are likely to be distorted and misleading. If they are at first seemingly positive, they are likely to be negative in the long run."²⁵

Judging by the above definition, racism routinely affects footballers of non-Nordic origins in Sweden today. Regardless of whether such prejudices are based on cultural or pseudobiological criteria, they are used to legitimize hierarchies of social dominance and exclusion. Yet such racism is not characteristically the result of a coherently articulated *white supremacist worldview*. Rather, in most instances, it is born out of a set of more diffusely formulated racialized assumptions that largely go unacknowledged²⁶ because the process of racialization—that is, the practice of categorizing or differentiating on the basis of ethnicity or race—is often tacitly rooted in the simple belief that different racial and ethnic groups are innately distinct from each other, with each group possessing its own unique genetic and/or cultural characteristics.²⁷ The continuance of such views moreover does not signify a specific political orientation—for such ideas can be found among people from across the entire political spectrum and not just on the xenophobic right.²⁸ Consequently, someone may well oppose racism as a political ideology while simultaneously continuing to entertain racialized or "essentialized" beliefs about certain racial and ethnic groups.

Now in relation to the labor market, this racialization translates into an assortment of discriminatory practices in which workers are assigned specific work duties according to their perceived ethnic and/or racial attributes, and such profiling remains a common practice in Swedish football. Such procedures, however, are by no means unique to Sweden, as they have a well-established history in the European game.²⁹

Keeping in mind that the game is Sweden's most popular team sport,³⁰ it would be rather astonishing if racist (and/or racialized) attitudes did not infect Swedish football as well. That football stadiums, specifically, would provide a public platform for the articulation of xenophobic sentiments should come as no surprise, considering that in Europe football arenas have customarily served as a crucial outlet for the popular expression of regional, sectarian, ethnic animosities—and more recently also for newer racially related grievances.³¹

Such chauvinism has been evident at the official state level as well, as European governments have periodically employed the game for their own political and nationalistic ends.³² In postwar Europe, sports have arguably become the principal metaphor of battle between states,³³ and in these contests, no sport has been as critical as football.³⁴ This is what makes the game such a vital field of inquiry when examining the sociopolitical impact of globalization on contemporary European society but also when studying broader questions pertaining to xenophobia, integration, and national identity.

The problem of creating a unified (if still imagined and largely fictitious) sense of national community, furthermore, is especially pertinent to football, for the sport has repeatedly been invoked in the modern state-building project. The EU recognizes the central importance of football in the configuration of national identity—an effort that has been greatly complicated in Europe in the past few decades by the intensified pace of globalization, immigration, and integration. In addition, the progressively diverse makeup of society is now also reflected on the national teams of many Western European countries, which have become more and more multiracial and multicultural in composition.³⁵ This of course raises questions about who exactly belongs to the national body politic, and the presence of black footballers (and other ethnic/racial minorities) on these national teams has repeatedly become a subject of contentious internal debate in Western Europe.³⁶ All these observations definitely apply to Sweden as well, where sports have traditionally also played a pivotal role in the state-building and national-identity formation process.³⁷ To this day, the national senior men's team continues to be a powerful symbol of Swedish nationalism.³⁸

In view of the game's historically close association with European nationalism, many European scholars tend to take a somewhat jaundiced view of football, contending that, in the long run, its integrative capacity is difficult to determine.³⁹ They further caution that sports should *not* be accepted a priori as achieving "positive" social outcomes, because, in truth, they are often just likely to reinforce existing inequalities.⁴⁰

This study shares many of these misgivings and maintains that, if anything, football frequently acts as a major site of ethnic and racial conflict in Sweden. It likewise insists that the public discussion concerning African and other black footballers has done much to ossify and validate the continuance of older racial stereotypes in Sweden. For this reason, the game has wider social implications that indirectly may create an impediment to the achievement of greater racial equality.

In this regard, this work distinguishes itself from earlier Swedish studies on this topic, which by and large have endorsed the integrative value of sports.⁴¹ Support for this proposition, however, has not been totally unqualified. Tomas Peterson, for example, while generally backing this more hopeful view, simultaneously notes that it is not certain

that sports actually act as a gateway for immigrants into mainstream society.⁴² Jesper Fundberg, the leading Swedish scholar of this subject, similarly warns that we should not automatically equate increased diversity in Swedish football with improved integration.⁴³ These reservations are by no means unwarranted because outside of the two reports commissioned by *Riksidrottsförbundet* (the National Sports Confederation),⁴⁴ so far there has been relatively little research on this topic in Sweden, and much of what has been conducted has been based on minimal data.⁴⁵ As a result, we do not yet have a clear picture of the relationship between sports and integration in contemporary Sweden. That having been said, the findings of a 2009 report on this topic,⁴⁶ along with the available anecdotal evidence,⁴⁷ does not give one reason to be terribly optimistic on this front.

Another significant difference between this study and its Swedish predecessors is that these previous studies have exclusively examined the question of integration at the amateur participatory level. Though this work is also interested in this subject, its focus is mainly on the professional game. Above all, it concentrates on the problem of whether *Allsvenskan* actually is regarded as an inspirational model of multiracialism/multiculturalism for the rest of society to emulate. Put in another way, this study assesses whether tolerance is manufactured via positive association. This issue, along with the question of to what extent and in what specific ways popular perceptions of African and other black footballers have been—and continue to be—racialized in Sweden are thus the two chief preoccupations of this book.⁴⁸

Ultimately this work proposes that enhanced diversity on the field does not inexorably result in greater tolerance in the stands. The findings of this book reaffirm the conclusion that the intensified globalization of the game has not eliminated local *peculiarisms* per se but in many cases has acted to invigorate them instead.⁴⁹ This book likewise finds that increased diversity on the pitch does not inevitably bring an end to discriminatory practices in other areas of the sport. Rather this research shows that long-standing racial prejudices in Swedish football have largely survived intact even as the starting lineups in men's elite game have become more and more mixed: ethnically, racially, culturally, and otherwise.

Just as is the case with the Swedish national team, rapid changes to the overall ethnic and racial makeup of *Allsvenskan* can be directly attributed to the escalating pace of immigration and globalization. There is little argument that the Swedish elite game has become far more internationalized in the past decade,⁵⁰ which is something that has been widely acknowledged by Swedish fans and journalists alike.⁵¹ And the importation of large numbers of African footballers has also been regarded as one of the most noticeable manifestations of this turn of events.⁵² Indeed, by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, no other continent—aside from Europe—had supplied as many players to the Swedish top division as Africa.⁵³

The international labor migration of African footballers is typically examined within a larger global framework. This broad-based approach is justified by the palpable impact that globalization has had on virtually every facet of the sport: there can be no question about the fact that professional football today is governed by the financial demands of a truly global market in which services, knowledge, capital, and labor are exchanged on a worldwide basis. This trade moreover increasingly occurs with very minimal government intervention, making it a prime example of the ascendancy of liberal internationalism.⁵⁴

That Swedish football has been so deeply shaped by recent trends in the global football market is maybe to be expected, considering that the Swedish economy is generally deemed to be one of the most thoroughly globalized financial systems in the world. This development has had considerable economic benefits for Sweden, but it has also

generated a new set of constraints that limit the country's financial autonomy in many ways.⁵⁵ The same observation pertains to Swedish elite football.

One of the main characteristics that football shares with most other global industries is its desire to access cheap foreign labor. In order to better understand the trade in African players, scholars have utilized a number of different theoretical schemes in their analyses of the global football market. One of the most commonly applied models is world system theory, which views the world—and in this case, the global professional game—as one interrelated economic unit. The top European leagues of Western Europe are regarded as the “core” of this system, as they are the buyers and principal consumers of the world's best football talent. This talent is, in turn, purchased and recruited from the semiperiphery (South America, Central America, North America, Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, Japan), as well as from the periphery (Africa, Oceania, and much of Asia). In the words of Jonathan Magee and John Sugden, “the global diffusion of the game emanates out from the core Europe. Whereas the migration of football labor is a reverse condition and follows an inward pattern from the external area to the core.”⁵⁶

Though leagues belonging to the semiperiphery also import labor from the periphery, their assigned role within this system has increasingly become to refine this football talent before selling it at a profit to the core. The semiperiphery cannot itself afford to hold on to its most talented footballers, and consequently it is compelled to import players from periphery just to fill the vacancies created by the departure of its own best players to the core.⁵⁷ Leagues that find themselves in the semiperiphery have therefore essentially become reduced to that of middlemen in a global distribution chain.

In contrast, leagues located in the periphery of this system (and almost all domestic leagues in African belong to this category) are consistently forced to sell their most gifted players for export.⁵⁸ In sum, then, the current football exodus out of Africa is driven by the economic strength of the European clubs, and the global football market closely adheres to the principals of liberal internationalism. The particular migration patterns, however, are normally determined by specific historic, geographic, linguistic, and cultural factors.⁵⁹

For a quick illustration, Sweden has, for instance, recruited a disproportionately large number of footballers from Sierra Leone, and this importation has expanded during the second decade of the twenty-first century.⁶⁰ There are no strong historical ties between the two countries, so this importation is the result of three basically interrelated causes: (1) Patrick Mörk, the most well-traveled Swedish agent in Africa, has extensive business contacts in the country; (2) the Sierra Leonean national team (as of 2010) had two Swedish head coaches (Roger Palmgren and LO Mattson); and (3) because of these connections, Kallon FC (the team run and owned by the former Inter Milan great Mohamed Kallon) now supplies a steady stream of young talent to the Swedish elite game.⁶¹ Equally “individualized” patterns of recruitment have also been manifest in relation to Liberia, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Once these imports have been sufficiently developed in Sweden, they are usually sold on to one of *Allsvenskan's* more prosperous European neighbors. The Swedish top division presently finds itself in the lower tiers within the semiperiphery of the global football market, as its role in this system has progressively been transformed into that of a refiner of football talent from the global south and from Africa specifically. As discussed in the next chapter, the practice of importing African footballers has become more and

more important for financial reasons but also due to Swedish clubs' growing need to compensate for the parting of its own players.

Though hypothetically in a stronger position than its counterparts in the periphery, in reality, *Allsvenskan* resembles most African domestic leagues in that it too has debatably been a net loser in the globalization process—at least in the sense that the Swedish top division has also lost the bulk of its best indigenous players to its wealthier competitors. It is striking that almost all the members of the current Swedish national team now make their living abroad, and in this regard, Sweden is in an identical position to that of a lot of African countries. Admittedly, however, the top Swedish division would be in even worse shape if it were not able to import affordable football talent from the global south. Since this is not a viable option for many African leagues, *Allsvenskan* consequently finds itself in a nominally better situation than most of its African equivalents.

While this book highlights the effects of globalization on the host society, much of what has previously been written about the trade in African footballers has instead investigated this question from the point of view of the donor countries. Those who have examined this subject through the lens of world system theory argue that this exportation has had a very corrosive effect on the African professional game as the European-dominated international transfer market is producing a severe “muscle” (or “talent”) drain in Africa. As it stands, most leagues across the continent are hemorrhaging from the loss of their best players, and this de-skilling has further acted to discourage both public interest and financial investment in the African domestic game.⁶²

Dependency theory is another interpretative scheme that has repeatedly been employed to investigate this trade. Essentially dependency theory is a simplified version of world system theory that emphasizes the fundamental subordination of underdeveloped economies within the international capitalist system. When applied to football, this theory specifically holds that the present success of the European professional game is directly linked to the underdevelopment of the sport in the global south. A large part of the problem lies in that most of the profits that are made from the sale of African players are never reinvested back into the domestic game in Africa.⁶³ The trade in African footballers is therefore not all that different from a lot of other African export industries, since, in many instances, European businesses still tend to be the primary beneficiaries of this economic exchange.⁶⁴

For this reason, many scholars have likewise viewed this trade through the prism of neocolonialism, a system in which the former colonial metropolises continue to accrue significant economic advantages through lingering and often extensive financial ties to their former colonies.⁶⁵ In relation to football, this neocolonial relationship normally asserts itself in two distinct ways. To begin with, even following independence, many African countries have remained deeply reliant on various forms of European technocratic and administrative expertise. Such expertise includes European football managers, and to this day, many African countries continue to employ European managers to coach their national teams.⁶⁶ During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, for example, European coaches headed up four out of the six African squads. Nigeria and the Ivory Coast were, in fact, led by two Swedes: the former Swedish national coach Lars Lagerbäck and the previous manager of the British national team, Sven-Göran Eriksson.⁶⁷ (Presumably hiring Swedes is attractive largely because this is not as politically sensitive as retaining head coaches from one of the former major European colonial powers.)

However, when this neocolonial pattern is discussed, it usually refers to the fact that Europe continues to harness Africa's natural resources to its own ends: in this case, the continent's best football talent. Just like many other raw materials found in Africa, this talent is identified, refined, and then exported to Europe for consumption. Hence, in the eyes of its critics, the buying and selling of African players is comparable to the international diamond trade.⁶⁸

The analogy between scouting young African footballers and "finding diamonds in the rough" is one that has also been used by Swedish football agents.⁶⁹ Swedish scouts also generally do not deny that they are capitalizing on the desperation of these players, though they still defend this practice on the grounds that the clubs are helping these youngsters escape poverty.⁷⁰ That be as it may, the recruitment practices of Swedish coaches, like Roger Palmgren, have nevertheless on occasion been subject to criticism back home in Sweden.⁷¹ Identical objections have been raised in many other European countries as well, and during the past two decades, this trade has repeatedly come under fire.⁷²

To its detractors, the importation of African footballers is exploitative and smells of neoimperialism.⁷³ In 2003, Sepp Blatter, the president of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), even went so far as to decry this practice as being tantamount to the "economic and social rape" of Africa.⁷⁴ While eschewing such strong rhetoric, many scholars essentially agree with this assessment, stressing that this importation is, in many regards, continuous with the exploitive practices of the earlier colonial period.⁷⁵

They also concur that this trade fundamentally takes place at the expense of African football, though they simultaneously determine that this practice has not always been entirely negative for the African game, at least not at the international level. It can be argued that this pattern of migration to Europe has bolstered the competitiveness of many African national teams by providing these players with better training facilities and medical care than they would have received at home. Moreover, the professional development of many of these exports has been greatly enriched by the experience of playing in some of the world's most competitive leagues. Claims to this effect are likewise often heard from the spokespersons for various national football associations across the continent and also from many of the players themselves.⁷⁶

This is definitely the dominant view among African footballers in Sweden, who typically see this migration as an asset for African football.⁷⁷ Some players insist that the skills they acquired in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe directly benefits their own national teams,⁷⁸ and this perspective is shared by many Swedish players that were born in Africa.⁷⁹ Among all the continent's national teams, Sierra Leone and Gambia have indisputably made the most of their close relationship with Swedish football, as both squads have now had Swedish head coaches. Maybe even more important, both national teams heavily depend on Swedish-based players⁸⁰—and in Gambia's case, also on a lot of Swedish-raised players.⁸¹

Beyond the football skills that these African imports have attained in Sweden, many of them additionally state that once they retire, they intend to return to their countries of birth and use the knowledge and capital they have obtained in Europe to assist their own local communities.⁸² A lot of these efforts are of course focused on football-related projects, and some African-born players, like Pa Musa Fofana and Njogu Demba-Nyrén, have already worked to set up charities in Africa⁸³ or exchanges aimed at promoting the development of the domestic African game.⁸⁴

Generally speaking, charitable activities are one of the primary points of contact between Swedish and African football today. At times, these philanthropic endeavors are carried out on an individual basis,⁸⁵ but most often, they occur at the club, district, or national level.⁸⁶ Such projects can be found on the women's side as well, and they include everything from collecting and donating used football equipment to running training camps for coaches in Africa.⁸⁷

In a few instances, these charitable activities have additionally been one part of a larger collaborative relationship between individual clubs in Sweden and Africa.⁸⁸ For this reason, the line between charity and self-interest has often been a bit blurry. The best illustration of this is undoubtedly BK Häcken's ties to Gothia Cup, which is a tournament that brings youth players from around the world to Gothenburg each summer. While the cup has a charitable component to it,⁸⁹ the tournament simultaneously provides an enormous economic boost for BK Häcken, and the club has notably also used the competition as a vehicle for scouting and signing African footballers.⁹⁰

A similar ambiguity has frequently surrounded the activities of Swedish-run football academies in Africa.⁹¹ The best known such academy is the Thanda Star Academy in Durban, South Africa. The academy was first established in 2007, and its senior team "Thanda Royal Zulu" currently competes in the Primer Soccer League, the South African top division. Thanda Star Academy is typical in that its stated intent is to help young African players develop while also teaching them essential life skills. At the same time, its spokespersons do not deny that the academy is first and foremost in the business of identifying and refining African football talent for the European export market.⁹²

The Swedish businessman Dan Olofsson founded both the academy and the team, and later Sven-Göran Eriksson came on board as a minority owner and consultant. The previously discussed Roger Palmgren, meanwhile, oversaw the day-to-day operations of the academy.⁹³ Palmgren had earlier supervised the same type of institution in Rwanda, which was likewise directed at exporting promising young footballers to Europe.⁹⁴

Attempts to locate and recruit African talent have occasionally also occurred in conjunction with Swedish clubs' preseason training camps in Africa. Heading into the 2005 season, Djurgårdens IF, for example, utilized its training camp in South Africa to bring a handful of local players in on trial.⁹⁵ To other teams, these trips to Africa have, in contrast, mostly provided an exotic backdrop to the preseason,⁹⁶ and in the twenty-first century, the continent has noticeably also transformed into a popular tourist destination for Swedish footballers.⁹⁷

Over the course of the past decade or so, the relationship between Swedish and African football has therefore become more and more multifaceted, operating at increasingly different levels. It cannot be emphasized enough that this is an unprecedented turn of events, as Sweden has not historically had extensive ties to the continent.

This is largely because Sweden only played a marginal role in the European colonization of Africa. The sole exception was between 1650 and 1663, when the Swedish Africa Company (founded in 1649) briefly operated a small colony, Cabo Corso, in the Gulf of Guinea. This territory is located in present-day Ghana, but during the late colonial era, it would subsequently become incorporated into the British Gold Coast. Cabo Corso was not a settler colony, and very few Swedes actually ever set foot there. For all intents and purposes, it was really just a small trading post where the Swedish Africa Company mainly exchanged textiles, jewelry, and an assortment of household items in return for gold, ivory, and sugar. In the end, the Swedes' hold over the colony

proved to be tenuous, and it finally fell to the Dutch in 1663. Cabo Corso was never terribly economically important to Sweden, nor did the colony ever loom very large in the Swedish popular imagination.⁹⁸ The same point can also be made about the Swedish royal possession in the Caribbean, Saint Barthélemy. Yet these two territories are of some interest since they were both employed as transfer points in the transatlantic slave trade.⁹⁹ While Sweden's participation in both the slave trade and the colonization of Africa was relatively modest in scope—especially in comparison to many of its larger Western European neighbors—this chapter in Swedish history needs to be illuminated since it is not well known in contemporary Sweden, where a state of historical amnesia still engulfs these subjects.¹⁰⁰

Following the abandonment of the trading post at Cabo Corso, Swedish contacts with Africa would remain extremely limited until well into the postwar era. Beyond the activities of a handful of Swedish missionary stations, Sweden had no compelling political or economic interests on the continent for much of the intervening period. This would all change, however, in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the Swedish Social Democratic government became progressively vocal in its support for a number of left-leaning movements of national liberation in sub-Saharan Africa, including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). In the immediate postcolonial era, Swedish engagement in the region would remain relatively high, but it now took the form of massive aid programs designed to help the newly independent states of Southern, Eastern, and Central Africa. To this day, developmental assistance continues to act as the principal link between Sweden and the continent.¹⁰¹ (The father of the Swedish international and Manchester City striker, John Guidetti, in fact, worked on a Swedish aid project in Kenya, where John also grew up playing the sport.¹⁰²)

Yet such state-funded assistance to the continent does not appear to have translated into a more equitable or generous view of Africa. To the contrary, this focus on developmental aid seems only to have confirmed many Swedes' belief in their own supposed superiority¹⁰³—for Africans are still generally thought of as “primitive.”¹⁰⁴ In large part this is because, not unlike most Europeans,¹⁰⁵ Swedes tend to associate the African continent chiefly with disease, starvation, and war.¹⁰⁶

This bias also often informs Swedish sports reporting and unquestionably shapes Swedish views of African football, which is regarded as unorganized and chaotic.¹⁰⁷ African players are additionally judged as lacking discipline and tactical cunning,¹⁰⁸ and taken all together, Swedish football professionals appear to hold the African game in rather low esteem.¹⁰⁹

There is, furthermore, a tendency in Sweden (as in most parts of Europe) to think of Africa as one homogenous unit—as opposed to a continent that is composed of 54 sovereign states that are culturally, politically, and socioeconomically distinct from each other.¹¹⁰ A similar point can also be made about African footballers, whose internal differences are habitually overlooked in Europe.¹¹¹

This study seeks to avoid some of these pitfalls by illuminating the various linguistic, ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic divisions that exist among *Allsvenskan's* African footballers. It further shows that these players do not always share the same motives for coming to Sweden. That said, the experience of being far away from home in a new, alien setting undisputedly has a social leveling impact on the league's African imports, because no matter how heterogeneous their origins are, they will, as a rule, still have a lot more culturally in common with each other than they will with their Swedish-born teammates. They are moreover presented with many of the same opportunities and

obstacles in Sweden, both on and off the pitch. Accordingly, it is still possible to offer some broad generalizations regarding the collective experience of these players in Sweden (while concomitantly allowing for considerable individual differences).

In addition to treating Africans as a uniform group, in Sweden there can conversely also be a tendency to exaggerate the differences between Swedes and Africans.¹¹² The question of whether this distinction is fundamentally based in culture or biology is usually left unresolved, but this idea of difference, no matter how vaguely formulated, is certainly alive and well in Swedish football¹¹³ and also in Swedish sports reporting.¹¹⁴ In the final analysis, the emphasis invariably seems to be on genetics,¹¹⁵ as the performances of all black footballers (regardless of nationality) is all too often still evaluated through the prism of race.

African footballers have long been subject to racialized treatment in the Swedish media¹¹⁶ and so have other black athletes.¹¹⁷ This has also been the norm in Europe, where few areas of society have done as much as sports to continually perpetuate racial stereotypes.¹¹⁸ These tendencies have been particularly pronounced in the media's coverage of football,¹¹⁹ but they can definitely be found in other parts of the press as well.

In Sweden, racialized portrayals of people of African descent have, for instance, had a well-established tradition in advertising, where in the past, Africans were visually depicted with huge lips and other similarly exaggerated physical features.¹²⁰ An excellent illustration of this was a children's football called the "Original Nigro" that was sold by ABC sporting goods in the early 1940s. (A smiling "Sambo" figure was printed on the ball.¹²¹) These embellished physical characteristics are implicitly meant to underscore the primitiveness of people of African ancestry, and this way of presenting Africans has likewise been a recurring theme in Swedish children's literature.¹²² In relation to African women, these representations have occasionally also taken on a fetishized and sexually eroticized dimension.¹²³

This speaks to the continued existence of a racialized worldview that has its roots in the earlier colonial era. Again, these days, this racialization is not always the result of a conscious assertion of white supremacy, but originally this was definitely the case, as differentiation on the basis of race and ethnicity was at the very heart of the European colonial project. In order to justify the expansion of European rule across the globe, Europeans soon developed the idea that they were genetically and culturally superior to all other peoples. White Europeans were placed at the top of this new racial matrix, while people of African descent were found at the bottom of it.¹²⁴

This hierarchy has survived into the postcolonial era and still essentially dictates how different ethnic and racial minorities are treated in contemporary Europe.¹²⁵ These same tendencies are by and large also operative in Sweden, where Asians and Latin Americans are likewise consistently viewed through a racialized lens.¹²⁶ Simply put, then, just because Sweden does not have an extensive colonial history of its own, this does not mean that Swedes are free of lingering colonial attitudes.¹²⁷

Swedish racism of course has its own distinct configuration, yet it can only be understood within the broader ideological legacy of European colonialism and the subsequent emergence of so-called scientific racism.¹²⁸ In this particular context, it is of added interest that the study of racial hygiene and eugenics was far more advanced in Sweden than it was in many other European countries. In the Swedish case, these studies moreover did not only exist at the level of abstraction but also became official state policy in the mid-1930s. (The sterilization of welfare recipients was not discontinued in Sweden until

the 1970s.¹²⁹) More to the point, this preoccupation with racial hygiene did much to legitimize ideas about racial and cultural differences.

In this earlier period, Swedish racial prejudices were predominantly directed against Jews, and similar to most parts of Europe, this did not change until after the Second World War. This shift was partially due to the fact that the biological version of racism that had been advocated by German National Socialism became discredited in the wake of the Holocaust, but it also stemmed from the public's ambivalence about escalating immigration to postwar Sweden. As was the case in many other Western European countries, after World War II, Sweden gradually began to import more and more foreign labor to support its rapidly expanding industrial base. This, in turn, led to an influx of Finns but also to a large group of non-Nordic immigrants—a development that was not always welcomed. As a consequence, Swedish racism, like its continental counterparts, now became reoriented against these new immigrant groups, which in time also came to include a wide variety of political refugees from outside of Europe.¹³⁰

In Sweden these tensions had been present from the very beginning, but they did not burst into full view until the late 1980s and early 1990s.¹³¹ This heightened antipathy toward immigrants—and toward immigrants from outside of Western Europe, in particular—was most dramatically evidenced in this period by a spike in xenophobic violence.¹³² One of the most dramatic illustrations of this trend were the racially motivated crimes perpetrated by “lasermannen” (“the laser man”), John Ausonius, who injured ten and killed one during a six-month-long shooting spree that lasted from August 1991 to January 1992. Ausonius selected his targets solely on the basis of skin color and their perceived “foreignness,” with little regard for their actual nationality.¹³³ (Imad Zatara, the son of Ausonius's final victim Hasan Zatara, would incidentally grow up to be professional footballer, eventually competing in *Allsvenskan* for IF Brommapojkarna, Syrianska FC, and Åtvidabergs FF.¹³⁴)

Even though the majority of these crimes were committed either by “lone wolves” (like “lasermannen”) or by small clusters of people that were not formally affiliated with the xenophobic right,¹³⁵ at the time, such violence was still mostly identified with Nazi skinheads and other new groupings of militant racists that had sprung up in this period. Of these groups, *Bevara Sverige Svenskt*, BSS (Keep Sweden Swedish), was the most significant, if nothing else for the simple reason that it contained the nucleus of what would eventually become the original leadership of *Sverigedemokraterna* (the Swedish Democrats).¹³⁶

In this period, however, such populist xenophobia first found electoral expression at the national level in *Ny Demokrati* (New Democracy). New Democracy was briefly represented in the Swedish parliament between 1991 and 1994, and although it was really a catchall protest party with an emphasis on tax issues, the party did also capitalize on rising anti-immigrant opinion.¹³⁷ Once the party fell out of parliament, the immigration issue was successfully neutralized by the political establishment until 2010 when Swedish Democrats finally managed to break the 4 percent threshold required to enter parliament by obtaining 5.7 percent of the popular vote.¹³⁸

Even prior to this, the party had already established itself at the municipal level, gaining a powerful foothold in several parts of southern Sweden.¹³⁹ In its transformation into a national political party, the Swedish Democrats had been outwardly de-Nazified, publicly disavowing racism.¹⁴⁰ This replicates the political journey undertaken in recent decades by other populist xenophobic parties in Western Europe, such as the National Front in France, the Swiss Peoples Party, and the Freedom Party of Austria, which have

all moderated their public image en route to power. Similar to New Democracy before them, the Swedish Democrats have, above all, looked to their Scandinavian counterparts for tactical and ideological inspiration.¹⁴¹

The political ascendancy of the Swedish Democrats and European equivalents indirectly also signals the xenophobic right's move away from biological racism toward cultural racism, as this has proven to be a prerequisite for electoral success. In reality, there is not all that much difference between the two—for cultural racism typically reiterates the same type of complaints about immigrants, though this criticism is now articulated in cultural rather than genetic terms.¹⁴² If anything, these two varieties of racist argumentation tend to overlap and reinforce each other. In Sweden, cultural racism cannot really be said to have ever fully replaced its antecedent,¹⁴³ nor does it usually take much for these earlier prejudices to come to the surface, suggesting that this renunciation of a biologically based racism is, in many instances, at best superficial. To provide a specific example, heading into the 2010 elections, one of the Swedish Democrats' top municipal candidates (Per Wahlberg in Landskrona) asserted that "Africans are . . . genetically predisposed towards rape."¹⁴⁴ (Considering the openly racist attitudes of some of the party's followers, its electoral breakthrough in 2010 was understandably greeted with considerable apprehension among footballers from non-Nordic backgrounds at all levels of the game.¹⁴⁵)

The persistence of such biologically based racism notwithstanding, the focal point of the party's outward propaganda these days is directed against Muslims, and these arguments are formulated first and foremost in cultural terms. Indeed, one major difference between these two strains of racism is that in Europe today, Islam has typically surpassed Judaism as the main foe in the eyes of the xenophobic right.¹⁴⁶ This is incontestably the case in Sweden,¹⁴⁷ where the Swedish Democrats have both inflamed and skillfully seized upon popular Islamophobia.¹⁴⁸ Among other things, the party's leader, Jimmie Åkesson, has declared that Muslims are the greatest threat to Swedish security since the Germans in World War II,¹⁴⁹ and other party spokespersons have gone so far as to compare Islam to Nazism.¹⁵⁰

At present, then, it is clear that Muslims have become the main bogeymen for the Swedish far right; nor is there any doubt that *Islamophobia* is currently on the rise in Sweden.¹⁵¹ In relation to football, however, the impact of this development is not so easily measured. Hostility toward Muslims, for instance, routinely appears in football-related discussion threads on the Internet,¹⁵² but so far it has been less discernable in the sport itself, at least at the elite level. In all likelihood, this is mostly because Muslim footballers are still relatively new to Swedish professional football, though it can probably also be attributed to the fact that most Swedes continue to associate Islam mostly with Arabs and other peoples from the Near East, not with "black Africans."

This is true in British football as well, where Islamophobia mainly makes itself felt in the amateur game.¹⁵³ In Sweden, Muslim players have a slightly longer history at the amateur level, and it is in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system that one can find clubs that are exclusively made up of Turkish, Kurdish, Somali, or Bosnian players. For this reason, one is probably also more likely to run into anti-Islamic prejudices at this level than in *Allsvenskan*, and the same can be said for anti-Semitism too.¹⁵⁴ Overall, overt manifestations of racism are still a regular problem in the amateur game in many northern European countries. At this level moreover players are not the sole victims, as referees, coaches, and club officials are sometimes also the targets of abuse based on their racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.¹⁵⁵

Conversely, in other instances, players, referees, coaches, and club officials are the main perpetrators. Historically speaking in Europe, this type of conduct has predominantly been associated with supporters, and organized forms of fan racism, such as racist chanting and neofascist banners in the stands, have long bedeviled the professional game. It is also at this level of the sport that spectator-related racism has generated the most public attention.¹⁵⁶

Though fan racism in European football affects many different ethnic, religious, and racial minorities, people of African descent have nevertheless customarily been the primary targets of spectator-related racism. In Western Europe, this pattern of abuse dates back to the late 1800s, though it did not become a major feature of the elite game until the 1970s.¹⁵⁷ Such behavior was first witnessed in Great Britain, but by the 1980s, organized fan racism had become a persistent source of trouble in much of Western Europe.¹⁵⁸ This includes Sweden, where its original appearance in the stadiums during the late 1980s coincided with an upsurge in anti-immigrant sentiments in society as a whole.¹⁵⁹

In Sweden, black footballers have not been singled out because people of African descent are the country's most despised racial or ethnic minority—far from it, in fact, for people belonging to the black African Diaspora (and especially Afro-Americans) possess a certain amount of cultural cache in contemporary Sweden,¹⁶⁰ which cannot really be said for Turks, Kurds, or Arabs, for example. (Again, Swedish racism has its own unique constellation, and within this social hierarchy, people of African ancestry are not always found on the lowest rung.¹⁶¹ Presumably this is mostly because Africans still constitute a comparatively modest share of the country's total non-Nordic immigrant population.¹⁶²)

Consequently, there are a lot of complex nuances at work here, and this generalization clearly does not apply to Africans of Arabic descent, but the main point is just that black footballers have come under fire from the stands *not* because they represent the most hated minority group in Swedish society but rather because they have traditionally been the most visible ethnic/racial minority in *Allsvenskan*. An identical observation can be made about the German *Bundesliga*, for there too players of African heritage have had a disproportionately large presence, while members of the country's biggest immigrant communities, Turks, and so on have (at least until recently) been severely underrepresented.¹⁶³ This has ensured that black footballers at the top levels of the game have become public symbols of—and proxies for—the broader immigrant communities in these two countries (and in many other Western European states as well).

Racism directed at black footballers is thus symptomatic of escalating public antipathy about the continent's rapidly changing ethnic and racial demographics. European scholars have generally interpreted organized fan racism as a protest against the socioeconomic dislocations caused by globalization. Specifically, they view this as a form of popular resistance to the increasingly multiracial, multiethnic, and multiracial composition of contemporary European society. Sometimes referred to as "countercosmopolitanism,"¹⁶⁴ this sociopolitical phenomenon is unquestionably also the driving impetus behind spectator-related racism in Sweden.¹⁶⁵

So like elsewhere in Europe,¹⁶⁶ racism in Swedish elite football is thus a reflection of racism in Swedish society overall. Yet it must simultaneously be stressed that it is not necessarily a mirror image of it. For instance, prejudices toward both Jews and Gypsies certainly exist in Sweden,¹⁶⁷ but such opinions rarely find expression in professional football,¹⁶⁸ even though this regularly occurs in many other European countries.¹⁶⁹ Similarly,

while Islamophobia might well be at the heart of contemporary Swedish xenophobia,¹⁷⁰ as of 2010, it had not yet made itself seriously known on the terraces in the Swedish top division. When *Allsvenskan's* African imports have been attacked in recent years, it has been because of their skin color, not their religious convictions—even though quite a few of these players are practicing Muslims.

Studies on this topic reveal that this general pattern of behavior is still very much on display throughout the European Union, where to this day, black footballers continue to be the chief targets of abuse at all levels of the game.¹⁷¹ This is a situation that furthermore affects black players of all religious persuasions and of all nationalities,¹⁷² and it is something that African imports have consistently complained about over the years.¹⁷³

Now here it is imperative to note that black athletes have frequently faced the same racial hatred in many other European sports. Fan racism has, for instance, also been a cause of trouble in basketball and handball—two sports that likewise draw large crowds of spectators in some parts of the continent.¹⁷⁴ In Sweden too, racism is a reality in other sports¹⁷⁵ at the amateur¹⁷⁶ and professional level alike¹⁷⁷—though in the public mind, this issue is still mostly identified with football and for good reason.

According to the EU, this is the case everywhere in Europe today. In part, this is explained by the game's unmatched diversity, but it is also due to the simple fact that it is the continent's biggest spectator sport by far. And to the extent that collectively organized expressions of fan racism have made an appearance in other sports, this is only because they have been imported from football, where this kind of behavior first originated.¹⁷⁸

In many European countries, the racist right has moreover, at one time or another, constituted a vocal presence on the terraces. To racist groups, football stadiums have acted not only as a central platform for their outward political propaganda but also as a potential recruiting ground. These sorts of activities are still routinely witnessed in many parts of southern and eastern Europe, but in the last decade or so, they have become far less common in much of northern Europe—especially at the professional level.¹⁷⁹

This is not to suggest that this problem has entirely disappeared in northern Europe either, but these days, overt manifestations of racism typically tend to emanate from individual supporters and/or players and are not usually the result of premeditated and collective action on the part of larger groups of supporters.¹⁸⁰ This trend is also discernable in *Allsvenskan*, where racial chanting on the terraces has largely vanished in the twenty-first century.

This turn of events has caused many Swedish politicians, journalists, and ordinary football supporters to prematurely (and incorrectly) conclude that racism is no longer an issue in the Swedish elite game.¹⁸¹ This study, however, shows that while this problem has definitely become less visible in *Allsvenskan*, it has not been totally eradicated by any stretch of the imagination, and as of 2010, racism remained a basic fact of life for the league's black footballers, albeit often in less readily detectable ways.

This book further argues that while open expressions of racism may well have mostly faded away at the professional level, this is not really due to any concerted efforts on the part of Swedish football elites; rather this is mostly attributable to a gradual change in the political climate over the past two decades. Now, as the 2010 election results indicate, this shift has not stopped the growth in anti-immigrant sentiments per se, but it has channeled such opinions in a more socially acceptable direction. These days, the vocalization of explicitly racist views is publicly shunned.

Perhaps the best testament to the strength and political import of this shift is the Swedish Democrats leadership's palpable anxiousness to dissociate the party from any overt expressions of racism.¹⁸²

Currently, then, there exists a broad-based (if rather simplistic) agreement in Sweden that racism is "bad." This position might be best described as an "antiracist consensus" that has its origins in the late 1960s and early 1970s when many Swedes took to the streets to demonstrate against racial oppression in the United States, Rhodesia, and elsewhere. This consensus was subsequently solidified during the late 1980s and early 1990s in the face of the sudden appearance of a new breed of militant racists, a sharp jump in hate crimes, and the election of New Democracy. But the trouble with this consensus is that it was principally designed to politically isolate the xenophobic right, and it was never meant to address more entrenched forms of either institutionalized or symbolic racism.

Accordingly, these matters have never been successfully resolved, nor has their existence ever been adequately acknowledged in contemporary Sweden.¹⁸³ As it stands, most Swedes do not recognize the persistence of structural racism in society and generally do not believe that racism is a critical issue in Sweden—this despite the fact that one out of three Swedes claim to have personally witnessed acts of discrimination directed toward Muslims and people of African descent.¹⁸⁴ Hence in Swedish eyes this is still predominantly regarded as a problem that is confined to other parts of the world,¹⁸⁵ including the other Scandinavian countries but not Sweden. Even the Swedish Democrats' recent gains at the polls have not led to any fundamental reevaluation of this view.¹⁸⁶

And to the degree that racism is recognized to be a problem at all in Sweden, it is exclusively identified with the xenophobic right. This question has therefore been more or less effectively compartmentalized.¹⁸⁷ To be sure, Swedish far right extremists have occasionally been a real menace,¹⁸⁸ but their very existence allows the great majority to dismiss racism as a largely marginalized phenomenon that has very little direct bearing on the rest of society, and this is really the far right's chief significance.¹⁸⁹ Yet the truth is that the scope of this problem extends far beyond the racist right, touching virtually every area of Swedish life, sports included.

This research will demonstrate that these same attitudes have—at least subconsciously—informed the debate about racism in Swedish football. To the extent that any discussion has taken place about this issue, it has almost exclusively focused on organized fan racism, and similarly to many in other European countries, this problem has usually been linked to "a few asocial elements" on the terraces.¹⁹⁰ This has naturally been a politically expedient way for Swedish football elites to characterize the situation, since this requires very little self-introspection regarding their own role in the perpetuation of institutionalized forms of discrimination. To lesser degree, the same criticism can also be leveled against the Swedish media. And so long as the breadth and nature of this problem continue to be underestimated and misdiagnosed, the proposed solutions will likewise prove to be woefully insufficient.

In short, the public discussion surrounding racism in Swedish football has often hidden as much as it has illuminated, as it has largely skirted the more insidious issue of structural racism, which the EU recognizes poses a much graver challenge to Europe's black footballers than spectator-related racism.¹⁹¹ Indeed, among European scholars, there is little disagreement that veiled forms of discrimination and racialized patterns of social exclusion continue to represent a formidable obstacle for the continent's ethnic and racial minorities at levels of the sport.¹⁹²

In Sweden there is no real appetite to delve into these questions in earnest. This book thus aims to investigate both overt and more hidden forms of racism in Swedish football as a way to explore the issue of race, immigration, and integration in Sweden and Europe more generally. First, however, this work will examine the history of African football migration to Europe. In particular, the next chapter identifies what specific historic, economic, geographic, and linguistic factors have shaped the migration of African footballers to Sweden.

CHAPTER 2

The African Diaspora in the Global Football Market

The Arrival of African Footballers in Sweden

Historically Western Europe has been home to the most prominent and prosperous football leagues in the world, and as a result, Europe attracts the best footballers from across the globe. Although this migration dates back to the interwar era, it has greatly accelerated in both pace and scope since the end of the Cold War.

This trend has been very pronounced in relation to African footballers that over the course of the two past decades have become a mainstay in most European football leagues, even in the lower divisions.¹ As of 2010, it is estimated that some two thousand Africans play professional football in Europe and another thousand play semiprofessionally.²

This is a remarkable development given that prior to 1990 African footballers could really only be found (in any significant numbers) in France, Portugal, and Belgium. Elsewhere in Europe, they were still considered a curiosity, and it was not until the success of the Cameroonian team in the 1990 World Cup that Europe's biggest clubs began to take an active interest in signing Africans.³

In fact, prior to the 1990 World Cup in Italy, virtually no African players could be found in the four best European leagues: *Serie A*, *La Liga*, *Bundesliga*, and the English Premier League (EPL). Yet only a decade and a half later, African imports had already established a significant presence in these leagues, particularly in *Serie A* and in the EPL.⁴ The number of Africans in European football has only continued to grow since then, not only in the top leagues but also in many of the smaller, less prominent ones.⁵

Indeed, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, many of the game's biggest stars were African imports, with football icons such as Didier Drogba, Michael Essien, Kolo Touré, Samuel Eto'o, and Emmanuel Adebayor achieving a level of global name recognition that few African statesmen enjoy.⁶ Their success in Europe has not surprisingly become a powerful source of inspiration for an entire generation of African footballers, many of whom one day too aspire to make a living as professional athletes abroad.

Football is the most popular team sport on the African continent, and the triumphs of African footballers in Europe are collectively celebrated in Africa. Pierre Lanfranchi

and Matthew Taylor submit that from an African point of view, the attraction of football lies in that “[the game has] allowed individuals with relatively low levels of ‘Westernization’ to become successful on both continents. Like music, football has produced figures and role models who have progressed without denying their difference or requiring training to adapt to Western standards.”⁷ This is also what makes the sport an extremely critical site of symbolic contest, for it creates one of the few equal playing fields between Europe and postcolonial Africa—at least on the level of individual and collective skill.

That said, there is little parity between European and African football on the larger structural economic level. This is because in Africa organized football (similarly to a lot of other economic sectors) typically suffers from chronic underinvestment. In many parts of the continent, the financial basis of the professional game is further undermined by political infighting as well as by systemic corruption and poor administrative practices. Taken together, all these various obstacles have a negative impact on both player development and salaries, making it difficult for the African professional game to compete with its European counterpart.⁸

The most basic “pull factor,” then, is simply the enormous economic resources possessed by European football clubs. As the British journalist Ian Hawkey points out, an African footballer can typically make more money playing in Moldova or for a second division team in Bulgaria than he will almost anywhere in Africa.⁹ Hence at present there are still only very limited opportunities to make a good living as a professional footballer in Africa, and for this reason, most will have to go abroad in search of employment.¹⁰

Some African football migrants find work in the Persian Gulf region (in places like Qatar, the United Arab Emirate, and Saudi Arabia) and others in Southeast Asia (in countries such as China, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Singapore), though in recent years, a growing number of Africans have also been recruited to play in the United States. Still Europe remains the principal (and most desired) destination for African footballers.¹¹

The History of African Football Migration to Europe

Over the last two decades, Europe’s preeminent position in world football has only been enhanced by the advent of satellite television and the Internet, which has created an even bigger international market for the European professional game. This trend is quite evident in Africa, where both the media and public are almost wholly preoccupied with the European game to the detriment of the continent’s own domestic leagues¹²—leagues that in most African countries receive but scant popular attention.¹³

The “pull” toward Europe is furthermore continuously bolstered by the African sports media, which as a rule offers a very selective (and highly romanticized) portrait of African footballers’ existence in Europe. The always alluring “rags to riches” storyline is central to this narrative. Needless to say, this portrayal obscures the reality that the overwhelming majority of all African players who make their way to Europe will never achieve fame and fortune.¹⁴

If anything, the global football market can be ruthless, and when these imports fail to impress, they quickly become expendable to the clubs. In the worst cases, Africans who have had unsuccessful trials at European clubs have been known to fall completely between the cracks, becoming illegal aliens stranded in Europe without either proper identification or sufficient money to return to home again.¹⁵ Others, meanwhile, fall victim to unscrupulous agents¹⁶ or are defrauded by local football academies before ever even making it to Europe.¹⁷

The situation is not always much better for the few who are fortunate enough to secure a professional contract in Europe. This is because in many cases these players end up signing disadvantageous contracts that leave them wholly at the mercy of their new clubs.¹⁸ In addition, it is very common for African footballers to be cheated financially by either their own agents or their clubs when signing their first European contracts.¹⁹

The mistreatment of African football migrants has become a serious enough problem in Europe that both FIFA and the EU have held hearings on this subject,²⁰ causing FIFA to regulate the transfer market of young African players. The Belgian Parliament, the British House of Commons, and even the United Nations have also looked into this situation.²¹ In light of the irregularities that have frequently surrounded this trade, its detractors have decried this as a “modern form of slavery.”²²

Scholars of this topic, however, generally reject this analogy as misplaced.²³ First of all, they point out that few of these footballers would want to return home even if they could. Second, they argue that these imports normally recognize that they are being exploited during the initial signing process but that they are willing to accept this trade-off in return for a securing an opportunity to compete in Europe.²⁴ In short, these African football imports are not passive victims, and from their point of view, these occupational hazards are tolerable so long as they ultimately attain their personal objectives.²⁵

This also explains why these various perils have done little to stem the ongoing football exodus out of Africa.²⁶ This trend can moreover only be understood in the broader context of sharply rising African migration to Europe overall. While there is ample evidence of increased prosperity in many parts of the continent, the trouble is that in most African countries, these improvements are not evenly distributed across the entire population. These gains are, additionally, often offset by a rapidly expanding population that, in turn, is competing for a limited (and in many cases dwindling) amount of natural resources. This, combined with the overwhelmingly young age of the continent’s population, has fueled outward emigration—if not out of Africa, then at least from one part of the continent to another.²⁷

Although these footballers are not a homogenous group and their decisions go abroad are not always driven by financial necessity, the majority should nevertheless probably be classified as economic migrants. In most instances, their motives for going abroad are not markedly different from those of other Africans who make their way to Europe. In both cases, it is the promise of a better life that has led them there.²⁸

The reality is that for the majority of these footballers, playing either professionally or semiprofessionally in Europe will only prove to be a short phase in a lifelong period of migration.²⁹ Ultimately, football is only *one* potential avenue for achieving this dream, and for a lot of African players, it is *not* necessarily the only one. Indeed, for many Africans, playing either professional or semiprofessional football is combined with other forms of employment or studies. This has also always been the case for African footballers in Europe.³⁰

There is a long history of African football migration to Europe, with the first African, Ghanaian Arthur Wharton, playing in England as early as the 1880s. Wharton came from a relatively prosperous background and had originally gone to England to obtain a university education, though he ended up playing competitive football for nearly two decades.³¹ Following in Wharton’s footsteps, a handful of other Africans would likewise play competitive football in Britain in the immediate period leading up to and following the First World War.³²

Yet it was not until the 1930s that French clubs first started signing North African players in larger numbers, and some of these imports would eventually also represent France internationally.³³ Still, as important as the game was to this first group of footballers, many of them simultaneously sought to acquire either a university education or a skilled trade while they were playing.³⁴ To this generation of African imports, then, football was basically a means to an end, as it was the best way to make a living while laying the foundation for a professional career once their playing days were over.³⁵ This tradition survived into the early postwar period.³⁶

After World War II, the French practice of signing African players continued,³⁷ and at this juncture, Portugal also began to bring in footballers from its African colonies. Portugal too soon enlisted the talents of these colonial imports into its national team.³⁸ In both the French and Portuguese cases, the incorporation of these colonial subjects into their respective national football teams was consistent with these two countries' broader assimilationist approaches toward their colonial subjects.³⁹

However, in the aftermath of being freed from European control, the new states of Africa frequently took measures to prevent their most talented footballers from moving abroad, bringing such exportation to a total halt in many places. This was done to prevent European clubs from poaching their top players and with an eye to protecting their national teams, which in many African countries had become a sacrosanct symbol of the postcolonial state.⁴⁰ But once FIFA assured these states in 1981 that all African footballers in Europe would be available to compete for their own national teams, most African governments eased these restrictions. After this, the migration of the continent's best footballers regained momentum again.⁴¹

Initially most of this traffic was limited to Belgian, French, and Portuguese clubs, who in the wake of decolonization continued to recruit players from their countries' former African possessions.⁴² As the twentieth century drew to a close, Belgium, France, and Portugal were still the three largest net importers of African footballers,⁴³ and France and Belgium have continued to function as the initial "launching pad" in Europe for most African football migrants.⁴⁴

Hence most of the migratory routes established prior to independence have continued to operate.⁴⁵ Michiko Hase adds that "in this regard, the migration pattern is often consistent with the larger pattern of global labor migration, which tends to flow from Third World countries to First World economies with colonial ties . . . Thus, in football players' migration as in other sectors of the global labor migration, there is an element of neo-colonialism in that the migration patterns, in many instances, tend to reproduce old colonial ties."⁴⁶

This neocolonial pattern, however, gradually began to break down during the first decade of the twenty-first century. The end of the Cold War, changes in EU law, and increased intercontinental migration aided by the triumph of Liberal Internationalism have together acted to remove many of the long-standing protectionist barriers that had previously impeded the free movement of labor between Africa and Europe. These events, combined with the growing wealth of the biggest European clubs, have had the effect of drawing an ever rising number of African footballers to Europe, even to parts of the continent that either have no, or at least very limited, previous colonial ties to Africa of their own,⁴⁷ like Sweden.

Sweden and the Importation of Foreign Footballers

Normally most public attention is focused on the superstars in the big prestigious European leagues, and there has understandably been less interest in those Africans who play in the smaller European leagues that lack such star power. Yet it is in these very leagues where most African footballers actually play, making a modest a living, usually without much international fanfare.⁴⁸

No African children grow up dreaming about playing in one of these smaller mediocre leagues, and the 16-team Swedish top division, *Allsvenskan*, certainly fits this characterization. According to UEFA's ranking system, in 2010, *Allsvenskan* came in twenty-second out of Europe's fifty-three football leagues—that is, just after the Bulgarian and Maltese leagues and a full ten places behind the Danish league.⁴⁹

Allsvenskan's relatively low status is mostly explained by the fact that it is not one of the better-paying leagues in Europe.⁵⁰ In 2002, for example, the average salary in *Allsvenskan* was approximately 383,056 Swedish Crowns per year⁵¹ (which at the time roughly translated in to 38,305 US dollars).⁵² However, the real problem lies not so much with the salaries per say but with Sweden's famously high rate of taxation. After taxes, the salaries offered by Swedish clubs are no longer competitive with those provided by a lot of their European counterparts,⁵³ and as a consequence, *Allsvenskan* rarely attracts top talent from the African continent. Instead, it draws mostly either young footballers who are at the very start of their careers or more experienced journeymen who are making their way through the middle to bottom rungs of the global soccer market.

In 2010 there were approximately 25 African footballers in *Allsvenskan*, and over the years, more than 100 African nationals have earned a living in the Swedish top division.⁵⁴ In addition, an untold (though smaller) number of African footballers have also played in one of the lower tiers of the Swedish league system, at either the professional or semiprofessional level.⁵⁵

While some of the latter eventually make it to *Allsvenskan*,⁵⁶ many others do not and have ended up playing extended periods in the Second, Third, or even Fourth Division. In this category, one might mention players such as Larmin Ousman (Liberia/Floda BoIF 2002–2004, Ljungskile SK 2005–2006, Floda BoIF 2007–2010);⁵⁷ Charles Andersson (Cameroon/Trelleborgs FF 2006, Landskrona BoIS 2007–2009, Östers IF 2010);⁵⁸ and Blaise Mbemba (Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC] / Åtvidabergs FF 2003–2008).⁵⁹ Many other African football imports, however, like Abderrahman Kabous (Morocco, France/IFK Norrköping 2005, Degerfors IF 2006)⁶⁰ and Jamal Mohammed (Kenya/Enköpings SK 2007–2009),⁶¹ only made shorter sojourns in one of the lower Swedish divisions before moving on again.⁶² In fact, one of the most internationally accomplished African footballers ever to play in Sweden, Mohamed Kallon, played for Spånga IS in 1995, just prior to being signed by FC Internazionale Milano.⁶³

Elsewhere in Western Europe, the number of Africans in the lower divisions often exceeds those in the top divisions,⁶⁴ but this is not yet the case in Sweden. This is mainly because few clubs in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system have the financial resources to recruit foreign imports. Still, the number of African footballers is certainly growing in the Swedish Second and Third Divisions, and some clubs, like Bodens BK, for example, have now established a practice of signing African players.⁶⁵ This overall development had done much to change the outward face of Swedish professional football, especially in *Allsvenskan* where Africans represented roughly 6 percent of the league's players in 2010.

This is a relatively new phenomenon, as only 13 Africans had ever played in Swedish top division prior to 2000,⁶⁶ and as the twenty-first century got under way, none of these 13 players were still in the league. Yet by 2004, the number of Africans in *Allsvenskan* had already risen to 12,⁶⁷ and 6 years later, this number had doubled to 25.⁶⁸ This perceptible increase in African players mirrors developments that were taking place in many other Western European leagues during this period,⁶⁹ though African football migration to Sweden initially lagged behind somewhat.⁷⁰

Allsvenskan's African imports have come from at least 27 different nations and have arrived from as varied parts of the African continent as Algeria, Cape Verde, Rwanda, and South Africa. Such diversity notwithstanding, the overwhelming majority has roots in English-speaking West Africa, with footballers from Nigeria (20), Ghana (16), and Sierra Leone (12) leading the way.⁷¹ (In this regard, events in *Allsvenskan* conform to a broader pattern of African football migration, in which West Africa has progressively supplanted North Africa as the main regional exporter of football talent to Europe.⁷²)

The arrival of these African imports has, in turn, done much to transform *Allsvenskan* into a genuinely international league. As late as 1973, no foreigners at all were permitted to play in the Swedish top division.⁷³ Even after 1974, the recruitment of foreign players was still actively discouraged through a strict quota system that barred teams from having more than two foreign players on their rosters. In truth, most Swedish clubs were initially reluctant to take advantage of this rule change, and throughout the rest of the 1970s and well into the 1980s, most Swedish teams continued to have few, if any, foreigners on their rosters.⁷⁴

In this earlier era, rules limiting the number of foreign imports could be found in almost all European countries.⁷⁵ Like elsewhere in Europe, the primary function of this prohibition in Sweden was to ensure that indigenous footballers were given precedence in *Allsvenskan*. More than anything else, this policy was designed to preserve the continued integrity of the Swedish national team. The logic behind this decision was that if the league were to take in too many foreign players, then this would deny younger native Swedish players a chance to develop.⁷⁶ (This is a topic to which we will return in Chapter 8.)

Previously most of the (relatively few) foreign imports in Sweden tended come from either one of the other four Nordic countries or from the United Kingdom. The two most famous foreign footballers to play in *Allsvenskan* during this earlier period were probably Frank Worthington, who was briefly on loan to Mjällby AIF during the 1980 season, and Malcolm "Supermac" McDonald of Newcastle and Arsenal fame, who had a brief stint with Djurgårdens IF in 1979 just prior to retiring.⁷⁷

Since the Swedish game was greatly indebted to the British game,⁷⁸ this initial group of foreign imports was relatively easily absorbed into their new Swedish clubs. Accordingly, Swedish football's first real encounter with radically different football traditions (as well as new cultural norms off the pitch) would not occur until the late 1980s to early 1990s, when it suddenly saw an influx of players from the former Communist states of Eastern Europe. Indeed, it was only with the collapse of the Eastern bloc, and the subsequent dissolution of Yugoslavia, that *Allsvenskan* finally witnessed a sharp increase in foreign football imports.⁷⁹

This trend gained further momentum in 1995 when Sweden joined the European Union. By entering the Union, Sweden now also became subject to its labor laws, and EU legislation would soon have a profound effect on *Allsvenskan*, as it would have on all professional football in Europe.⁸⁰ In December 1995, the European Court of Justice ruled in favor of Jean-Marc Bosman, a relatively unknown Belgian player, who asserted

his legal right to become a free agent at the end of his current contract over the objections of his club. The European Court, however, upheld Bosman's legal right as a citizen of the EU to the freedom of movement, thereby allowing him to relocate to wherever he could command the highest pay within the Union.⁸¹ This ruling truly revolutionized professional European football by destroying the earlier club-controlled transfer system, and it immediately drove up player salaries.⁸² It also demolished the quota system previously employed by most leagues to restrict the number of foreign players, because now all EU citizens could legally play in any country that belonged to the Union. To be sure, most European leagues continued to enforce strict quotas against non-EU citizens, but the Bosman ruling nevertheless generated much greater mobility in the global football market. Once a non-European player became a citizen in any EU country, he could legally play anywhere in the Union without being counted against the non-EU quota, and a wave of naturalizations of non-European players soon followed.⁸³

Since 1995, a handful of African footballers have become naturalized Swedish citizens. In most cases, this is done with the intent of permanently settling down in Sweden,⁸⁴ but at least in one instance, it is quite clear that the application for Swedish citizenship was submitted only for the sole purpose of improving the player's international mobility and thus also his potential transfer value.⁸⁵ The acquisition of European citizenship for African footballers is not surprisingly often also strongly encouraged by both the agents and clubs as a way to get around the non-EU quotas.⁸⁶

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, this issue became an increasingly thorny one in Swedish football, as a number of teams were penalized for fielding more than three non-EU players at one time.⁸⁷ (Here it should be added that foreign players only become considered "football Swedes" once they have played three full seasons as professionals, at which point they no longer count against the non-EU quota.⁸⁸)

Swedish football clubs have, however, found novel ways to subvert EU rules to their own ends. The most drastic illustration of this took place in early 2007 when Helsingborgs IF (following a precedent set by the Danish club Randers FC) seized upon the so-called Cotonou Agreement to circumvent the restrictions on non-EU players.⁸⁹ The Partnership Agreement ACP-EC (as the Cotonou Agreement is formally known; or, the "Partnership Agreement between the Members of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States of the One Part and the European Community and Its Member States of the Other Part") led to the creation of a new comprehensive partnership between the EU and 78 African, Caribbean, and Pacific nations. Signed in 2000 in Cotonou (the capital of Benin), the agreement was directed at ameliorating poverty by encouraging development and increased economic ties between the EU and the 78 other signatory states. To this end, it eased immigration restrictions on the citizens of these 78 countries, thereby greatly facilitating their entry into any member state of the Union.⁹⁰

As a result of this new arrangement, football migrants from such football exporting powers as Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast would no longer count against the non-EU quota. At first, the Swedish Football Federation sought to contest the applicability of the agreement,⁹¹ but by September 2007, Swedish football authorities were forced to abandon their opposition, and players from these 78 signatory countries were (from the start of the 2008 season on) to be considered legally on par EU citizens (at least in relation to the quota restrictions regarding foreign football imports).⁹²

The Spanish Football Federation reached the identical conclusion shortly thereafter.⁹³ By this juncture, the Belgian and German leagues had already abandoned all quotas limiting the number of foreign imports;⁹⁴ though the Swedish Football Federation was yet not willing to go quite this far. Realizing that it could not successfully challenge

EU law, Swedish football authorities instead opted to drop the earlier quota system in favor of UEFA's suggested guidelines regarding so-called homegrown players.⁹⁵ These guidelines stipulated that at least 6 players on each team's 25-man roster must have played football in a domestic European club for at least 3 years between the ages of 15 and 21. This provision, however, did not necessarily prohibit these "homegrown" players from holding foreign passports.⁹⁶ Swedish football authorities subsequently settled for 7 homegrown players on each team's 16-man match squad—an arrangement that thus potentially allows for as many as 9 non-EU players.⁹⁷ So in spite of its original resistance, the Swedish Football Federation ended up adopting a relatively liberal approach to this issue. England, Italy, and the Netherlands, meanwhile, all continue to uphold much stricter immigration standards for non-EU players.⁹⁸

This last gasp attempt to protect *Allsvenskan* from being totally inundated with foreign imports illustrates the enormous—if often unintended—impact that the European Union has had on the European elite game.⁹⁹ The Cotonou Agreement, for example, was clearly not made with professional football in mind, yet it would soon have major ramifications for the sport.¹⁰⁰ Many of these developments moreover could not have been foreseen by Swedish political elites and football authorities when the country first joined the EU in January 1995.¹⁰¹

Now in the short term, the Bosman case had two enormously important and immediate consequences for *Allsvenskan*. On one hand, it caused many big European clubs to refocus their recruiting efforts on Europe, and as a consequence, there was suddenly less international competition for African talent, which benefited some Swedish teams.¹⁰² On the other hand, this ruling also caused Swedish players to begin leaving *Allsvenskan* in much greater numbers than before.¹⁰³

The increased revenue generated by the growing global appeal of European football has not been distributed evenly across Europe, as the bigger leagues have been the primary beneficiaries of the new lucrative television and sponsorship deals that were signed in the 1990s. Ever since then, smaller domestic leagues, like *Allsvenskan*, have lost more and more financial ground vis-à-vis their wealthier European neighbors.¹⁰⁴ This has had the effect of turning Sweden into a net exporter within the intra-European football market—to the point that many Swedish commentators now worry that *Allsvenskan* risks becoming a feeder league for the Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch leagues.¹⁰⁵ In earlier eras, with few exceptions, most Swedish professional footballers played their entire careers in *Allsvenskan*, but this is no longer so.¹⁰⁶

In fact, in recent years, a growing number of Swedes, including some of African descent, have become professionals abroad without ever having first played in *Allsvenskan*. In this category, one might mention people like Henok Goitom (*Unión Deportiva Almería / La Liga*) and Martin Tony Waikwa Olsson (Blackburn Rovers / English Premier League [EPL]).¹⁰⁷ Other Swedish footballers, meanwhile, have made their way out into Europe already as teenagers, starting their professional careers in the football academies run by many of the bigger European clubs.¹⁰⁸

Nowadays more and more African players begin their careers in the same way,¹⁰⁹ and similarly to their African counterparts, Sweden's most talented footballers generally make their living elsewhere in Western Europe.¹¹⁰ Indeed, almost everyone on the Swedish national team either plays or has at least previously played in one of the higher ranked European leagues. So in this regard, the situation in Sweden is not all that different from that in many African countries, whose national squads are now routinely composed almost exclusively of foreign-based players.¹¹¹

But more to the point, the departure of the best Swedish footballers has conversely created more room for foreign imports in *Allsvenskan*, and in first decade of the twenty-first century, this has brought about a marked upsurge in foreign players.¹¹² Just between the 2001 and 2002 seasons, the number of foreigners in *Allsvenskan* had risen by 50 percent,¹¹³ and by 2004, every single team in the league had a least one foreigner on their roster.¹¹⁴ Two years later, a full one-third of the league was made up of imports,¹¹⁵ and by 2008, the total sum of foreign players had reached 106, thereby doubling the number of foreigners since 2004.¹¹⁶ This trend is basically consistent with developments in many other Western European leagues, where the volume of imports expanded by more than 50 percent between the 1995/1996 and the 2004/2005 seasons.¹¹⁷

It should, however, be emphasized that the distribution of foreign players varies greatly within *Allsvenskan*. This is due to the fact that the clubs have not only unequal economic resources but also different recruitment strategies (a point to which we will return in Chapter 5). While some teams have tried to continue to rely primarily on domestically raised players, other clubs, like Djurgårdens IF, Helsingborgs IF, Kalmar FF, BK Häcken, and Örgryte IS have become closely identified with the purchase of foreign footballers¹¹⁸ and especially non-European footballers.¹¹⁹

These days, players from almost all over the world can now be found in *Allsvenskan* and also in some of the lower Swedish divisions. This characterization nevertheless requires a few qualifications, not least in regard to Asia.¹²⁰ Although a number of Swedish-born (or at least Swedish-raised) footballers of Turkish and Middle Eastern origin have played in *Allsvenskan*,¹²¹ as of 2010, not a single player from either South or Southeast Asia had yet to appear in the league. Oceania and North America have, in contrast, been better represented, as a handful of footballers from these two continents have found their way to *Allsvenskan*. The most notable player in this category is probably the US international Charlie Davies, who played for Hammarby IF for two seasons before transferring to the French club Sochaux in *Ligue I* during the summer of 2009.¹²²

In terms of European players, Swedish clubs have never really been in a position to buy top talent from other Western European countries, and on the few occasions that they have, these players have normally been nearing the end of their careers. Here one might point to people such as the earlier mentioned Malcolm “Supermac” McDonald or the former AC Milan star and French international Ibrahim Ba, who briefly played for Djurgårdens IF in 2005.¹²³ There are of course other less known European footballers still playing in Sweden, but generally speaking, even the number of players from the former Communist states has declined in recent years.¹²⁴ (In fact, during the late 2000s, *Allsvenskan* lost players to leagues in Eastern Europe for the first time ever.¹²⁵)

As for those Europeans who still come to *Allsvenskan* (in any larger numbers), players from one of the other Scandinavian countries continue to dominate, though one noticeable modification is that Finnish and Icelandic imports now outnumber Danish and Norwegian ones.¹²⁶ Still the biggest change over the course of the 2000s has unquestionably been the sharp rise in footballers from the “global south,” not just from Africa but also from Latin America—Brazil, in particular.¹²⁷

This shift mainly reflects the current financial fragility of the Swedish professional game, which has caused Swedish teams to expand their recruitment area beyond Europe in the search of affordable talent.¹²⁸ To this end, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Swedish clubs and especially Örgryte IS initiated collaborative relationships with teams in Brazil¹²⁹ as well as with ones in various parts of Africa.¹³⁰ At the time, this was seen as a crucial move, and these links also resulted in a number of African and Brazilian footballers eventually being brought to Sweden.¹³¹

Brazilian clubs welcomed these new ties in view of the acute financial crisis that the domestic game found itself in during the early 2000s. Since Brazilian clubs routinely produce more football talent than they themselves need, the arrangement to place some of their lower ranked talents in *Allsvenskan* made economic sense, even if this meant selling these players at a lower initial price. This is because Brazilian club officials calculated that the top Swedish division would be a better place to showcase their surplus players than any of the lower Brazilian divisions. In exchange for providing these footballers to Swedish teams, the Brazilian clubs were, in turn, given a significant percentage of the profits if these players were subsequently resold in Europe.¹³²

Between 2000 and 2009, this collaboration led to 67 Brazilian footballers being signed by Swedish elite clubs.¹³³ In hindsight, this experiment has had decidedly mixed results.¹³⁴ Some of these imports, like Djurgården's Thiago Quirino da Silva, for example, failed to live up to the club's original expectations,¹³⁵ while others, such as Alvaro Santos and Afonso Alves, have conversely been a terrific addition. The great majority, though, have been somewhere in between, and in the end, only a handful of them have become big stars in *Allsvenskan*.¹³⁶

This mixed track record can largely be attributed to the fact that Swedish clubs simply do not have the economic means to buy the very best Brazilians: as one journalist put it, Swedish teams can only afford to purchase Brazilian footballers out of the "bargain bin."¹³⁷ Brazilian players have nonetheless repeatedly proved to be a sound investment, as Swedish clubs have been able to resell these players at a substantial profit.¹³⁸

From a Swedish perspective, the problem was that the price of these imports began to rise again in the late 2000s as the Brazilian economy gradually recovered. This development had the effect of pricing Swedish clubs out of the Brazilian market, and as a result, they have progressively turned their attention toward signing Africans instead.¹³⁹

As the 2010 season came to a close, African footballers had yet to command as high resale values as Brazilians,¹⁴⁰ though Africans have never been as expensive to buy in the first place. This makes Africans very attractive to Swedish clubs who have more limited financial resources than many of their European competitors.¹⁴¹

Generally speaking, the recruitment of African footballers still usually makes good business sense for European teams,¹⁴² especially at a time when many clubs in the smaller European leagues, like *Allsvenskan*, are having great difficulty holding on to their most talented players.¹⁴³ As Lanfranchi and Taylor put it, "some characteristics of the African market make it particularly attractive to for the poorer European leagues who are prominent exporters of talent within Europe. Africans are typically cheap, often successful, and are [further] used to replace emigrants."¹⁴⁴

Yet as already implied, the conscription of players from the "global south" not only is thus about filling holes in the roster but also becomes an investment strategy. Similar to many of their European counterparts, Swedish clubs presently hope to make a profit by playing the part of middlemen in the European transfer market,¹⁴⁵ and for many Swedish teams, this has increasingly become a critical source of income.¹⁴⁶ The basic idea, then, is to sign Africans at an affordable price and then eventually turn around and resell them at a profit. The speculative market for African footballers in Europe is now considerable; in 2006 it was estimated that almost one-fifth of the players moving between the different European leagues were from Africa.¹⁴⁷

As was noted in Chapter 1, the Swedish professional game has more and more taken on the role of refining "raw" African football talent for redistribution on the wider European football market. *Allsvenskan* fulfills an important function in this regard, since for most Africans, the leap up to the top European leagues is just too steep at first.

Moreover, since African footballers must be at least 18 years old before they can sign with a European club, this means they will normally not be with their new teams long enough to achieve “homegrown” status. Without this status, they will still be considered non-EU players, making them less desirable in the eyes of many of the continent’s best clubs. This is where the smaller European leagues, such as *Allsvenskan*, come into the equation, for it has de facto become their assigned task to familiarize these imports with the European elite game.¹⁴⁸

Now in order to maximize their profits, some Swedish clubs have followed the example of many bigger European teams, establishing their own direct contacts with African football academies¹⁴⁹ and local clubs. These African teams are then, in turn, utilized as “feeder clubs.”¹⁵⁰ From a European point of view, the primary function of this arrangement is to help them identify and procure inexpensive talent in Africa. Above all, European clubs benefit from this arrangement by outsourcing the early training costs and by signing young African players at a relatively low initial transfer price,¹⁵¹ though critics of this practice complain that this system essentially creates nurseries that allow European teams to safeguard African talent until they reach 18, at which point these players can legally be transferred to Europe.¹⁵² In this respect, then, the smaller European leagues and the academies play largely similar—and to a certain extent also complementary—roles to each other.

From the very beginning, the contacts between Swedish teams and their African counterparts have generally had a charitable dimension to them, and in some instances, this has continued into the present,¹⁵³ though these ties were of course always also meant to produce players and by extension profits. Among Swedish clubs, Örgryte IS and Djurgårdens IF originally had the most developed relationship with local African teams, with ÖIS utilizing Chiparamba Great Eagles in Zambia as a feeder club,¹⁵⁴ while Kinshasa City FC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo briefly fulfilled a similar function for Djurgårdens IF.¹⁵⁵

If we take a closer look at Djurgården’s ties to Kinshasa City FC, these were rather tenuous from day one. Kinshasa City FC had been the brainchild of Fedo Moukoko, a Congolese political exile in Sweden. After founding Kinshasa City FC, he eventually managed to elicit the financial support of Bror Anders Månsson. Månsson, in turn, sat on the board of trustees for Djurgården Football, and he helped facilitate the initial contact between the two clubs. Equally important, Månsson personally financed the creation of Kinshasa City FC, which had previously been known as Vegos. In addition to purchasing the club, Månsson’s money also paid for a new training facility and dormitories for the players.¹⁵⁶

Together Månsson and Moukoko therefore acted as the midwives of this relationship, and the top management of Djurgården Football only appears to have played a rather peripheral role in these contacts with Kinshasa City FC.¹⁵⁷ In the end, Djurgårdens IF never invested much (financially or otherwise) in this relationship.¹⁵⁸ This being the case, it is perhaps not all that astonishing that Djurgården’s ties to Kinshasa City FC ultimately did not survive the untimely death of Moukoko in November 2001. After this, the arrangement between the two teams continued on in name only and then eventually totally died out a few years later.¹⁵⁹

The informal and often personal nature of these contacts has been fairly typical of the dealings between Swedish clubs and their counterparts in Africa, which, in most instances, have been initiated on an individual basis.¹⁶⁰ This was, for instance, the case in 1997, when Roger Palmgren assisted in bringing eight young promising players from Sierra Leone to Sweden.¹⁶¹ At that point, Palmgren had just left his position as the head

coach of Sierra Leone, and he would subsequently also lead the Rwandan national team, at which time he similarly helped get BoBo Bola signed to Landskrona BoIS.¹⁶² Since then, Palmgren has repeatedly recommended other African players for trials with Swedish clubs.¹⁶³

In relation to Sierra Leone, Palmgren's personal contacts there would eventually create a pipeline for Sierra Leonean footballers to come to Sweden, and a similar route between Sweden and Liberia was later set up by Stig Johansson, the chairman of Floda BoIF.¹⁶⁴ Over time, these individual initiatives have grown into regular (if still somewhat informal) channels that have continued to generate a steady stream of Liberian and Sierra Leonean football imports to Swedish clubs.¹⁶⁵

In many instances, Gothia Cup initially acted as a showcase for these imports,¹⁶⁶ and for the Gothenburg club BK Häcken (the main host of this annual youth tournament), the cup has also become a key venue for the signing of young African footballers.¹⁶⁷ Other Swedish teams have used the tournament to the same ends. Örgryte IS's relationship with Chiparamba Great Eagles originated out of the Zambian club's participation in the cup.¹⁶⁸ During the tournament in 2002, officials from Örgryte IS talent spotted Edwin Phiri and Boyd Mwila, bringing them to Sweden the very next year. These two signings, in turn, laid the foundation for a more formal, longstanding relationship between the two clubs.¹⁶⁹

All this seemingly underscores Raffaele Poli's point about the significance of specific sociohistorical factors in the creation of these migration patterns.¹⁷⁰ So while economic necessity might well be the principal motivating factor behind the current exodus of footballers out of Africa, where these players exactly land in Europe tends to be determined by particular local circumstances and the presence of preexisting networks.

As the first decade of the twenty-first century came to a close, Swedish scouts and club officials have expanded these informal networks to other parts of West Africa and beyond.¹⁷¹ According to Swedish player agent Patrick Mörk (who has personally been instrumental in the construction of many of these networks between Sweden and Africa),¹⁷² the days of relying on so-called untested DVD recruits are over. Swedish clubs are no longer as willing to sign foreign players "sight unseen" and now prefer to scout African footballers in person and on location whenever possible.¹⁷³ Consequently, many Swedish clubs have greatly intensified their scouting activities on the continent.¹⁷⁴

This includes a small but growing number of Second and Third Division clubs, which have likewise stepped up their presence in Africa in recent years.¹⁷⁵ For the clubs, part of the rationale behind this heightened activity on the continent is to try cut out the middlemen in order to avoid paying independent agents for their services (as well as a percentage of the profits from any future player sales).¹⁷⁶

Here it should, however, be emphasized that this more systemic approach to the scouting and recruitment of African footballers only really came about in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Prior to this, this process was more or less haphazard, and in most instances, these players were "discovered" by Swedes who just happened to be on vacation somewhere in Africa (though these people usually had some type of personal connection to a Swedish club.¹⁷⁷) The Moroccan goalkeeper Driss El Asmar, for instance, was first spotted by a Swedish businessman who had briefly seen El Asmar play in Rabat. The businessmen subsequently advised Degerfors IF to sign El Asmar.¹⁷⁸ This more informal system of recruitment was basically the norm during the 1980s and 1990s, though this practice has not been entirely discontinued, particularly in relation to players who are brought to Sweden directly from Africa (as opposed to from other parts of Europe or elsewhere).¹⁷⁹

Of the 109 African nationals that this book has taken an in-depth look at, nearly one-third were recruited to *Allsvenskan* straight from Africa, while another one-fifth started their professional careers in Sweden in one of the lower divisions.¹⁸⁰ As was just stated, sometimes these players were first signed by Swedish Second and Third Division teams, but in many other instances, they were initially placed with lower division clubs on loan from teams in *Allsvenskan*.¹⁸¹ This experience is intended to acclimate these imports to Swedish football tactics, training routines, club culture, and so on before they are promoted to *Allsvenskan*.¹⁸²

The second most common “jumping-off” spot to Sweden for African footballers has been somewhere else in Europe—and predominately Western Europe. In absolute numbers, the two most frequent European departure points have been the Portuguese Second Division and the Belgian First Division, though African players have also arrived in *Allsvenskan* from as varied places as the French Third Division and the Dutch First Division.¹⁸³ Comparing the quality of different leagues (especially when one is also trying to measure the relative competitiveness of different divisions against each other) is not an exact science. Still, a cursory glance at this data nevertheless indicates that most of the players arriving in Sweden from other parts of Western Europe are objectively making a downward move when they land in *Allsvenskan*.¹⁸⁴

To be sure, some of the African players in *Allsvenskan* have transferred from even less competitive leagues in Europe, like the Finnish and Moldavian leagues or the English Seventh Division,¹⁸⁵ but one is slightly more likely to see castoffs arriving in *Allsvenskan* from one of the higher ranked European leagues.¹⁸⁶ Most of the players that make the jump to Sweden from somewhere else in Europe normally do so either because they are reserves that are not getting much playing time at their current clubs or because their careers have otherwise stalled, and as a rule, they come to *Allsvenskan* in an attempt to resuscitate their professional prospects.¹⁸⁷

Not infrequently, these players end up in the top Swedish division on loan from one of the big European clubs.¹⁸⁸ This was the case, for instance, in 2004 when Ghanaian Kwame Quansah arrived on loan to AIK from Ajax Amsterdam¹⁸⁹ or when the South African international, Siyabonga Nomvethé, came to Djurgårdens IF from Udinese during the late summer of 2005.¹⁹⁰ Though the most famous such example was undoubtedly when Richard Kingson (Ghana’s World Cup goalkeeper in South Africa) came to Hammarby IF in the spring of 2007 from Ankaraspor A.Ş. following a drug suspension in Turkey. (Kingson ultimately had a very successful stint at Hammarby IF, facilitating his subsequent transfer to the English Premier League later that same year.¹⁹¹)

A third and final group of African imports arrive in *Allsvenskan* from either the Americas or Asia. Numerically this is a much smaller group,¹⁹² and their professional trajectories often vary a great deal from each other. Some, for example, have come to *Allsvenskan* after having first played either professional, semiprofessional, or college football (soccer) in the United States,¹⁹³ while still others have disembarked for Sweden from as far-flung destinations as Brazil¹⁹⁴ and China.¹⁹⁵

Among this last category of players, one finds several real globetrotters who have already crossed several continents prior to landing in *Allsvenskan*. Nigerian Samuel Ayorinde is probably the most extreme illustration of this type of *wanderlust*. Over the course of Ayorinde’s career as a professional footballer, he would work on 3 continents for 18 separate clubs and in 9 different countries. (Ten if one counts Wales.) By the time Ayorinde reached *Allsvenskan* with AIK in 2002, this is was already his thirteenth club address and his second Swedish one.¹⁹⁶ His countryman, Prince Eboagwu, offers another example of this kind of cross-continental football migration. Upon leaving his native Nigeria,

Eboagwu played for clubs in Cyprus, Azerbaijan, Malaysia, and Vietnam before finally signing with Åtvidabergs FF in late 2009.¹⁹⁷ That same year, yet another well-traveled Nigerian, Pascal Kondaponi, was recruited to Ljungskile SK after having competed on three separate continents for eight different clubs in less than a decade. As 2010 came to an end, Kondaponi's journey through the global football market had continued through three more clubs and two more continents.¹⁹⁸

This truly globalized market for professional footballers, however, did not yet exist when the first African player arrived in *Allsvenskan* three decades earlier in 1977. Melki Amri, a Tunisian international, landed in Sweden basically by chance because of a Swedish girlfriend.¹⁹⁹ And indeed it would take almost a decade before another African (also a Tunisian)—Samir Bakaou—would play in *Allsvenskan* again. Unlike Amri, who would only make three appearances for Hammarby IF in 1977, Bakaou played four full seasons in *Allsvenskan*, plus another three years in the Swedish Second Division.²⁰⁰ Known as “den Svarta Pärlan” (“the Black Pearl”), Bakaou quickly became a fan favorite at GAIS, and as his nickname suggests, he was considered somewhat of an exotic novelty at the time.²⁰¹

This is because in this era there were still very few foreign footballers in the Swedish professional game and even fewer black ones. At the time of these two players' arrival in Sweden, the country was in the midst of an enormous transition—one that would rapidly transform it into a multicultural and multiracial society for the very first time. It perhaps goes without saying that this transition has been frequently accompanied by severe growing pains, and this has all too often been made manifest by the prevalence of racism in Swedish football. Exactly how this racism expresses itself in the game, at both the amateur and professional levels, will be the central subject of our next two chapters.

CHAPTER 3

Racism in Swedish Football and Society

Just as *Allsvenskan* had been late to introduce African and other foreign imports into the league, the Swedish professional game had been almost equally slow to assimilate members of the country's new non-Nordic immigrant communities. As a result, Swedish elite football has remained very ethnically and racially homogenous until relatively recently. The first players of color and/or of non-Nordic origins did not appear until the 1970s, and the latter only established a major presence in the top Swedish division during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

At least initially, this lack of diversity simply reflected a lack of diversity in Swedish society as a whole. Yet it was also partially attributable to that many non-Nordic immigrants originally tended to play for ethnically segregated clubs. These teams were routinely subjected to racist abuse from opposing players, coaches, and fans. While the significance of these so-called immigrant teams has waned somewhat in recent years as more and more people with non-Nordic backgrounds now play for "Swedish" teams, explicit expressions of racism are still common in Swedish football. This is especially true at the youth and amateur level, though to a lesser extent, such abuse continues to be an issue in the elite game as well.

This chapter explores overt manifestations of racism at all levels of the sport in order to better contextualize the collective experience of African footballers in *Allsvenskan*. In addition, it studies the ambition and efforts of Swedish political and football elites to utilize the sport at the grassroots level as a pathway to integrating the country's racial and ethnic minorities into mainstream society. First, however, this chapter will provide a brief history of immigration to postwar Sweden.

Up until the World War II, Sweden had been a country of net emigration, and it only became a country of net immigration after the war. Sweden traditionally had precious few foreign immigrants from outside of northern Europe, and aside from its small Jewish and Sami population, the nation had moreover been very ethnically, religiously, and culturally homogenous.¹

While the Second World War had brought some German, Danish, and Norwegian refugees to Sweden, the country's ethnic makeup did not really begin to diversify markedly until the early 1950s when the government started to recruit foreign guest workers on a larger scale in an effort to boost the nation's expanding industrial base. In this respect, events in Sweden mirrored those that were occurring in much of Western

Europe at this time, though since Sweden did not have a former colonial empire to draw surplus labor from, it instead looked mainly to Finland and to southern Europe to fill its need for workers. In addition to Finns, these workers were at first principally recruited from Italy and then eventually also from Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey.²

This first immigration wave lasted roughly from the late 1940s into early 1970s, but as elsewhere in Europe, it came to an abrupt halt with the onset of the first oil crisis.³ This development, however, did not bring end to immigration as such; instead, it marked the beginning of a second phase, which subsequently consisted mostly of political refugees and their kin.⁴

That said, this second wave likewise had its origins in the 1940s when Sweden had opened its borders to persons escaping Soviet rule in the Baltic States, and this precedent was then followed up on a decade later with the Swedish acceptance of several thousand Hungarians after 1956. So while these two phases to a certain degree overlapped, the second one nevertheless only gained substantial momentum just as the first wave of labor-related immigration was coming to a close.⁵

The second wave got under way in earnest in the late 1960s with the arrival of Greeks fleeing the newly installed military junta. The latter were soon joined by several hundred Americans absconding from military service in Vietnam and later also by a growing number of political refugees running away from assorted right-wing dictatorships in South America (Chileans, etc.). Dissidents from Communist states in Eastern Europe, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, constituted the last significant group of asylum seekers in this period.⁶

By the 1980s, the geographical origins of these political refugees had already radically shifted, as asylum seekers from the Middle East, Persia, and Africa gradually began to overtake these earlier groups from Europe and South America. The only refugees really to buck this trend were the nearly 50,000 people who escaped the Yugoslavian Civil War in the early 1990s,⁷ but otherwise it was clear that the flow of migration had fundamentally been altered. To give the reader a sense of the extent of these changes, by 2010, Somalis, followed by Iraqis, topped the list of new immigrants to Sweden.⁸

In relation to Africans, this migration was completely unprecedented, as Africans have a very short history in Sweden. Indeed, as late as 1960, no more than a thousand people of African descent are thought to have resided in Sweden. But by turn of the twenty-first century, the number of African-born people in the country had already risen to 62,000,⁹ and it has continued to grow ever since then.¹⁰ As of 2010, the African-born Diaspora in Sweden had reached close to 100,000, with almost all these immigrants settling in the country's larger urban areas.¹¹

Although the overwhelming majority of Sweden's African immigrant community is drawn from the horn of Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea), Africans from all over the continent can be found in Sweden, and this is especially so for persons from Gambia and Uganda.¹² Now the dominance of Somalis, Ethiopians, and Eritreans in Sweden is explained by Sweden's relatively generous asylum policy toward the citizens of three countries.¹³ All Africans in Sweden are by no means political refugees; many are students or have migrated to Sweden for either family-related, or professional reasons. Overall, the country's African immigrants are a rather heterogeneous group in terms of language, religion, education, and socioeconomic background.¹⁴ The diversity of this group becomes even more striking if adoptees, such as the world-renowned Swedish chef Marcus Samuelsson, are also considered in this discussion.¹⁵

This lack of uniformity makes it somewhat difficult to make broad generalizations about the group in its entirety, since some African immigrants are much better equipped

to start a new life in Sweden than others.¹⁶ A handful of African immigrants have, in fact, been exceptionally successful in Sweden. In this category, one might point to people like Alban Uzoma Nwapa (a.k.a. “Dr. Alban”), who is a well-known Swedish entertainer and music producer from Nigeria, or the Burundi-born Nyamko Sabuni. After entering the Swedish parliament as a representative of the Liberal Party in 2002, Sabuni became the minister of integration and gender equality in the new Moderate Party–led coalition government in 2006, making her the first African-born person to occupy a cabinet post.¹⁷

Still, these individual success stories should not shroud the reality that Africans as a whole, like most other non-European immigrants, generally find themselves in a politically and socioeconomically marginalized position in Swedish society. In the last decade, Swedish government reports have consistently shown that immigrants—and especially non-Nordic ones—face far less favorable conditions in almost every facet of Swedish life. This tendency is discernable in school, in the workplace, in politics, in the judicial system, and also in the domestic sphere as it pertains to health, housing, and social benefits.¹⁸

This situation can furthermore largely be attributed to systemic forms of discrimination. Studies on this topic confirm that this observation also holds true specifically for African immigrants, who are confronted by a pattern of discrimination in virtually every important area of society, whether this is in relation to housing, education, or the labor market.¹⁹

Beyond these structural forms of racism, Africans testify to being regularly subjected to various types of so-called everyday racism, as well as on occasion more explicit expressions of racial abuse,²⁰ including, at times, physical attacks.²¹ Police statistics show that people of color, whether they are of African or of other non-European origins, are the most frequent victims of hate crimes in Sweden.²²

Similar patterns of racial prejudice and discrimination toward Africans can be found throughout Europe,²³ and as is the case elsewhere, any African-born person in Sweden, regardless of their social status, education, or financial means, can potentially be subjected to this type of prejudice.²⁴ During a shopping trip to Solna, AIK’s star forward Mohamed Bangura discovered this firsthand. Out to purchase a new computer for his wife, Bangura quickly realized that the store’s security personnel were closely monitoring his movements. Bangura was deeply offended by this treatment, which he attributed to his skin color.²⁵ This illustration underscores that even being a celebrated footballer does not necessarily shield one from these kinds of experiences, and many other less famous people with roots in Africa have faced the same sort of situations in Sweden.²⁶

Racism can potentially be a problem for all Swedes of African descent, and it is by no means only an issue for more recently arrived African immigrants.²⁷ It is estimated that there are almost 150,000 people of African heritage currently living in Sweden, and roughly one-third of these individuals have no direct personal ties to the African continent. The broader African Diaspora in Sweden is also extremely diverse, in terms of both culture and national origins. The Diaspora encompasses thousands of people who came to Sweden (or whose parents came to Sweden) from the Americas, the Caribbean, or other parts of Europe. Among this latter category, one also finds many biracial Swedes that were born and raised in Sweden.²⁸

Hence even being born and raised in Sweden does not automatically make one immune from racial prejudice and discrimination.²⁹ This reality, in turn, indicates that in spite of the intensified emphasis on cultural (as opposed to biological) differences,

popular conceptions of national identity are by and large still implicitly rooted in ideas about ethnicity and race (a subject to which we will return in Chapters 5 and 9).

Although the implicit correlation between race and nationality is made in all kinds of different contexts, in Sweden, these beliefs are of course most pronounced within the Swedish far right. In the latter's eyes, no one of African ancestry can ever truly be considered "Swedish,"³⁰ and to underline this "otherness," Swedish racists inevitably refer to people of African descent as "negrer." While this term is itself not necessarily pejorative, as it technically is only meant to denote a racial classification (the equivalent in English would be "Negro"), the trouble is that in practice it is almost always used to signify biological difference and by extension inferiority. For this reason, people of African descent in Sweden generally object to the use of this designation,³¹ with many choosing "Afrosvensk" as the preferred identity marker.³² (Afro-Swede is a somewhat revolutionary concept, given that Swedish conceptions of nationality have previously not allowed for hyphenated identities.)

The issue of national belonging is normally even more troublesome for African Muslims. This is because (as was already mentioned in Chapter 1), in Sweden, like in much of contemporary Europe, African Muslims are frequently dually victimized for their faith. Public opinion polls indicate that Islamophobia is currently on the rise in Sweden,³³ and this antipathy toward Muslims manifests itself both in overt expressions of prejudice as well as in more hidden forms of institutionalized discrimination.³⁴

In the face of these experiences, many Swedes with roots in Africa feel like they are never fully accepted as "Swedish,"³⁵ and this is a commonly held view among people with non-Nordic origins in Sweden.³⁶ This sense of "otherness" is highlighted by the fact that even second and third generation immigrants are still routinely referred to as "utlänningar" (foreigners) in Sweden³⁷—a practice that more or less remains the norm in Europe today.³⁸

This system of categorization is in itself evidence of the failure to integrate non-Nordic, and especially non-European, immigrants into mainstream Swedish society. In a manner that is similar to many other Western European countries, non-European immigrants have increasingly come to constitute Sweden's new permanent underclass, segregated off in suburbs located just outside the country's largest cities.³⁹ For the first time, Sweden has even witnessed French-style riots in the immigrant-dense neighborhoods of Stockholm and Malmö. Such unrest has been interpreted as a protest against high levels of unemployment, police brutality, and other perceived forms of discrimination.⁴⁰

In Sweden there is presently little disagreement about the fact that the integration process is not working as well as it should, though there are sharply differing opinions about who exactly is to blame for this failure.⁴¹ The Swedish xenophobic right, led by the Swedish Democrats, predictably lays the responsibility for this situation at the feet of the immigrants themselves.⁴² The racist right in Sweden has historically opposed non-Nordic immigration, and in far right propaganda, immigrants have consistently been vilified and identified with crime, disease, and welfare fraud.⁴³

More to the point, the racist right has been increasingly able to shape the public debate about immigration in Sweden. It has done so with considerable assistance from the media, which has all too often presented a highly stigmatized portrait of the country's non-Nordic immigrant population.⁴⁴ Yet the media's relationship to this subject simultaneously appears to be somewhat contradictory. On one hand, it has played a leading role in establishing a new antiracist consensus, but on the other, the media has also largely been responsible for creating a negative public image of immigrants.

Though, on balance, there can no doubt that the media's biased portrayal of immigrants has had a decidedly adverse effect on popular opinion.⁴⁵

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, opinion polls revealed that the Swedish public has grown more and more weary of continued immigration,⁴⁶ and this shift in popular attitudes is arguably of far more long-term significance than the Swedish Democrats' recent gains at the polls. As has occurred in many other European countries, the far right's hostile view of immigration has pushed the larger mainstream political parties to take a more stringent approach to this question, resulting not only in a more restrictive immigration policy but also in a more antagonistic attitude toward immigrants overall. Thus by moving to the right on this question, the political establishment has, in effect, done much to legitimize these same xenophobic sentiments.⁴⁷

Here it must, however, be stressed that, like in other European countries,⁴⁸ the public debate about "immigrants" in Sweden is implicitly always about non-European immigrants and particularly about Muslim ones. In contrast, the presence of highly skilled workers (or students) from either North America or other parts of Western Europe has never been the subject of any serious discussion in Sweden.⁴⁹ Consequently, there exists an unspoken racial and religious dividing line in the Swedish societal debate about immigration.

In this context, it is additionally of interest that the focal point of Swedish anti-immigrant prejudices has changed over time. Originally this antipathy was predominately directed at Finns, Italians, Greeks, and other southern Europeans, including Turks, Kurds, and Assyrians/Syriacs. Although popular prejudices toward many of these latter groups have not totally vanished, the thrust of Swedish anti-immigrant attitudes has nonetheless increasingly been reoriented toward people of Middle Eastern and African origin. Today it is primarily groups from outside of Europe—and from Islamic countries such as Somalia and Iraq—that are problematized in the media and the public debate about immigration. More specifically, the latter are routinely accused of being a drain on the welfare state, and they are further identified with a number of social ills, such as crime and unemployment.⁵⁰ As we shall see later on, the idea that immigrants from the global south are "undesirable" also often makes itself indirectly felt in the discussion about African football imports.

It perhaps goes without saying that the general logic behind this debate is seriously flawed in several key respects. To begin with, it is based on the misleading premise that "immigrants" are one homogenous ethnic group that moreover is having one singular experience in Sweden. This is simply not true; some immigrant groups not only enjoy higher social status but also have a much easier time assimilating than others.⁵¹ Second, treating "immigrants" as a net burden for Swedish society overlooks the crucial financial contribution that immigrants have made (and are making) to the modern Swedish welfare state. Last but not least, this discourse ignores the reality that Sweden's economic well-being remains very much dependent on continued immigration, not least in view of the country's rapidly aging population.

Swedish political and economic elites of course fully grasp these realities, and accordingly, Swedish government policy is increasingly directed at facilitating increased integration and also at containing the growth of popular xenophobia.⁵² This is also the point at which sports come into the picture.⁵³

As was noted in Chapter 1, among Western European policy makers, it is virtually an article of faith that sports in general and football in particular can help integrate the continent's new immigrant groups into mainstream society,⁵⁴ and these ideas are shared by Swedish political elites as well.⁵⁵ The conviction that sports inherently possess great

social value has a long established history in Sweden, where it is believed that athletics foster good citizenship and also help promote equality.⁵⁶

Yet in relation to the specific issue of immigrants and immigration, the question of how to exactly define “integration” and its ultimate goals often tends to be vaguely formulated. In theory, integration should involve an egalitarian exchange of ideas and practices between the host society and its immigrants, though in reality it usually means that the latter are expected to accept and assimilate the dominant norms of their new host societies. Opinions to this effect are detectable everywhere in present-day Europe,⁵⁷ so in this, Sweden is no exception.⁵⁸ This one-sided approach to integration undoubtedly also accounts for why this process does not always achieve the desired results⁵⁹ (and this is a point to which we will return in the conclusion).

The absence of concrete positive results, however, has seemingly done little to shake the faith in this process among Swedish political and sporting elites. In Sweden, it is the state-funded *Riksidrottsförbundet* (the Swedish Sports Confederation) that has been given the principal responsibility to head up this work. Over the past several decades, its spokespersons have repeatedly reiterated the critical role of sports in helping the country’s new immigrant communities integrate into Swedish society.⁶⁰

The basic gist of this argument is that sports are by their very nature democratic, as they are governed by the laws of meritocracy. This, in turn, supposedly guarantees that athletic activities are colorblind and therefore open to all regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or class. Such ideas enjoy widespread currency in Sweden,⁶¹ and they are certainly also endorsed by the country’s football professionals.⁶²

In the discussion about the allegedly integrative function of sports, football is typically assigned a privileged position, in part because the game is cheap to play and by extension accessible to all. The sport’s significance likewise lies in its unrivaled global appeal, which is evidenced by its popularity among Sweden’s non-Nordic immigrant communities.⁶³ Accordingly, football is given a frontline role in these integration efforts.⁶⁴

At the local level, this manifests itself in cooperative relationships between municipal authorities and the nearby neighborhood teams. In many cases, these clubs are employed as a link between an area’s immigrants and the broader local community.⁶⁵ The hope, then, is that football will subsequently act as a gateway for immigrants into society overall.⁶⁶

At first glance, this optimism regarding the integrative value of football does not appear to be totally unwarranted—for football is the undisputed king of sports among the country’s non-Nordic immigrants,⁶⁷ and it is plainly also the most high profile leisure activity in immigrant-dense enclaves like Rosengård in Malmö.⁶⁸ Neighborhoods like Rosengård have moreover produced some of the country’s best-known footballers. Players such as Zlatan Ibrahimovic, Martin Mutumba, and Henok Goitom all came from such communities.⁶⁹

Football (and sports more generally) is also one of the few arenas in Swedish society—outside of work and school—where ethnic Swedes and members of the country’s non-European immigrant communities interact on a wide scale. In addition, football (or more specifically men’s football) is indisputably the most diverse cultural institution in Sweden, and this is also what makes it such a vital area of investigation when studying issues of race, ethnicity, and xenophobia in contemporary Sweden.

Among immigrant male youths, in particular, football is by far the most popular sport, and this group is vastly overrepresented at every stage of youth football. In 2003, for instance, 56 percent of all young men from immigrant backgrounds played organized football, whereas the corresponding number for ethnic Swedes was only 37 percent.⁷⁰

By 2010, this percentage had risen to an incredible 71 percent among immigrant males from 13 to 20 years old.⁷¹ The situation is much the same at the youth club level in both Germany and the Netherlands,⁷² but in Sweden, it also holds true for the country's under-17 through under-21 national teams on the men's side, where roughly one in three members of these squads have family roots outside of Sweden.⁷³

The game's appeal among Sweden's immigrant youths is usually explained by financial factors (i.e., the game is affordable) or by various cultural proclivities (like the fact that football is very popular in the countries where their parents come from). However, it is additionally clear that, similarly to in a lot of other Western European countries,⁷⁴ many of the country's young male immigrants view football as a crucial avenue for socioeconomic upward mobility.⁷⁵ And the sport's significance in this regard is only further magnified by the perceived paucity of options in other areas of Swedish society, due to systemic patterns of discrimination.⁷⁶ These findings imply that the attitude that many young immigrant men in Sweden have toward sports is not unlike what one might find, for instance, among young African American males in the United States.⁷⁷

The degree to which football actually serves as an avenue for upward mobility and integration is another matter,⁷⁸ and this topic will be explored later on in the book. Still, the strength and persistence of this belief probably accounts—at least partially—for the game's dominant position among young immigrant men in Sweden.⁷⁹ At this juncture, it must further be added that people from immigrant backgrounds appear to have more faith in the integrative value of sports than most ethnic Swedes do.⁸⁰

This is not to suggest that on an individual basis sports cannot work in this proscribed way. For *some* first and second generation immigrants, sports does undeniably serve as a “cultural passport” to achieving greater social acceptance in society at large.⁸¹ People from immigrant backgrounds occasionally testify to the fact that playing football has personally helped them make friends and establish better social connections with ethnic Swedes.⁸² These personal testimonies notwithstanding, it is still an open question whether or not sports can really fulfill this social function on a wider collective basis.

Another potential weakness of this rather optimistic take on the integrative value of sports is that in Sweden, football has just as frequently been a major site of conflict between “immigrants” and ethnic Swedes. Indeed, it is exactly because of the high rate of immigrant participation at the youth and amateur levels that the game has been one of the few areas in Swedish society in which racial and ethnic tensions have regularly come into the open, sometimes with explosive results.

According to surveys conducted by the European Union, racism is an “urgent” and entrenched problem in both the youth and amateur games in much of Europe.⁸³ In many Western European countries, overt expressions of racism tend to be more visible at these levels than in the elite game, which ordinarily is more “cosmopolitan.”⁸⁴ Although there is no reliable Swedish data on this topic, there is ample anecdotal evidence to support that this general observation is applicable to Sweden as well.

Just in the last few years, there have been numerous documented racist incidents in Swedish amateur football. To give two relatively recent illustrations, in May 2008, during a Division Three game against Anundsjö IF, Richard Bojang of IFK Holmsund complained of being repeatedly called a “svarting” (“blackie”) and a “neger” by an opposing player. This exchange ultimately led to a physical altercation.⁸⁵ Similarly in July 2010, following a game in Division Five North, Daniel Janlöv of Åby/Tjureda accused players from FK Lilijan of first racially abusing him during the match and then subsequently threatening him and his family.⁸⁶ In both of these cases, the subject of abuse was of

African descent, and together these two examples indicate that racism remains a troubling and persistent reality in the Swedish amateur game.

Regrettably many children of with family roots outside of Sweden have had the exact same experience while playing the sport.⁸⁷ Swedish coaches bear witness to the fact that overt manifestations of racism are also a regular feature in youth football, with much of this abuse originating from parents or other adult spectators.⁸⁸ On occasion, these incidents can, in fact, be quite menacing. One coach who trains a team with children from a diverse range of ethnic and racial backgrounds recalls a particularly harrowing episode during a football camp when several of his players were chased by two adults carrying a metal pipe who threatened to kill them because of their skin color. This same coach had also previously witnessed players from an opposing team giving the “Sieg Heil salute” to one of his 12-year-old players of Cape Verdean ancestry.⁸⁹

To be faced with racism in this specific context can be exceedingly demoralizing, since many people expect sports to be the one area in society in which everyone should be treated equally.⁹⁰ But in truth, sports do not always bring people together and instead divide them. Thomas, an 18-year-old Swede of Ugandan heritage, for instance, states that he did not really fully recognize that he was different from his classmates until he was in sixth grade, when the kids split into “white” versus “black” teams while playing football during recess.⁹¹

These kinds of experiences are by no means unique to people of African descent, for they are common to many other children and young people with non-Nordic origins. Sami Gungör, a player for the Rosengård-based club Mabi, for example, makes clear that when his team faces clubs from the “lily-white areas outside of Malmö,” the ethnic and racial antagonism during these matches is quite palpable.⁹² Ali, a 25 year old with roots in Kurdistan, adds that racism in football is often made worse by the fact that it is just as likely to come from one’s own ethnically Swedish teammates as it is from the members of the other team and their fans.⁹³ In light of these experiences, it is maybe to be expected that even on more ethnically mixed teams, there can be tendency for “Swedes” and “immigrants” to self-segregate into separate camps.⁹⁴

For this same reason, in Sweden, there has been a strong tradition of ethnically segregated clubs, as has also been true in many other parts of Western Europe. In Sweden, this phenomenon dates back to the interwar era, when the first Jewish sports club, IK Makkabi, was founded in 1933.⁹⁵ These teams, however, did not become a regular feature in Swedish amateur football until after the war, when they slowly began to spring up in the wake of the first major wave of labor-related migration.

One of the first teams of this kind in Sweden was Juventus FC, which was founded by Italian factory workers in Västerås in 1948. But as Greeks, Turks, Yugoslavs, and other new immigrant groups made their way to Sweden over the course of the next few decades, they too soon set up their own football (and other sports) clubs.⁹⁶ In this sense, the history of so-called immigrant teams in many ways directly overlaps and interlinks with the larger history of immigration to postwar Sweden, and these days, one can even find a handful of African teams in the bigger cities.⁹⁷

Unlike in Germany and England,⁹⁸ however, there have never been any separate leagues for these teams in Sweden, and consequently they have always competed within the Swedish league system. While the formation of these ethnically segregated clubs was initially met with some apprehension in Sweden,⁹⁹ there has never been the same degree of suspicion toward these teams as has been case in Germany and the Netherlands, for example, where they have often been regarded as an indirect threat to the integration process.¹⁰⁰

Still this is not to suggest that these clubs or their players have always been well received in Sweden—quite to the contrary, in fact. These immigrant clubs were often originally established exactly because many local neighborhood clubs were reluctant to recruit foreigners.¹⁰¹ And conversely, in the early days, immigrant players did not feel very welcome in these clubs at any rate.¹⁰² During the past two decades, this has changed more and more, as many, if not most, second-generation immigrants now play for traditionally “Swedish” teams. Even now, some footballers with foreign backgrounds still prefer to compete for “their own clubs,” and they do so in part because this allows them to approach the game in a manner that is truer to their own football traditions and norms.¹⁰³

In Sweden a crucial function of these clubs has always been to preserve the collective identity and native cultural traditions of these immigrant groups. The teams have therefore become symbols of the larger immigrant communities from which these players were drawn.¹⁰⁴ In the postwar era, immigrant teams have played an identical role throughout Western Europe, where they have additionally also acted as a source of collective protection against racism, both off and on the pitch.¹⁰⁵

Racism directed against immigrant teams and their supporters continues to be a fact of life everywhere in Western Europe¹⁰⁶ and so too in Sweden.¹⁰⁷ In the Swedish case, this problem now reaches back several decades, for it appeared as soon as these teams first entered the amateur leagues.¹⁰⁸ And it was (and is) exactly because these clubs were (and are) symbols of the “immigrant other” that they have been subjected to such abuse from opposing players, coaches, and supporters.¹⁰⁹

The problem, however, goes well beyond this type of open vulgar racism—for this discrimination is, in some instances, arguably also institutionalized. While this topic will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter, here it is worth noting that immigrant teams and their fans often, for instance, feel that their clubs consistently receive unfair and biased treatment from the referees.¹¹⁰

Similar complaints of bias have often also been leveled against the Swedish media.¹¹¹ As is the case in Britain,¹¹² the press in Sweden has a history of casting immigrant teams in a negative light.¹¹³ As a rule, these teams have been labeled unruly and violent. This in turn feeds into broader negative stereotypes about non-Nordic immigrants, who have, as previously discussed, often been associated with various forms of antisocial behavior. In relation specifically to football, players of non-European or southern European origins have consistently been portrayed as “hot tempered,” “ill disciplined,” and thus prone to violent outbursts. This observation applies to the fans of these teams as well.¹¹⁴ These alleged characteristics are then unfavorably compared against the Swedish self-image of modesty, calmness, and rationality.¹¹⁵ Such stereotypes are by no means unique to Sweden, since identical ideas can be found in many other parts of northern Europe.¹¹⁶

In Sweden, immigrant clubs have had difficulty shaking this negative image, even as teams like Assyriska FF have progressively worked their way up through the Swedish league system.¹¹⁷ In 2005, Assyriska FF became the first immigrant team in Europe to reach the highest domestic division when the club was promoted due to Örebro SK’s failure to comply with the league’s financial stipulations. Although Assyriska FF only managed to stay up for one season, this historic achievement was replicated once again in 2011 when the club’s archrival, Syrianska FC, likewise secured promotion to *Allsvenskan*.¹¹⁸

The success of these clubs has not caused this racism to dissipate; rather it has followed them up to elite level¹¹⁹—this despite the fact that the rosters of these teams are no longer solely composed of “immigrants.”¹²⁰ In fact, when Assyriska FF was promoted

to *Allsvenskan* in 2005, one of the ironies was that it actually had one of the highest numbers of Swedish-born players of any team in the top division.

Conversely (and as was already mentioned) more and more people from immigrant backgrounds can now also be found playing for “Swedish” clubs at the professional level.¹²¹ During the first decade of the twenty-first century, this group of players has more than doubled in size, thereby greatly contributing to the enhanced diversity of *Allsvenskan*.¹²²

Yet playing professionally for a traditionally “Swedish” team does not in itself automatically shield these footballers from racial abuse. For while racism, at least outwardly, is less of an issue in the elite game than it is at the amateur level, it undeniably exists in semiprofessional and professional football, too.¹²³

At the elite level, black footballers have historically been the most likely to be singled out for racial abuse. Again, this is not necessarily because people of African descent are the most reviled racial or ethnic minority in Sweden; rather it is because they have simply been the most visible minority in the Swedish professional game during the past three decades. Dating back at least to the mid-1990s, players of African ancestry have consistently been vastly overrepresented at the elite level, and this observation also holds true for today’s African imports.¹²⁴ This high visibility, in turn, ensures that black footballers (of all nationalities) have become unwitting symbols of the emergence of a new multicultural and multiracial Sweden—a development that has not been to everyone’s liking.

Racism toward Black Footballers in Swedish Elite Football

The first two players of African ancestry to play at the elite level in Sweden were the two Columbian-born brothers, Carlos and Milton Castallanos. Milton got his start with Västerås SK in 1972, and over the next decade, he would become a mainstay in the team’s starting lineup.¹²⁵ Two years later in 1974, his brother, Carlos (who would later change his name to Gustafsson), made his debut for Örebro SK. In the following decade, Carlos would play over two hundred games for ÖSK (both in *Allsvenskan* and in the Second Division).¹²⁶ The first foreign black player, black Briton Gary Williams, meanwhile, moved from Tranmere Rovers to Djurgårdens IF in 1978. Although Williams’s first stint with Djurgården only lasted until 1980, he later returned to the club in 1985–1986.¹²⁷

In the mid-1980s, *Allsvenskan* finally also saw its first two Swedish-born players of African descent: Jean-Paul Vonderburg (Hammarby IF 1985–1988/Malmö FF 1989–1992) and Martin Dahlin (Malmö FF 1987–1991). Vonderburg and Dahlin would also become the first two black footballers to represent Sweden internationally at the senior level.¹²⁸

By the next decade, the number of black players in *Allsvenskan* had already risen considerably when Swedes such as Pascal Simpson (1991), Henrik Larsson (1992), Martin Pringle (1994), Klebèr Saarenpää (1995), Eddie Gustafsson (1995), Daniel Nannskog (1996), and Jeffrey Aubynn (1998) made their initial debuts in the league. All of these footballers would eventually likewise play for the Swedish national team.¹²⁹

As was the case in the United Kingdom,¹³⁰ the overwhelming majority of this first generation of indigenous black players were biracial, and in most cases, they had an ethnically Swedish mother. These footballers were, furthermore, all raised in Sweden, and for the most part, they were also born there.¹³¹

Yet as was noted earlier, being born and raised in Sweden does not in itself guarantee protection from racist abuse. Indeed, even superstars like Henrik Larsson have not escaped this treatment, as Larsson has been both a victim of and a witness to racism at all levels of the game.¹³² Racism can naturally also be an issue for Swedish footballers of African descent that make their living in other European leagues, where racism in the sport—at least outwardly—often appears to be an even bigger challenge.¹³³

Now that this problem may well be worse elsewhere in Europe is really of little comfort. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, *Allsvenskan's* black footballers have repeatedly been racially abused,¹³⁴ and needless to say, the league's African imports have not been spared this experience.¹³⁵ In the Swedish professional game, this kind of overtly racist behavior has mostly been identified with spectators, but on a number of occasions, other players¹³⁶ and coaches have likewise been implicated in this behavior.

In fact, the most infamous racist episode in recent years arguably occurred in April 2004 when the coach of Västerås SK, Liston Söderberg, directed Patrik Manzila, an opposing player of Afro-Swedish heritage, to “go back to where you come from and climb up in the trees.”¹³⁷ Söderberg, who is well known in Sweden, was subsequently fired as the team's head coach, though he was then given new assignments within the club—his track record of making inappropriate and racist remarks notwithstanding.¹³⁸

At the time, Söderberg's outburst at Manzila was broadly condemned, with the Social Democratic Minister of Sport and Integration Mona Sahlin even going so far as to call upon the coach “to crawl back into the hole that he came from.”¹³⁹ While this particular episode received an enormous amount of media attention, one could point to a number of other less publicized incidents in which black professional footballers were racially taunted in Sweden.¹⁴⁰

That being said, overt expressions of racism have certainly become far less frequent at the elite level, especially in comparison to 15 to 20 years ago. Those few black footballers that played in *Allsvenskan* in the late 1980s and early 1990s were unquestionably subjected to the nastiest and most systematic abuse from the fans. It was during these years that open manifestations of racism on the terraces peaked in Sweden.

In this period, players of African ancestry were still relatively uncommon in Sweden, and black imports such as Briton Steve Galloway (Djurgårdens IF 1988–1989) and Tunisian Samir Bakaou, along with Swedish players like Glenn Myrthil (Djurgårdens IF 1986, 1988–1989), Pascal Simpson, and Martin Dahlin would therefore bear the brunt of this abuse.¹⁴¹ Djurgården's supporters, for instance, chanted “Samir Bakaou belongs in a zoo,”¹⁴² whereas IFK Göteborg's fans made monkey noises, shouting “ugh, ugh, ugh” every time AIK's Pascal Simpson touched the ball.¹⁴³ AIK's followers, however, were no better in this regard. In news footage taken from a match in the summer of 1988, AIK followers can, for example, be seen yelling “Kunta Kinte” at Djurgården's Glen Myrthil and Steve Galloway, thereby equating them to the slaves portrayed in the television miniseries *Roots*.¹⁴⁴ On other occasions, the club's fans apparently chanted “trigger, trigger, shoot that nigger” at Malmö FF's Martin Dahlin.¹⁴⁵

The fans of these same clubs were also frequently engaged in the seemingly conflicting practice of racially taunting opposing black players while celebrating their own black footballers.¹⁴⁶ I say “seemingly” because this behavior is actually not as incongruous as it might first appear, since “whiteness” is always implicitly upheld as the privileged ideal. (Cultural theorists and sociologists refer to this social phenomenon as “white normativity.”¹⁴⁷) And as if to further underscore their own superiority, in this era, it was not unheard of for Swedish supporters to racially insult their own club's black footballers.

Pascal Simpson and Samir Bakaou were at times both subjected to such abuse from their own fans.¹⁴⁸

Among Swedish football supporters, this earlier period is now simply referred to as the “racist phase.”¹⁴⁹ Again, this is not to suggest that racism was completely new to the Swedish professional game even then, but in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it nevertheless shifted direction more and more toward people that ostensibly had extra-European origins. Vito Knezevic, who played for Djurgårdens IF from 1977 to 1988, personally witnessed this change. He contends that as more players from non-European backgrounds entered the Swedish professional game in the 1980s, fan racism was increasingly reoriented away from people such as himself with southern European roots and toward his black teammates, like Steve Galloway and Glenn Myrthil. According to Knezevic, this development reflected changes in society at large. Gradually Knezevic (himself of Yugoslavian origin) ended up on the “right side” of this divide, because in the end, he too was regarded as “European.” He adds that people from Africa and the Middle East appear to have more difficulty being accepted in Sweden.¹⁵⁰

Another important feature of this period was that fan racism at the elite level also became more vocal in these years. This mirrored broader developments in Swedish society, which saw a discernable rise in anti-immigrant sentiments in this period.¹⁵¹ Yet it also reflected a new mood in the stands. Only ten years earlier most Swedish supporter clubs had been deeply influenced by the antiestablishment ethos of punk rock, but by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the youth rebellion, as expressed on the terraces, had now taken a nationalistic and decidedly more xenophobic turn.¹⁵²

This shift coincided with the appearance of a new militant breed of nationalism, as exemplified by the earlier discussed *Bevara Sverige Svenskt*, BSS (Keep Sweden Swedish), and also by *Vitt Ariskt Motstånd*, VAM (White Aryan Resistance). Inspired by likeminded white supremacist groups in the United States and United Kingdom, VAM was even more radical than BSS, casting itself as an elite vanguard committed to the violent overthrow of the status quo. Its uncompromising and confrontational approach to racial politics won it many younger admirers, not least within the Swedish skinhead scene, which likewise reached its apex in these years.¹⁵³

The advent of these new influences soon thus also made themselves felt in the stands and particularly on the “ends” where the younger male supporters of each club congregated. In this regard, developments on the Swedish terraces largely replicated what was happening in many other parts of Western Europe, as this was a time when right-wing skinheads and other far right groupings started to establish a more visible presence in the stadiums.¹⁵⁴ As a result, fan racism also became far more coordinated and centrally organized.

In this period it was not unusual to see swastikas or fans giving “Sieg Heil” salutes in the stands.¹⁵⁵ Djurgården’s supporter club “Blue Saints” were, for example, known to sing: “Hitler rooted for Djurgården!”¹⁵⁶ To a point, one can even speak of a “Nazification” of Swedish supporter culture in these years—at least superficially.

In many respects, events on the Swedish terraces in this era mimicked British precedents. In the United Kingdom, fan racism had become a serious problem by the late 1970s and soon touched the game at all levels.¹⁵⁷ Swedish supporter culture had always been heavily indebted to its British counterpart,¹⁵⁸ and these new patterns of taunting black players, making monkey noises, throwing bananas, and so forth, were all directly copied from Britain. Personal connections also existed between racist football supporters in Sweden and England.¹⁵⁹

Though one important difference from the United Kingdom¹⁶⁰ was that in Sweden this phenomenon was basically confined to the club level, and public displays of racism rarely, if ever, occurred in conjunction with the matches of the Swedish national team. In this regard, fan racism was not so dissimilar from Swedish football hooliganism, which historically has also been mainly linked to a few individual clubs but not so much to the national team.¹⁶¹

An additional distinction is that in Sweden, organized fan racism was largely a big city issue. Although this problem admittedly existed elsewhere as well,¹⁶² racism on the terraces was nonetheless particularly pronounced in Gothenburg and Stockholm.¹⁶³ If we look at Stockholm, in this period, all the city's three major clubs (AIK, Djurgårdens IF, and Hammarby IF) had racist contingents among their supporters,¹⁶⁴ and for that reason, black footballers often loathed playing teams from the capital.¹⁶⁵

At the time, this type of coordinated fan racism was identified, above all, with Djurgårdens' "Blue Saints" and with AIK's supporter club "Black Army."¹⁶⁶ During this era, these two groups seemingly competed with each other for negative headlines, and in the public mind, both of these supporter clubs became closely associated with spectator-related violence, vandalism, and racism.¹⁶⁷ On occasion this combustible mix of asocial behavior, furthermore, manifested itself in physical attacks against persons of non-European origins.¹⁶⁸

It was predictably also within these two groups of supporters that one was most likely to find VAM and BSS sympathizers as well as other right-wing extremists.¹⁶⁹ "Black Army" notably had an openly white supremacist clique among its ranks, known as SVB, *Solnas Vita Bröder* (Solna's White Brothers).¹⁷⁰ SVB's members had a reputation for actively inciting racial chanting on AIK's end at Råsunda, "Norra Stå."¹⁷¹ Echoing the propaganda of the British National Front, this subgroup of fans could, for instance, at their most provocative moments be heard shouting "Stop ANC, the black terrorists, solidarity with South Africa's whites!"¹⁷²

Although never as extensive or as systemic as in the United Kingdom or Italy,¹⁷³ in Sweden there were still attempts by far right groups to utilize the stadiums not only as a platform for their own political propaganda but also as a potential recruiting ground.¹⁷⁴ However, similar to efforts in Britain,¹⁷⁵ these efforts mostly proved to be stillborn, and in the long run, they did not result in large numbers of new converts.¹⁷⁶ In Stockholm (and Gothenburg), these groups did nevertheless temporarily enjoy a disproportionate amount of influence on the terraces, and they unquestionably contributed to creating a very hostile and xenophobic atmosphere in the stadiums.¹⁷⁷

Yet looking back, one must simultaneously be careful to not overstate the significance of these groups, for there is reason to question both how widespread and how firmly held these neo-Nazi sentiments ever were. British research on this subject proposes that the political impact of far right parties in football has often been exaggerated. The majority of the people that participate in racist chanting in football stadiums have historically not been politically organized racists, and card-carrying fascists appear to have been a distinct minority among British football fans, even when this problem was at its worst in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁷⁸

The same conclusion can in all likelihood also be drawn about Swedish football supporters in this era. In hindsight, many of those who were involved in these activities state that their flirt with neo-Nazism was never very heartfelt to begin with. Rather, the fascist salutes and so on were mostly meant to be provocative, and this behavior was chiefly designed to attract negative attention in the media.¹⁷⁹ There is probably some merit to these claims, given that during this period even most Swedish skinheads were

not ideologically committed Nazis.¹⁸⁰ Still, this does not mean that the racial chanting on the terraces was not at least subconsciously informed by more pedestrian sorts of racism—forms of prejudice that have equally damaging consequences (a topic to which we will return in the next chapter).

At a minimum, the so-called racist phase left a poisoned legacy that made Swedish football stadiums a very unwelcoming environment for people of color. To be sure, these days there are more second-generation immigrants (and women) in the stands than in the past,¹⁸¹ but outside of “immigrant teams” such as Assyriska FF and Syrianska FC,¹⁸² the country’s ethnic and racial minorities are still really only a token presence on the terraces.¹⁸³

The only two real exceptions to this rule are AIK¹⁸⁴ and Malmö FF, which at least in absolute numbers both appear to enjoy a slightly more ethnically and racially diverse following than most Swedish elite clubs.¹⁸⁵ The fans of these two clubs are furthermore convinced that there exists a direct correlation between the reduction of open manifestations of racism in the stands, on one hand, and the gradually rising number of supporters with non-Nordic origins on the other.¹⁸⁶

Though it should be stressed here that in both cases this is a very recent development,¹⁸⁷ taken as a whole, *Allsvenskan*’s core fan base remains fairly ethnically and racially homogenous. Indeed, even if one looks at a club like Malmö FF, which claims to have significant number of supporters from immigrant backgrounds, racial and ethnic minorities are still vastly underrepresented among the team’s fans when one considers the overall racial and ethnic makeup of the city Malmö, which the club claims to represent.¹⁸⁸

To this day, the archetypal member of a Swedish supporter club is an ethnically Swedish male without a university education.¹⁸⁹ While overt expressions of racism may have become less and less common in the Swedish professional game, the terraces are not yet terribly inclusive environments. This is because the act of supporting a football team is not all that different from, let’s say, playing football at the recreational level. In both instances, this is an activity that is primarily about bonding with members of one’s own social group, so to most people, the experience of rooting for a team is not necessarily meant to create bridges to members of other ethnic, racial, or socioeconomic groups. Simply put, fans typically select a particular team to back as a way to assert and solidify their own social identities. And since supporter cultures are characteristically shaped by an “us versus them” mentality, the terraces also produce an atmosphere in which social differences (whether real or imagined) are often intentionally extenuated.¹⁹⁰

This reality has ensured that the terraces have for the most part remained an all-white preserve in Sweden. In this regard, Sweden is no different from most European countries, where immigrants and people of color remain severely underrepresented in the stands.¹⁹¹ Scholarship on this subject indicates that this is even the case in countries like Britain and France, which both have far longer histories of being multicultural and multiracial societies than Sweden.¹⁹² Although some of this can presumably be accounted for by economic factors (and specifically by the marginal financial position of many immigrant groups), it is also clearly due to the fact that football stadiums in Europe by and large continue to be unwelcoming environments for the continent’s ethnic and racial minorities.¹⁹³

This observation certainly applies to Sweden. While Swedish fan culture has outwardly been de-Nazified in the sense that one is no longer likely to see Swastikas hanging in the stands, a quick look at Internet discussion boards reveals that white supremacist beliefs live on among select pockets of Swedish football fans.

Since we will explore this topic at greater length in Chapter 8, here we will just present two brief illustrations of the kinds of visceral racism that are commonly found on the Internet. For instance, in reaction to the earlier discussed incident in which Richard Bojang of IFK Holmsund objected to be called a “neger” (negro) by an opposing player, “Raul” posts, “What is he [Bojang] complaining about! He is a Negro, no? The ‘blackie’ is black. He should complain to his parents, instead.”¹⁹⁴

An even more vulgar example of contemporary fan racism is offered up by an author writing under the anonymous blog heading “intefanvetjag.” The author attacks AIK’s Gambian-born striker, Jagne Saihou, for reportedly seeking financial compensation after having been racially abused during an away game against IFK Göteborg:

Jagne didn’t you know that *we* had already given you thousands of Swedish Crowns, indirectly via the Red Cross and other aid organizations, when you lived in Africa? Moreover, it was *our* used shirt that you were wearing when you came here, it was *our* used blankets that you slept on in your hut, and it was *we* who paid for the loaves of bread that ensured that you and your family survived. So be a little grateful for fuck’s sake! No longer will we refer to you as nigger, darkie, HIV-Negro, discolored, lower-developed human, ape, or something else like it, for this is illegal. But I think that we can now all agree that you are a greedy little parasite.¹⁹⁵

This blog entry touches upon virtually every negative Swedish stereotype about Africa and Africans, and it demonstrates that while this type of explicit racism may have become less visible in the stadiums in recent years, it definitely has not yet vanished from the game.¹⁹⁶ Now individuals with these kinds of opinions have often (though not necessarily exclusively) been found within the “firms” that are associated with many of the bigger Swedish football clubs.¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, however, these same violent subgroupings frequently also tend to be more ethnically and racially mixed than the average supporters of these same clubs. This is especially true for AIK’s hooligan grouping, “Firman Boys,”¹⁹⁸ but this tendency is also detectable among some other “firms” such as IFK Göteborg’s “Wisemen,” which otherwise has had a racist reputation.¹⁹⁹

An identical pattern has been noted in the UK, and this development is, in truth, not as paradoxical as it might initially seem. To begin with, racism is rarely an entirely coherent ideology, and in practice, it often allows for many exceptions and apparent contradictions. Within this particular context, loyalty to the “firm” usually takes precedence, and what is valued more than anything else is a person’s courage and martial skills. Moreover, in this specific hypermasculine environment, being “nonwhite” is not necessarily a deficiency. Again this is because in Western Europe, people of African descent and many other racial and ethnic minorities still typically carry the stigma of being associated with violence, criminality, and brute physical force²⁰⁰—characteristics that, in turn, are prized by the members of these groups. The possession of such attributes can therefore allow for the contingent acceptance of individuals from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds into the ranks of these otherwise mostly ethnically Swedish hooligan groups.²⁰¹ In contemporary Sweden, this is probably also one of the few situations in which neo-Nazis and people with non-Nordic origins can coexist and collaborate.²⁰²

In more recent times, far right extremism in Swedish football has chiefly been associated with Helsingborgs IF, which was said to have had a sizable racist following in the mid-2000s.²⁰³ Yet a cursory glance at neo-Nazi websites reveals that far right sympathizers can likewise be found among the fans of AIK, GAIS, Örgyte IS, Djurgårdens IF, and

Hammarby IF, and not just among Helsingborgs IF and IFK Göteborg's supporters.²⁰⁴ In the case of Djurgårdens IF and Hammarby IF, this is somewhat striking given that the backers of these two teams claim to have already previously purged their ranks of racist elements.²⁰⁵

This segment of hard-core racist supporters has, furthermore, made it known that they have no interest in seeing fans from non-Nordic backgrounds or even Swedish people of color among their own ranks. According to one far right supporter of Djurgårdens IF, the team has never had many fans from immigrant backgrounds—for the latter have never been welcome in the stands.²⁰⁶ Along similar lines, a post by “Drämmaren” complains that because players come and go these days, he has reluctantly come to accept non-Swedish players on his team, but “what really hurts [his] heart is when [he sees] ‘foreign racial elements’ among [his] fellow Hammarby IF supporters.” A post by “Turbohamster” seconds this sentiment, declaring that the terraces should remain a white bastion, since it is one of the few places that one can still feel “true racial solidarity between Swedes.”²⁰⁷

It is of course hard to know how representative these opinions are, and presumably they only reflect that of a small minority of all Swedish football fans. Even so, the presence of even a handful of people harboring these kinds of opinions is enough to create an uninviting atmosphere in the stadiums for members of the country's ethnic and racial minorities.²⁰⁸

It must also be emphasized that while more coordinated forms of fan racism may have become increasingly rare, spontaneous expressions of racist abuse from individual supporters are still quite common in the Swedish professional game.²⁰⁹ Though not as well publicized, these outbursts are sure to have the same corrosive effect, especially when they go unchallenged by the other fans.²¹⁰

At this juncture, some might object to this interpretation and attribute the absence of these racial and ethnic minorities to the fact that many immigrant groups continue to prefer to follow their own domestic professional leagues instead of *Allsvenskan*. As is the case in Germany,²¹¹ this is may well be true for many Turks, for example, whose own football league is incontestably of much higher quality than the top Swedish division.²¹² The trouble is that this same argument cannot be as convincingly made about other immigrant groups, such as Gambians, Somalis, and Bosnians. Although the latter play youth and amateur football in Sweden and come from countries that are passionate about the sport, at present, they are nowhere to be seen on the terraces.

Now admittedly it probably also does not help that the nationalities of *Allsvenskan*'s foreign imports have rarely matched those of the country's largest immigrant communities. Because with the partial exception of players with roots in Turkey and in the former Yugoslavia, the league has provided few role models for Sweden's immigrants—at least not until only very recently. Thus it is possible that this has likewise had a negative effect on minority attendance.

This be as it may, what we can establish for certain is that increased ethnic and racial diversity on the pitch has yet to be fully replicated in the stands. Instead, “whiteness,” heterosexuality, and idealized forms of masculinity de facto continue to serve as the dominant, if still unspoken, norms of Swedish supporter culture. Given that this is also true in many other parts of Swedish society,²¹³ it would perhaps be surprising if this were not the case in football as well.

These norms have thus yet to be challenged, and the absence of the country's racial and ethnic minorities on the terraces has never been the subject of any real in-depth debate in Sweden. In fact, the only time that this issue is ever really broached is following

accusations of fan racism. On these occasions, however, the presence of people of non-Nordic origins has again and again been invoked as an alibi for the accused group of supporters.²¹⁴ The basic (and flawed) premise of this defense is that “since we have immigrants among our midst, we cannot possibly be racists.”²¹⁵

Racism is obviously far more contradictory than this line of reasoning would suggest, and this will be one of the subjects that we will look at in the next chapter. Chapter 4 will, furthermore, study the issue of institutionalized discrimination as well as more symbolic forms of racism in Swedish football—two interrelated phenomena that mostly still go unrecognized in Sweden. In sum, this problem has not yet disappeared from the Swedish professional game, but rather it has been replaced by less obvious and more insidious forms of prejudice.

CHAPTER 4

Antiracism and Its Limitations in Swedish Football

While Chapter 3 explored overt expressions of racism at all levels in Swedish football, this chapter will instead look at institutionalized discrimination, as well as other more symbolic forms of racism, in the elite game. These types of racism are less readily discernable, and as a result, they often go unrecognized, but this does not mean that they do not exist. Part of the trouble stems from the fact that the Swedish conception of racism remains too narrowly defined, though in football's case, this problem is also attributable to Swedish football elites' continued reluctance to address patterns of deep-rooted structural racism in the sport.

For a long time, the powers that be in Swedish football basically ignored this issue, and they did little to tackle fan racism in *Allsvenskan* even at its worst during the late 1980s and early 1990s. To the extent that this situation was dealt with at all in this period, racism was treated as a byproduct of other forms of antisocial activities in the stands, and the focus was implicitly always on rooting out fan violence.¹ This approach has more or less continued into the present day.

“Projekt Läktarkultur” (“Project Terrace Culture”) was the first organized attempt to counter delinquent behavior among Swedish football spectators. Established in 1991, this was a collaborative effort between municipal authorities in Stockholm and the city's three big football clubs: AIK, Djurgårdens IF, and Hammarby IF. In 1993, “Projekt Läktarkultur” changed names to “Projekt Supporterkultur” (“Project Supporter Culture”), and in 1997 the entire project was taken over by *Riksidrottsförbundet* (the National Sports Confederation), which incorporated it into its broader campaign “Starta Vågen” (“Start the Wave”). “Starta Vågen” was founded in 1995 as a way to promote ethics and civility in sports, with a special eye toward eradicating spectator-related troubles in hockey and football.²

In 1997 *Svenska Fotbollsförbundet*, SvFF (the Swedish Football Federation), likewise issued its first directive on this issue, warning the clubs that they would from now on be held responsible for the racist conduct of their fans.³ These new proscriptions, however, did not necessarily translate into any sense of real urgency to deal with this situation. Over the course of the next ten years, no club was ever penalized for this kind of offense, and it would take almost another decade before the Swedish Football Federation confronted this challenge more directly.

On the international stage, SvFF has never played a leading role in the fight against racism, though it has cursorily abided by UEFA's guidelines on this subject.⁴ In 2005 SvFF notably signed on to UEFA's campaign "Unite against Racism" and called upon Swedish football players, coaches, club officials, and supporters to reject xenophobia in all its manifestations.⁵ The next year, the Swedish Football Federation followed this up by endorsing "Give Racism the Red Card," another UEFA-backed campaign aimed at eliminating racial prejudice from the game.⁶ In December 2006 SvFF also decreed that the clubs might face point reductions and/or fines should their supporters engage in this sort of behavior. The offending club could now additionally be forced to play their next home game in front of an empty stadium. These new directives were subsequently implemented at the start of the 2007 season.⁷

The adoption of these measures has generally enjoyed the backing of the clubs, who via their own lobby group *Föreningen Svensk Elitfotboll*, SEF (the Association of Swedish Elite Football), have seconded SvFF's proposals to combat xenophobia.⁸ The clubs have done so not only by throwing their support behind broader campaigns such as "Give Racism the Red Card"⁹ but also by launching their own local initiatives aimed at dealing with this problem.¹⁰ In recent years, these efforts have likewise been accompanied by a marked upswing of activity on this front at the regional and district levels.¹¹

Prior to this point, neither the Association of Swedish Elite Football nor the Swedish Football Federation had any specific programs designed to address this problem. In practice, this question has never appeared to be a major priority for either SEF or SvFF. In all likelihood, this is simply because the leaders of these two organizations did not deem racism to be a serious nuisance in the Swedish professional game.¹²

SvFF's newfound commitment to fight racism in the first decade of the twenty-first century can therefore best be understood in the larger context of the European Union and UEFA's intensified efforts to stamp out this scourge in the European game. The European Commission first became involved with the issue of fan racism and violence in the aftermath of the Heysel Stadium disaster in May 1985, when 39 people tragically lost their lives following crowd trouble between Liverpool and Juventus supporters in conjunction with the European Cup final in Brussels. Ever since then, the European Union has taken an active interest in regulating fan behavior and has tried to eradicate violence and open expressions of xenophobia in professional football.¹³

In these endeavors, the European Union has been joined by UEFA, which has likewise made eliminating racism from the game a key objective (at least in words, if not always in deed). Together these two organizations have, for instance, helped to sponsor FARE (Football against Racism in Europe), which represents a network of antiracist groups across Europe. As was already mentioned in Chapter 1, the EU and UEFA both conceive of their labors to banish racism from football as part of their larger mission to help promote tolerance and facilitate greater ethnic and racial integration in European society at large.¹⁴

To this end, the European Union and UEFA alike have stepped up their efforts to combat discriminatory practices and prejudiced attitudes in the sport, and this corresponds with the harder line that FIFA (the Federation of International Football Associations) has recently also taken on these issues.¹⁵ In the first decade of the twenty-first century, UEFA and FIFA both adopted stronger antiracist bylaws and further encouraged their members to do more to promote integration in the sport overall.¹⁶

The Swedish Football Federation obviously also belongs to FIFA, and although FIFA and UEFA's recommendations are not legally binding for their members, SvFF was not about to reject these new directives, given that at the time, a fellow Swede, Lennart

Johansson, was still the president of UEFA. During his tenure at the helm of the UEFA, Johansson had at one point himself been accused of making racially insensitive remarks. Following a visit to South Africa, he described attending meetings with “svartingar” (“blackies”), adding that “it was so dark when they all [the South African delegates] sat down together.”¹⁷ Despite this—or perhaps exactly because of this—Johansson made the fight against racism a central feature of his leadership during his last years in office.¹⁸

Yet considering that Johansson’s tougher stance on this question coincided with his (ultimately unsuccessful) campaign to unseat Sepp Blatter for top post at FIFA,¹⁹ it is tempting to interpret Johansson’s newfound eagerness to fight racism mostly as a cynical ploy to build goodwill in Africa (and elsewhere in the global south) for his own presidential bid. This be as it may, the Swedish Football Federation presumably had little reason to resist UEFA’s antiracist initiatives regardless of Johansson’s personal motives, because, as discussed, SvFF does not appear to have regarded this as a genuine source of concern at any rate.

Moreover, the adoption of new regulations is not the same thing as compliance, and a new EU report shows that the European football federations have a poor record of enforcement in relation to racist offenses.²⁰ SvFF is no exception. Indeed, as of the end of the 2010 season, only one club (AIK) had been fined for the racist conduct of its fans,²¹ and more severe forms punishment (such as point reductions) had yet to be meted out in Sweden. This reality, combined with the fact that the Swedish Football Federation so far has neglected to collect any statistics regarding racist incidents in Swedish football, both seemingly speak to SvFF’s halfhearted approach to this question.

In Europe generally, the clubs have a similarly dismal record in this area. Collectively the clubs and the national football associations have thus been slow to deal with this problem, and their typical response has been to minimize it.²² In the eyes of their critics, they have embraced these broader antiracist campaigns essentially for public relations’ reasons.²³ So in this respect, the behavior of Swedish football authorities differs little from that of their continental counterparts.

The European football establishment (clubs included) have normally been content to point the finger at a “few bad apples” among the fans to address the topic of racism in the sport. This is not to suggest that the clubs have been eager to confront their own fans; as a rule, they have not.²⁴ If we look at *Allsvenskan* specifically, as of 2010, not a single supporter has ever been banned for engaging in racist offenses.

Still, defining this problem primarily in these terms is convenient because it not only legitimizes efforts to exert greater control over fan behavior but also requires little self-introspection on the part of footballing elites. Equally importantly, it diverts attention away from institutional forms of discrimination of which these same elites are more directly implicated in.²⁵

Signs of persistent structural racism can be detected at both the club and national level in Sweden. The existence of such discrimination at the national level will be discussed in Chapter 9, so here we will investigate this subject only as it relates to players at the semiprofessional and professional club level.

Here Landskrona BoIS is of particular interest, as the team has on more than one occasion been accused of promoting and perpetuating a climate of racism within the club.²⁶ In the last decade the team has conversely also distinguished itself for its integration efforts,²⁷ and its labors in this field have moreover been widely praised in a city that otherwise is frequently associated with crime, high unemployment, and fractious ethnic tensions.²⁸ The team’s work in this arena might therefore be interpreted as a bid to counter these charges, and a cynic might further deduce that the team’s decision to hire

Henrik Larsson as its head coach in 2009 was, at least partially, also a calculated move to help rehabilitate the club's reputation in this area. At a minimum, Landskrona BoIS clearly wanted to use Larsson as a spokesperson to promote its antiracist credentials.²⁹

Among other things, Landskrona BoIS has been accused of systematically discriminating against players with immigrant roots. The former Swedish U-21 international Gabriel Ucar, himself a BoIS product, noted that even though eight out of ten players in the club's youth section had foreign-born parents, only one out of the ten players promoted to the senior squad within the past year had such origins—the other nine were ethnic Swedes.³⁰

It is of course difficult to assess the truthfulness of these allegations from afar, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that identical charges have in recent years also been leveled against IFK Göteborg. IFK has never made any secret of the fact that it prefers to recruit locally reared talent,³¹ but some critics claim to detect an unspoken ethnic dimension to this practice. These detractors assert that ethnic Swedish players are systematically favored not only over foreign imports but also over other local footballers from immigrant backgrounds.³² Similar suspicions have been raised in relation to other elite clubs as well³³ and also about teams in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system.³⁴

Leaving the veracity of these specific charges aside, there undeniably exists a common perception among players with non-Nordic origins that not everyone is treated equally in the Swedish professional game. In many instances, footballers with foreign roots are convinced that they need to be better than their ethnic Swedish teammates in order to succeed,³⁵ and they further believe that their Swedish counterparts are also given more opportunities to prove themselves.³⁶ (These kinds of complaints can even be heard at the youth level.³⁷)

The trouble for players with foreign backgrounds partially lies in the widely held idea that the latter have a different outlook on the sport. There may be some truth to this stereotype, in the sense that in many parts of the world, including in southern Europe, much greater stress is normally placed on individual artistry and ball-handling skills than has historically been the case in Sweden. Although the Swedish game is currently undergoing significant changes, as it is moving toward a more technically skilled and offensively oriented brand of football, it has not yet totally abandoned its traditional emphasis on tightly organized defensive schemes.³⁸

This defensive mind-set has generally been regarded as an impediment for footballers with non-Nordic origins.³⁹ The stereotype of “immigrant players” is that they play the game with far more creative flare and with keener offensive instincts but these positive qualities are simultaneously offset by poor positioning and defense.⁴⁰ In the Swedish imagination, then, “immigrant players” supposedly lack discipline, and this deficiency is only made worse by the reality that they also have a reputation for being “hot-headed.”⁴¹ It should be added that these stereotypes are by no means unique to Sweden, as they enjoy wide currency in northern Europe.⁴² Also, to a remarkable degree, the players themselves appear to have internalized these ideas.⁴³

As a result of these beliefs, “immigrant players” are all too often regarded as defensive liabilities on the pitch, at least when deployed in greater numbers. In practice, this means that when footballers from immigrant backgrounds play for “Swedish” teams, they are typically used as a “creative spark” on the offensive end of the field, and their basic purpose is thus to complement the defensive core of ethnic Swedish players.⁴⁴ Yet even when they are utilized in more offensive roles, these players sometimes find themselves accused of being “selfish” and of being poor “team players.”⁴⁵ Taken together, these attitudes can act as a serious detriment to the career prospects of many “immigrant

players,” particularly when they try to make the leap up to the men’s senior level.⁴⁶ (Note that “immigrant players” has been put in quotation marks because most of the players we are talking about here are in reality Swedish nationals who, more often than not, were also born and raised in Sweden.)

As we shall see later on in the book, African footballers often face almost identical challenges in relation to the Swedish elite game, and they are therefore burdened by many of the same stereotypes. In no small part this is because both “immigrant” and African footballers are always implicitly judged against idealized Swedish standards of play.⁴⁷ (This is a topic to which we will return in Chapter 6.)

More to the point, a number of African imports have likewise protested institutionalized discrimination. Ghanaian *Shafiu Seiduninche*, for instance, insists that he would have been signed by Västerås SK had he been “Swedish,” but Liston Söderberg did not want *Seiduninche* on his squad.⁴⁸ Nigerian Bala Garba similarly complained about veiled racism following his contract dispute with GIF Sundsvall. Above all, he objected to the apartment that the team had provided him with, saying that “no white man would have considered it to be adequately furnished.” Garba then went on to liken his position to that of a “slave.”⁴⁹

At other times, this perception of racism is wider ranging and less tangible in nature. Some years earlier, another Nigerian, Andrew Utti, was, for example, convinced that his car had been vandalized when it actually had been damaged by falling ice. From this incident, Utti, however, deduced that “*they* hate blacks in Sweden.” The person retelling this story, Sonny Karlsson, the director of football operations at BK Häcken, felt Utti was being irrational, and in retrospect, this incident was clearly quite humorous to Karlsson.⁵⁰ To be sure, Utti may well have been a bit paranoid in this instance, but it must simultaneously be stressed that *Seiduninche*, Utti and Garba’s reactions can only be grasped when examined within a larger historical pattern racial prejudice and discrimination. Their responses were not just randomly grabbed out of the air but presumably based on their previous personal experiences of racism in various different settings—Sweden undoubtedly included.

If one looks at the European football market as a whole, international research on this topic shows that African footballers are more likely to be signed to short-term contracts than native-born European players. This, in turn, makes it easier for the clubs to terminate the contracts of African players if the teams are not satisfied with their performances.⁵¹

Further, this is not the only sort of institutionalized discrimination that African football imports face in Europe. An additional competitive disadvantage that many Africans have is that they are classified as “non-EU players.” As was discussed in Chapter 2, up until December 2007, the Swedish Football Federation strictly limited the number of non-EU players on each team’s game-day roster. Consequently, prior to this, Africans (and other non-European footballers) had to compete not only for a starting spot at their specific position but also for one of the club’s three designated non-EU slots.⁵² For African footballers these regulations were understandably a source of considerable frustration,⁵³ and at the time, some Swedish observers also interpreted SvFF’s opposition to the Cotonou Agreement as a cloaked form of racism.⁵⁴

Salary discrimination is another obstacle that frequently confronts African footballers in Europe.⁵⁵ In the Swedish case, there is still too little data to be able to draw any definitive conclusions about this topic just yet, though the available evidence indicates that this is a problem there too.⁵⁶ During the 2002 season, for instance, *Allsvenskan*’s African imports collectively earned less than the league average,⁵⁷ but the following year,

half of them made more and the other half made less than the league average. So on the surface of it, then, in 2003, the players' salaries were more evenly divided; yet this fact alone does necessarily not tell the entire story. Even in this case, when someone like Djurgården's goalkeeper Pa Dembo Touray made more than the league average, he still earned less money than the majority of his teammates.⁵⁸ Hence while this subject requires further investigation, these limited examples imply that salary discrimination negatively affects *Allsvenskan's* African footballers as well.

Finally, there is also reason to suspect that the league's African imports are more likely than their indigenous counterparts to be signed to illegal/disadvantageous contracts⁵⁹ and/or to be defrauded by their own clubs and agents.⁶⁰ Considering that these are common challenges for African footballers in many other parts of Europe,⁶¹ this is probably a safe bet. (Other even more systemic and racialized forms of discrimination toward African and other black footballers on the part of the media and the clubs will be discussed later in the book.)

Patterns of structural racism are almost by definition more difficult to detect than more explicit forms of racism and this makes them less easy to identify, especially for members of the dominant host society. Swedish research reveals most ethnic Swedes are convinced that they live in society in which merit takes precedence over race and ethnicity.⁶² Although such beliefs are commonplace everywhere in Europe,⁶³ Swedes are nonetheless extremely resistant to the very idea that such a thing as "white privilege" even exists, and presently there is no real appetite to delve into this issue. This is largely because the notion that ethnic Swedes enjoy an advantageous position in society is ill at odds with the national self-perception of social equality and solidarity.⁶⁴

This mind-set is also evident in Swedish professional football, where again there is a genuine belief that the game is indeed color-blind.⁶⁵ If we look to Britain, however, studies from there show that people in management or in other positions of authority within the game are as a rule incapable of recognizing white privilege in the sport. In fact, this phenomenon has become so normalized and institutionalized within British football that at this juncture this process is now largely unconscious and self-perpetuating.⁶⁶ New scholarship on this topic shows that this observation is clearly also pertinent to Swedish football and many other Swedish sports.⁶⁷ (This is a subject to which we will return in Chapter 9.)

Just because this practice may well be unconscious does not make it any less real. When evaluating these accusations of structural discrimination in Swedish football, it must again be kept in mind that Swedish government reports have repeatedly demonstrated that the people of non-Nordic origins face worse working conditions than ethnic Swedes in the labor market,⁶⁸ and this state of affairs is certainly true for a majority of the country's African immigrants.⁶⁹ This being the case, it would be odd indeed if this general tendency did not also apply to professional football.⁷⁰

From an outsider's perspective, one cannot help but be struck by Swedish football authorities' apparent unwillingness to tackle these more insidious forms of institutionalized racism. As of 2010 neither *Föreningen Svensk Elitfotboll* nor *Svenska Fotbollsförbundet* had investigated any of the specific charges that have just been discussed here. It is also remarkable that SvFF has yet to heed UEFA's call to increase racial and ethnic minority representation within the game's governing structures.⁷¹ Instead, the Swedish football establishment has preferred to keep the discussion about racism in the game limited to the spectators' behavior on the terraces.

The Swedish media also shares the idea that racism in football is basically caused by a small minority of unruly fans, and the press has probably played an even bigger role in

pushing public opinion in this direction.⁷² In hindsight, *Aftonbladets* campaign “Älska Fotboll” (“Love Football”) has unquestionably been the most significant Swedish initiative on this question. Launched in the spring of 2005, “Älska Fotboll” aimed to wrest the game away from “destructive elements” that were purportedly wreaking havoc on the Swedish game through their violent and antisocial conduct.⁷³

“Älska Fotboll” was set up as a nonprofit foundation to award stipends to groups that create a “positive culture” around Swedish football at all levels. These awards were partially funded by the money that the foundation received from selling pink rubber armbands.⁷⁴ The campaign predictably received considerable attention in *Aftonbladet*, and it additionally elicited strong endorsements from Swedish politicians and footballing elites.⁷⁵

“Älska Fotboll” is typical of Swedish initiatives in this area in three main ways. First, while the foundation actively supports “Give Racism the Red Card,”⁷⁶ it too tacitly interprets racism as a byproduct of other forms of asocial fan behavior, rather than viewing it as a distinct problem that needs to be addressed on its own terms. Second, this campaign adopts a moralistic and essentially overly simplistic approach to racism (a point to which we will return). Third, “Älska Fotboll” is very much a top-down operation. While this initiative enjoys official support from the Swedish football establishment, its standing among average football supporters in Sweden seems far less certain.

The foundation can point to the fact that it has sold more than 100,000 armbands,⁷⁷ but it would be a mistake to regard this as a powerful mandate for the campaign at the grassroots level. This is because the bulk of these rubber bracelets were sold to organizations and football clubs, not to individual supporters. For a comparative point of reference, “Älska Fotboll” only had around two thousand followers on Facebook.⁷⁸ This last figure likely provides a far more accurate gauge of its popular support—though even in this instance, many of these “likes” come from “groups” (as opposed to from individual Facebook users).

The same thing can be said for the Swedish version of “Give Racism the Red Card” (“Ge Rasismen Rött Kort”), which in June 2010 had only about seven hundred followers on Facebook.⁷⁹ To give the reader some perspective on these numbers, AIK’s “Black Army” alone had four times as many followers on Facebook as “Älska Fotboll” and nearly 12 times as many “Ge Rasismen Rött Kort.”⁸⁰ This comparison reveals that the popular basis of these campaigns is, in truth, not very robust. (This is not meant to denigrate the commendable work that “Ge Rasismen Rött Kort” has done at the youth level⁸¹ but only to illuminate the limitations of this type of effort in rooting out prejudiced attitudes in the elite game.)

One might further ask how much excitement these kinds of top-down, media-led campaigns are really likely to generate among regular football supporters. The anecdotal evidence suggests that these antiracist campaigns have been greeted with a great deal of skepticism on the terraces in Sweden. That these initiatives would be rejected within far right circles perhaps goes without saying,⁸² since from the latter’s point of view, these schemes are simply empty exercises in political correctness.⁸³ But even among other fans, one can detect a certain amount of ambivalence about these initiatives⁸⁴ and above all toward “Älska Fotboll,” which some have dismissed as just another way for *Aftonbladet* to promote itself.⁸⁵ Serious doubts regarding these campaigns can even be distinguished among Swedish football supporters who in principal otherwise agree with the antiracist message of these efforts. The latter feel that these initiatives are overly pedantic and that they are being superficially imposed upon the fans from above.⁸⁶ British football fans, it might be added, have frequently had a similarly negative reaction to these sorts of

campaigns, as they too have resented being “problematized” and “talked down” to by the powers at be.⁸⁷

In order to be successful, these initiatives arguably need to have a solid base of support among the fans, and international antiracist campaigns such as “Football Unites, Racism Divides” and “Show Racism the Red Card” were both originally launched at the grassroots level. Because ordinary fans initiated these efforts, this also ensured that they enjoyed a genuine mandate from the very start.⁸⁸

This was, in contrast, not true when these same campaigns were first introduced in Sweden, and as of yet, there have not been any Swedish equivalents of fan-driven initiatives like “Leeds Fans United against Racism and Fascism,” “Progetto Ultrà,” or the “Shalke 04 Fan-Initiative.”⁸⁹ This might also explain why these antiracist schemes have not resounded more strongly among Swedish football fans.

While some supporter clubs have formally endorsed these broader campaigns,⁹⁰ anti-racism is still generally not central to the collective identity of these groups. The only possible exception is “Malmö Support,” which has made this issue key to its mission.⁹¹ Founded in 1992, it is the principal supporter club of Malmö FF, and in the past decade, the group claims to have worked hard to eliminate racism from the terraces.⁹² This commitment to fight racism appears to be largely absent elsewhere, and it is definitely not a major preoccupation within most Swedish supporter clubs.

Presumably this indifference is at least partially explained by the fact that by the time “Give Racism the Red Card” finally was introduced in Sweden, more systematic and organized manifestations of fan racism had, for the most part, already disappeared from the terraces. For this reason, many fans undoubtedly no longer saw any need for this kind of initiative, because in their minds, this problem was now effectively resolved. But one might further ask if it is really realistic to expect fans take this question seriously when the country’s football elites have not yet signaled any real interest in tackling this issue in any deeper, more meaningful way.

A final matter to consider is how effective the types of initiatives are actually likely to be. For even advocates of these campaigns admit that it is difficult to measure exactly what impact these efforts have had, if any, in eradicating racism in European football.⁹³ In relation to Sweden at least, it is tempting to conclude that these efforts have, at best, only had a very limited effect.

In all probability, the most significant function of these campaigns is that they have reinforced broader, emerging, antiracist sentiments in Swedish society. And in the latter process, there can be little doubt about the media’s vital role. The Swedish news media has made a major contribution to creating a new “antiracist consensus”—the origins of which were already discussed in Chapter 1. This outlook moreover reaches far beyond football, and even within the game itself, it enjoys a much wider basis of support than any of the previously discussed campaigns.

Over the last decade, the media, led by Sweden’s two main evening papers *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*, has done much to establish a hegemonic position for this antiracist consensus in Swedish football.⁹⁴ Major Swedish football personalities like Sven-Göran Eriksson and Henrik Larsson have lent further legitimacy to this outlook by their outspoken opposition to racism on the terraces.⁹⁵

This antiracist consensus, again, refers to the agreement that racism in essence is a morally indefensible position. According to this view, racism is furthermore principally understood as a political standpoint held by people with far right views, and for this reason, it is usually also conceptualized as an intentional act consciously aimed at asserting

white supremacy. As currently formulated, this definition of racism is easy for most Swedes to accept, and those who reject this consensus are treated as moral pariahs.⁹⁶

This conception of racism is also commonly held in Swedish football, whose own antiracist initiatives are all founded on the just-stated premise. At the professional level, overt expressions of racism are now broadly condemned by both coaches and club officials when they do take place.⁹⁷ These days, apologies routinely also follow in the wake of these incidents,⁹⁸ and these formal expressions of regret are often seconded by the spokespersons for the offending supporters, who are generally just as eager to disassociate their clubs from this sort of behavior.⁹⁹

Sentiments to this effect can likewise be heard from many ordinary football fans, even on the Internet, where these kinds of discussions normally take place outside of the public eye.¹⁰⁰ In fact, in these online environments, it not entirely uncommon for authors on football-related sites to rebuke other participants for using racist language¹⁰¹ or expressing blatantly racist views.¹⁰² To give just one example, in response to an earlier post by “Fula Gubben,” which maintained that most “Negro imports” in Sweden seem to run into off-field troubles, “SeanExile” counters that these players are recruited to Sweden because they are good players that come at a relatively affordable price. “SeanExile” then goes on to provide a long list of African imports whose off-field behavior has been exemplary, dismissing this accusation as “pathetic.”¹⁰³ That these kinds of rebuttals are made both anonymously and out of public view is indicative of the powerful support that this antiracist consensus enjoys in most quarters.

Another indication of its strength is that on those occasions when Swedish football fans still do sing openly racist songs, this typically only occurs in places where few if any “outsiders” are present. Nowadays such discourse is likely to be heard solely in the relative privacy of pregame gatherings in the pubs or during bus trips en route to away games and not in the stadiums themselves.¹⁰⁴ In these select, secluded settings, some AIK fans, for instance, apparently felt free (as late as 2010–11) to sing chants like “Dembo Touray, Dembo Touray, his father washes elephants and his mother smokes hash” about Djurgården IF’s African-born goalkeeper.¹⁰⁵ It is instructive that this type of racism now finds expression mostly in such insular environments, for this indirectly underscores the shaming power of this consensus. (Whether this really is evidence of a fundamentally changed attitude on the part of these supporters is a different issue altogether and is one that we will return to in Chapter 8.)

A final testament to the potency of this new position is that most people, when accused of engaging in racist behavior, also feel compelled to rigorously deny that they in fact are “real” racists. In March 2011 Mjällby AIF’s captain, Marcus Ekenberg, was, for example, purportedly overheard calling Prince Eboagwu a “fucking nigger idiot.” Even though there were several witnesses to this incident, Ekenberg subsequently claimed that he did not remember saying this to Eboagwu and further insisted that “he is not the sort of player that does this sort of thing.”¹⁰⁶ Liston Söderberg similarly denied that he was a racist in the wake of being sacked after having publicly abused Patrik Manziila. As is often characteristic in these cases, Liston cited the fact that he had several foreign players on his team as proof of his own innocence, adding that these comments “just flew out of me” (thereby implying that these remarks were not really heartfelt on his part).¹⁰⁷

Söderberg and Ekenberg’s denials should of course, first and foremost, be understood against the background that in today’s elite game, being labeled as a racist can be detrimental to one’s career—a reality that once again underlines the hegemonic status of this new antiracist position. Hence just like in the case of many fans, adherence to this

proscription may not always so much be a matter of personal conviction as one of simple expediency and professional self-preservation.

The main trouble with this consensus, however, is that it remains too narrowly defined, and as a result, the effect of the just discussed antiracist campaigns is ultimately bound to be very restricted. To this day, most antiracist initiatives in Swedish football continue to concentrate almost exclusively on fan behavior. And as has already been discussed, very little attention has so far been paid to more hidden forms of institutional discrimination and exclusion, which have much more harmful and far-reaching consequences. This incomplete diagnosis concerning the extent and depth of this problem has therefore hampered the sport's ability to deal with this issue. In some other European countries, likeminded campaigns have in recent years, for example, also been extended to address questions relating to the continued underrepresentation of racial and ethnic minorities in all areas of the sport,¹⁰⁸ but this has yet to occur in Sweden.¹⁰⁹

A final problem with this approach is that, as it stands, the understanding upon which it is built offers an entirely unsatisfactory conception of what kind of actions actually constitute racist or racialized behavior. This is because it largely ignores more oblique or symbolic forms of racism, and it is still only applied to blatant expressions of prejudice. Presently, then, the antiracist consensus remains too restricted not only in ambition but also in scope and definition.

Symbolic Racism in Swedish Football

The limitations of this position were well illustrated during the debate that surrounded the throwing of bananas at Djurgården's (just mentioned) Gambian-born goalkeeper Pa Dembo Touray. In 2000, Djurgårdens IF signed Touray at age 19 directly from Gambia. After having first spent a few years out on loan to other clubs, midway through the 2004 season, Touray was finally brought back to Djurgården to take over as the team's starting goalkeeper. He would occupy this position for the next seven seasons, during which time he won *Allsvenskan* once and the Swedish Cup twice. In 2010 Touray also became the first African footballer to wear the captain's armband in the top Swedish division. Yet as successful as his stint with the club was overall, Touray's first years in goal for Djurgården were nevertheless tainted by the experience of being intermittently pelted with bananas during derbies against Djurgården's two crosstown rivals, AIK and Hammarby IF.¹¹⁰

Even though the banana throwing had commenced as soon as Touray took over as Djurgården's starting goalkeeper, it was not until 2006–2007 that this ritual came under more and more scrutiny, not least from the media, which now began to harshly condemn this practice.¹¹¹ Objections to this effect were gradually also heard from a growing number of AIK and Hammarby supporters, who did not want to see their clubs identified with this kind of activity.¹¹² Such sentiments were particularly evident among Hammarby's fans;¹¹³ for there the club's management and coaches had been quick to distance themselves from the banana throwing.¹¹⁴ This led to a great deal of internal incriminations¹¹⁵ but also to a lot of soul searching among Hammarby IF's supporters,¹¹⁶ and this certainly contributed to bringing this tradition to an end in late 2007.

That having been said, the decision to finally abandon this practice was also clearly helped along by the Swedish Football Federation's announcement in August 2007 that Hammarby and AIK would be held legally responsible if their supporters persisted in this behavior. The Swedish Football Federation had once again been slow to act, but now it too had come under mounting pressure to abide by FIFA and UEFA's new

stricter directives on racism. As a result, the federation eventually also fined AIK for its fans' role in the banana throwing.¹¹⁷

Those who had engaged in this conduct, however, consistently denied any racist motives and pointed to the fact that both AIK and Hammarby IF had a long history (that predated Touray) going back the 1980s of taunting Djurgårdens IF and its fans by referring to them as monkeys and throwing bananas at the club's goalkeepers.¹¹⁸ The backstory here is that the island of Djurgården, from which Djurgårdens IF takes its name, is home to the city's zoo, *Skansen*, and this is thus the origin of the monkey insult.¹¹⁹ At the time, some of the defenders of this tradition even went so far as to argue that to halt this practice at this juncture would be more racist than continuing with it, since Touray would now be treated differently than his Caucasian predecessors in the Djurgården goal because of his race.¹²⁰

Apologists of this ritual further accused the press (and especially *Aftonbladet* and Mats Olsson, a columnist at *Expressen*) of intentionally distorting this story for their own purposes.¹²¹ Some also pointed their fingers at the Swedish Football Federation, seeing this as a part and parcel of its broader campaign to discredit the supporter clubs in a bid to sanitize the game's image.¹²² In these views, the accused could often count on a sympathetic hearing from some of Djurgården's own fans, who agreed that the tradition of throwing bananas was innocuous and had evolved into a fun component in the historical rivalry between the supporters of these three specific clubs.¹²³ Djurgården's main supporter club, *Järnkaminerna*, has for many years sold a t-shirt on which the Chiquita logo has been altered to say Djurgården, and the text under the logo reads "give us bananas."¹²⁴ Hence from the perspective of many fans from these three clubs, this was a media-generated crisis from beginning to end,¹²⁵ and to them, this was supposedly confirmed by the fact that Touray himself did not seem to be overly troubled by these incidents.¹²⁶

While there is undeniably something to the accusation that the press was inciting moral indignation for its own ends, there are nevertheless several serious flaws with this general line of defense. On the most basic level, there was an alarming failure to grasp that there is a crucial difference between throwing bananas at a black goalkeeper versus throwing bananas at a Caucasian one, regardless of previous traditions.¹²⁷ It must be recalled that these incidents were taking place at a time when African players were still routinely being pelted with bananas in many other parts of Europe, including in countries where there could be no doubt about the racist intent behind this practice. In fact, Touray had personally been subjected such abuse during a game against the Danish club Ålborg in November 2005.¹²⁸

Moreover, closer to home (as noted in the previous chapter), the racial association between players of African descent and monkeys already had an established history in Swedish football and society at large.¹²⁹ Some of the fans standing on both AIK and Hammarby's ends are old enough to have personally participated in even more explicit forms of racist chanting during the earlier "racist period," at which time it was not uncommon to hear "ugh, ugh, ugh" from the stands during Stockholm derbies every time an opposing black footballer touched the ball.¹³⁰ This ugly feature had returned, on occasion, while Touray was being bombarded with bananas,¹³¹ and it has also been something that other African-born footballers in Sweden have had to endure in the past decade.¹³²

Given this history, it is not terribly astonishing that many people interpreted (and to this day continue to interpret) the throwing of bananas at Touray as a profoundly racist act.¹³³ At the time, this taint of racism appears to have been especially traumatic for

many of Hammarby's supporters, presumably because they regarded this as incompatible with the club's progressive reputation.¹³⁴ Yet this self-image is not entirely deserved, because some of the team's supporters are clearly not as tolerant and fun loving as many around the club would portray them to be.

To be sure, Hammarby's followers have never been as closely associated with racism as the supporters of AIK and Djurgården, but Hammarby nonetheless has its own racist past and present,¹³⁵ and at least a minority of the club's current fans are indisputably and unambiguously racist.¹³⁶ This reality has not escaped some of the team's other fans, who also noted that the banana throwing appears to have escalated in both frequency and intensity since Touray took over as Djurgården's goalkeeper.¹³⁷ In fact, in the past ten years, some of the club's far right supporters have even gone so far as to establish a collaborative relationship with AS Roma's "Boys," an *ultra* group that makes no secret of its neofascist leanings.¹³⁸

This is not to suggest that most of the fans that engaged in the banana throwing at either club were (or are) politically organized and/or ideologically committed racists. However, the fact that the majority of the spectators who participated in this ritual are not necessarily diehard racists does not in itself make this behavior any less racialized. Intentionally or not, the act of throwing bananas at black players subconsciously bolsters the long-held European association between Africans and monkeys. This intellectual tradition dates back at least to the late nineteenth century and to the birth of "scientific racism" and social Darwinism, theories that held that people of African descent were less evolved (both biologically and culturally) than white Europeans.¹³⁹ Then, like now, these beliefs were—and have continued to be—utilized to justify institutionalized forms of discrimination. Accordingly, showering Touray with bananas cannot be dismissed simply as "good-natured" fun.

As Floris Müller, L. van Zoonen, and L. de Roode point out, this sort of behavior takes place within a larger racialized framework. They argue that "the key to understanding racism does not lie exclusively in the study of the content, consequences, and intentions behind the overtly racial act itself. It also requires taking into account the cultural content in which such acts become meaningful expressions."¹⁴⁰

Indeed, what seems to have totally escaped the defenders of this tradition is that the choice to equate Djurgården and its fans specifically with monkeys—as opposed to any of the other animals found at *Skansen*—is itself indicative of a wider racialized mind-set. To the originators of this practice, no other comparison was apparently as humiliating as this one. Subconsciously or not, the decision to liken their opponents to monkeys was not coincidental. This choice, then, illuminates the continued strength of this intellectual tradition.

International research on this subject furthermore suggests that even overt expressions of racism in football are rarely the product of blind hatred or of a patently articulated racist worldview.¹⁴¹ This same body of scholarship additionally reveals that the overwhelming majority of spectators in European football stadiums who engage in these kinds of behaviors are not politically organized racists.¹⁴² Rather, their participation in these racialized acts is ordinarily limited to this specific context, and these actions are instead indicative of a more diffuse, quotidian form of racism.¹⁴³ Yet this latter kind of prejudice belongs on the same continuum as more ideologically coherent forms of racism, as they both rely on often unstated assumptions about biological (and/or cultural) hierarchies and difference—ideas that, in turn, are still employed to legitimize continued systems of white normativity and privilege.

European studies on this topic also show that, when confronted about their conduct, spectators accused of participating in racialized forms of abuse almost always deny that they are racists.¹⁴⁴ Instead, they claim that they were just “having a laugh”¹⁴⁵ and seek to minimize the significance of their behavior by equating racialized taunts with other, less politically loaded types of insults. The basic idea (or so the argument goes) is that calling an opposing player a “nigger,” for example, is no different from deriding him because he is bald or fat, since the intent in each case is merely get the opponent “off his game.”¹⁴⁶ Needless to say, this reasoning conveniently ignores the reality that people are not ordinarily denied housing or jobs just because they are bald or fat. Racial abuse in the football stadium cannot be examined in isolation, since it cannot be neatly compartmentalized or disentangled from the larger historical pattern of racial prejudice and discrimination in European society.

At the heart of the matter is not so much the fact that people deny that they are engaging in racialized behavior but rather the question of why they deny this. In the Swedish case, this pattern of behavior again testifies to the potency of the new antiracist consensus but also to its limitations. As previously stated, in Sweden, like in many other parts of Western Europe, racism is still principally conceptualized as a conscious political act perpetuated by people driven by a cogent ideological agenda.¹⁴⁷ For this reason, the focal point of any debate dealing with racism in Swedish football normally hinges on the question of the perpetrator’s intent.

This viewpoint is probably best exemplified by Richard Slätt’s vehement defense of his and other fans’ continued right to throw bananas at Touray, which Slätt put forth in an open letter to *Expressen* in April 2006. What makes his standpoint so remarkable is that Slätt penned this letter not only as a longtime supporter of Hammarby IF but also in his capacity as the Chairman of EXPO. (EXPO is the Swedish equivalent of the British antifascist organization Searchlight.) Although he himself concedes that some of the people engaging in this behavior around him were, in his words, “well-known racists,” Slätt still insists that the throwing of bananas at Touray is an apolitical act, devoid of racist intent. He then goes on to assert that branding this practice as racism inflates the definition of racial prejudice to point of making the term meaningless. Slätt warns that this is very dangerous, since it risks trivializing “real racism.” Slätt concludes that politics and football should be kept separate, asserting that it would be a mistake to ascribe Swedish supporter culture with any ideological content.¹⁴⁸

In many respects, Slätt’s attitude toward the issue is fairly typical of European football supporters. Even those who engage in obvious forms of racialized behavior normally do not deem their own conduct to be racist. This is chiefly because they too tend associate racism exclusively with politically organized racists—though it is also because they do not conceive of their own actions as having any broader political or societal significance. At worst, they think of themselves as what some scholars have come refer to as “accidental racists,” whose participation in racialized activities in this particular environment has no bearing on their lives outside of the stadium or on society as a whole.¹⁴⁹ These sorts of beliefs are, in fact, quite common among Swedish football supporters.¹⁵⁰

This interpretation, however, is utterly inadequate, and perhaps not surprisingly, Slätt’s position was attacked at the time. Some resented his presumptuous attempt to make himself the arbitrator of which types of conduct should be classified as racist and which ones should not.¹⁵¹ Other detractors also pointed to his refusal to acknowledge the significance of racialized symbolism in the perpetuation of more concrete forms of racial discrimination in contemporary Swedish society. They compared Slätt’s defense of banana throwing to the broad resistance there had been in Sweden to dropping popular

brand names, like the “negerboll” pastry and “nogger black” licorice ice cream. From the perspective of Slätt’s critics, these brand names (along with the opposition to changing them) were evidence of the existence of a broader racialized mind-set.¹⁵²

Crucially, Slätt was additionally criticized for his apparent unwillingness to recognize the far-reaching impact that the act of banana throwing was likely to have.¹⁵³ His and others’ preoccupation with the question of intent overlooks the effect that these actions have not only on the individual victims but also potentially on all ethnic and racial minorities in contemporary Europe. In the long run, unwitting forms of racism are capable of causing just as much harm as intentional forms of prejudice, though they are often more difficult to confront directly due to their insidious nature.

This is because in addition to implicitly upholding the sanctity of white normativity, these racialized forms of behavior create an intimidating atmosphere for all racial and ethnic minorities within in the stadium and beyond.¹⁵⁴ In this specific instance, outside of the rather myopic world of these three supporter clubs, the throwing of bananas at Touray was also generally regarded as a racialized act (even by other football fans).¹⁵⁵

At the time, this was definitely true for many Swedes of African ancestry,¹⁵⁶ and for his part, Touray was personally never fully persuaded that there were not racist motives at work behind the banana throwing.¹⁵⁷ For this reason, Touray repeatedly called for this ritual to be halted.¹⁵⁸ Contrary to what the apologists of this tradition have claimed, Touray was actually quite offended by this practice.¹⁵⁹ The fact that he subsequently sought to play down these incidents,¹⁶⁰ and at one point even made light of these events by eating one of the bananas that had been thrown at him, is a different matter. In retrospect, his approach to this situation must be recognized as a defense mechanism that has regularly been utilized by black footballers in these circumstances.¹⁶¹

In the face of this type of racialized abuse, African footballers and other players of African descent typically only have a very narrow range of options available to them. The dilemma for black players in these situations is that if they publicly admit that they are negatively affected by this behavior, this is only likely to invite further abuse, so either remaining silent or trying to defuse the situation with humor has historically been the most common response among black footballers.¹⁶² (When put in this position, other Africans in Sweden frequently adopt the same sort of coping strategies.¹⁶³)

By eating the banana, Touray was trying to signal to the opposing fans that their conduct had no effect on him.¹⁶⁴ Touray was not the first black footballer in Europe to have reacted in this way. For instance, during a game against West Ham United, Brendon Batson, then of West Bromwich Albion, employed the same exact tactic by devouring one of the bananas that had been tossed at him from the stands. According to Batson, in this type of situation “the worst thing you can do is to react angrily. So you join in and have a laugh.”¹⁶⁵ Former Crystal Palace great Vince Hilaire agrees, saying that “while it [racist abuse from the terraces] does get to you, at the time you just try to laugh it off.”¹⁶⁶

When confronted with fan racism, in particular, the only other option that black footballers really have open to them is to try to compete even harder in order to prove the racists wrong. For some players, this can also become its own form of motivation.¹⁶⁷ Alternatively, they just seek to ignore (and/or downplay) this type of abuse as much as possible,¹⁶⁸ which is also what Touray¹⁶⁹ and other African football imports in Sweden normally seek to do when dealing with racist taunts from either opposing fans or players.¹⁷⁰

In relationship to racial confrontations on this pitch, however, players can of course resort to physically retaliating against their tormentors, and this has also been a recurring response among black footballers in Europe.¹⁷¹ In the hypermasculine atmosphere

that pervades the male professional game, there has moreover often existed an unspoken understanding that these types of offenses are best settled by the players themselves on the field and that these grievances should not be publicly aired.¹⁷²

This macho ethos has likewise contributed to creating an environment in which players are generally disinclined to complain publicly about racial abuse, because if a player protests, this can be regarded as a sign of individual weakness. Such complaints may additionally be interpreted as someone placing his or her own personal problems ahead of the welfare of the entire squad. Accordingly, players are usually expected to react to these situations with stoicism.¹⁷³ Surveys of black footballers in the United Kingdom have previously revealed that many of them have come to view racist abuse as a normal, if abhorrent, part of the professional game, with many concluding that “if you can’t take it, you should get out of the sport.”¹⁷⁴

In most instances, this hard-nosed attitude also applies to racialized behaviors among teammates, because for black footballers, this problem does not necessarily vanish once they walk off the pitch into the tunnel. While the kinds of overt racial abuse that these players are at times subjected to from the stands are more often than not absent in the locker room, this does not necessarily mean that European clubhouses are bastions of social integration and harmony. Rather, there too the acceptance of black and/or foreign imports tends to be contingent on their conformity to the dominant norms of the locker room.¹⁷⁵

British research on this topic suggests that in order to be accepted in the clubhouse, foreign imports, as well as ethnic and racial minorities, have to be pretty thick skinned, because the jocular rapport among players is frequently quite tough. A player therefore has to be able to demonstrate that he can take this, even if it means putting up with blatantly racialized banter.¹⁷⁶ Hence playing along with, or at least passively tolerating, such behavior has time and again been the price of admission for black footballers into the European footballing fraternity. The best-known illustration of this was probably John Barnes’s decision to attend the Liverpool Christmas party dressed up as a Klansman.¹⁷⁷

Although less is presently known about the internal racial dynamics in the Swedish professional game, these sorts of racialized behaviors do occur in Sweden as well.¹⁷⁸ One of the few publicized cases of this likewise involved Djurgården’s Pa Dembo Touray. In April 2009 Touray’s German teammate, Jan Tauer, posted a ten-second clip of himself on the Internet imitating Touray while holding a large black rubber tube between his legs. Djurgården immediately rebuked Tauer, but club spokespersons were quick to add that there was no malicious intent on his part and the clip was just meant as a harmless joke.¹⁷⁹

While we do not know anything about Touray’s reaction to this stunt, the club’s characterization of Tauer’s intentions is, in all probability, true. This example is nevertheless very instructive because it underscores the complexity of this kind of racialized behavior, so far as black footballers are concerned. For starters, the players themselves do not necessarily always reject the myth of black sexual prowess, since such virility is a highly valued trait within the confines of this macho environment. If anything, in this particular setting, this symbol of potent masculinity may even afford black footballers a certain privileged status that they may find hard to renounce.¹⁸⁰

Second, and perhaps more important, this issue also becomes more difficult to deal with for the targeted individual since it is presented in a humorous way. This is because the intended targets also tend to understand racism as a conscious political act that is calculated to injure or intimidate. Since this type of racialized banter among teammates often occurs within the confines of an otherwise friendly atmosphere, this can be quite

disorienting for the person that is the object of these comments.¹⁸¹ Yet the absence of malicious intent does not automatically make this behavior any less racialized, as this sort of banter normally involves well-established racial stereotypes. Scholars who have looked at this topic additionally caution that “meaningless play” and “real racism” should not be treated as mutually exclusive categories.¹⁸² Regardless of intent, racialized jokes similarly act to reinforce the unstated ideal of white normativity.

Another reason that racialized humor is a particularly thorny issue to deal with is because by framing such racialized comments as “a joke,” this allows perpetrators to preempt any accusation of racist intent.¹⁸³ It also opens the targeted individual up to the accusation that they are being “overly sensitive,” should he or she complain about it.¹⁸⁴ When black players have objected to various forms of racialized behavior, this has often been held against them. It has been presented as a “character issue,” and they are then accused of being “hot tempered” and “difficult.”¹⁸⁵

Nigerian Kevin Amuneke, for instance, complains of having been unfairly branded as a “troublemaker” during his time at Landskrona BoIS. According to his version of events, Amuneke was racially abused by some of his teammates but was ignored when he reported this to management. Following this incident, he was subsequently accused of being “a problem in the clubhouse.”¹⁸⁶ Amuneke is convinced that his reputation as a “malcontent” has subsequently damaged his career prospects in Sweden.¹⁸⁷

Although it is difficult to determine the veracity of Amuneke’s claims, many other black footballers in Europe have had this same experience. Once a player becomes labeled as a “troublemaker,” it can be hard to shake this image. And since so-called character issues can also negatively affect a footballer’s transfer value, black players often have a powerful incentive to remain silent in the face of racist taunts from teammates, coaches, and members of management.¹⁸⁸ Consequently, the practice of ignoring racialized behaviors in the clubhouse is frequently informed by black footballers’ need to survive within white dominated institutions. These realities, combined with the fact that most people generally do not like to speak publicly about negative experiences, has frequently had a silencing affect on black players in European football.¹⁸⁹

On account of this history, there is good reason to think that racist incidents both on and off the pitch are still vastly underreported in the European professional game. This general observation unquestionably applies to Sweden as well, and in light of the examples of overt racism (but also of more veiled forms of symbolic and institutionalized prejudice) that have been presented in the past two chapters, it is fair to say that racism remains a basic fact of life for African footballers in the Swedish elite game.

What exact effect this racism has on these players, however, is more difficult to establish with any certainty—for just because players are targeted by such abuse does not automatically mean that they think of themselves as having been victimized by it. So while some players have reacted strongly to such abuse,¹⁹⁰ others maintain that it has had no impact on them whatsoever.¹⁹¹ The latter response tends to be the most common one among African footballers in Sweden, who as a whole appear to downplay the severity of this problem in their public comments.¹⁹² Yet keeping in mind what has already been said about this topic, it is hard to gauge how candid these testimonies are, especially given that international research on this topic indicates that racism regularly presents a formidable obstacle to African footballers in Europe.¹⁹³

This is not to suggest that racism in Sweden is worse than in other parts of Europe, because in all likelihood, it is not. Indeed, according to both ordinary African immigrants¹⁹⁴ and these black football imports, such prejudice constitutes an even bigger challenge to people of African descent in many other European countries.¹⁹⁵ Still, this

does not change the reality that racism continues to be a serious problem, and that it undeniably creates an additional hurdle for African footballers in Sweden. The often marginalized position of these imports in the global football market and in the Swedish professional game, as well as within Swedish society at large, will be the subject of the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 5

African Footballers in Sweden

Identity, Background, and Performance

While Swedish players of African ancestry have thus played in *Allsvenskan* since the 1970s, African-born imports did not become a common feature in the league until the first decade of the twenty-first century. To a lesser extent, this trend is also evident in the Swedish Second and Third Divisions, where a similar development has taken place. Although the discussion in the next three chapters will primarily focus on the collective experience of the 109 African footballers listed in Appendix A, their stories will be supplemented by a dozen examples taken from African players in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system.

This chapter is roughly divided into three separate segments. It begins with an examination of African and Afro-European identities in contemporary Sweden and studies how the tensions and contradictions that exist within these same identities are currently being negotiated in relation to football. The second section presents a brief socioeconomic profile of the country's African football migrants and further investigates their motives for coming to Sweden. The third and final part of this chapter looks at the position of these African imports within the global football market and specifically dissects their appearance numbers in *Allsvenskan*.

Who Is “African” in Swedish Football?

From the very start, it is important to stress that African footballers in Europe are not necessarily a uniform group, and hence it would be a mistake to treat them as one homogenous unit—culturally, economically, or otherwise. According to Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, these players can be divided into four (and possibly even five) different categories:

First are those who were stars in Africa, and who have since accepted unstable conditions in Europe, playing at a semi-professional level and hoping to climb the European career ladder. Secondly, for a large group of established players in Africa who came to Europe, football alone could not explain their migration. These individuals attempted to advance simultaneously at university or in another job: some remained active and

successful in European football but others stopped playing entirely, and settled into other occupations. Thirdly, some economic migrants to Europe have taken up football professionally in their host country. Finally, aspirant professionals are increasingly recruited in their early teens and spend the beginning of their careers in European club youth teams. Although they do not move as professionals, their football talent is reason for their recruitment. A fifth group further complicates the status of African migrants: those of second-generation immigrants who have no direct link with the African birthplace of their parents, but who nevertheless represent African countries in international competition.¹

To varying degrees, examples from these five groups can be found in the Swedish elite game.² In addition to the more stereotypical adult football migrant who was explicitly recruited to play professionally in Sweden, *Allsvenskan* has also had a number of players that were born in Africa but who did not play organized club football at the senior elite level prior to coming to Sweden. In this category, one might mention footballers such as José Monteiro (Algeria/Guinea-Bissau), Yosif Ayuba (Benin), Kebba Ceesay (Gambia), Njogu Demba-Nyrén (Gambia), Saihou Jagne (Gambia), Amadou Jawo (Gambia), Omar Jawo (Gambia), Mohamed Jallow-Mbye (Gambia), Kangana Ndiwa (Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC]), Pagguy Zunda (DRC), Walid Atta (Eritrea), Benjamin Kibebe (Ethiopia), Jones Kusi-Asare (Ghana), Mike Owuso (Ghana), John Pelu (Ghana), Samuel Wowoah (Liberia), and Pascal Simpson (Togo). All these players arrived in Sweden either as children or as teenagers, and today they all possess Swedish (or at least dual Swedish) citizenship.³

This is, however, also true for a handful of more recent adult football imports, like René Makondele, Ibrahim Atiku, Dulee Johnson, and Kabba Samura, who all have become naturalized Swedish citizens in the past decade.⁴ While the overwhelming majority of *Allsvenskan*'s African football migrants do not stay in long enough in Sweden to qualify for citizenship, some (like Djurgården IF's Gambian goalkeeper Pa Dembo Touray) do eventually become "football Swedes"⁵—meaning that in UEFA's eyes they enjoy the same status as any other EU player.

Now it probably goes without saying that UEFA's rather generous conception of nationality has little bearing on how these players are commonly perceived in Sweden. Indeed, even the just discussed group of naturalized African players are rarely, if ever, referred to as "Swedish,"⁶ since in public discourse there is still a strong tendency to classify all African-born players as "African," regardless of whether they were raised in Sweden or not. This can occur in cases even when the person has full Swedish citizenship.⁷ It is also not uncommon in Europe to generally refer to European-born players of African descent as simply "African," when they could just as legitimately be classified as "European"—especially in those instances where the footballers in question have spent their entire lives in Europe. This suggests that in contemporary Europe, popular conceptions of national belonging all too often continue to be tacitly based on racial and ethnic criteria (though at times the issue of cultural identity clearly also comes into play, particularly in relation to Muslims).

An article in *Helsingborgs Dagblad* from June 2010 entitled "Hundra afrikaner i allsvenskan" ("A Hundred Africans in *Allsvenskan*") is a good illustration of these classification difficulties. The article provides the name, nationality, and Swedish club of 101 "Africans" that had played in *Allsvenskan* between 1977 and 2009.⁸ The trouble is that

while this list does include a number of African nationals that also possess dual European citizenship, such as Samir Beloufa (Algeria, France/Helsingborgs IF 2007–2008), Azrack Mahamat (Chad, France/Halmstads BK 2009), and even Swedish nationals like Njogu Demba-Nyrén (Gambia, Sweden/BK Häcken 2000–2001) and Kangana Ndiwa (DRC, Sweden/Djurgårdens IF 2002–2003), it simultaneously excludes other African-born footballers with European passports, such as Mateus Lopes (Cape Verde, Portugal/Assyriska FF 2005) and Kebba Ceesay (Gambia, Sweden/Djurgårdens IF 2007–2010).⁹

Given these problems of definition, it is hard to establish a definitive tally of exactly how many “Africans” had appeared in *Allsvenskan* by the end of the 2010 season. Therefore arriving at a final headcount inevitably becomes slightly arbitrary and informed by one’s selection criteria. Should, for example, someone such as Stephen Ademolu, a Canadian-born footballer of Nigerian heritage, also be counted as “African”?¹⁰

Another group that might likewise be considered “African,” depending on one’s classification system, are players like Martin Mutumba (Uganda), Jose Sise (Gambia), Yusef Saleh (Eritrea/Ethiopia), and Henok Goitom (Eritrea), who were born in Sweden but to African parents.¹¹ Here one might further opt to include Swedish players of mixed African ancestry, such as Martin Olsson (Kenya/Sweden), Marcus Olsson (Kenya/Sweden), Jeffery Aubynn (Ghana/Sweden), James Frempong (Ghana/Sweden), and Rami Shaaban (Egypt/Sweden).¹²

One reason that one could conceivably expand one’s definition to include this last group is because these European-born (and/or raised) footballers are frequently also invited to compete internationally for their parents’ African nations of birth. A second reason is that that, in many instances, these players continue to be viewed as “African” not only by other Europeans¹³ but also by many Africans (even when they identify themselves principally as “European”).¹⁴ All this underscores the extent to which national identity remains a social construction subject to continual renegotiation and highlights the complexity of trying to define accurately who exactly should be considered “African” in Swedish professional football.

In light of these potentially conflicting national (and family) loyalties, it perhaps not all that astonishing that this group of Swedish footballers with roots in Africa have made different choices about which country to represent internationally. Njogu Demba-Nyrén, Saihou Jagne, Omar Jawo, and Mohamed Jallow-Mbye, have, for instance, all chosen to compete for their African countries of birth—in this case, Gambia.¹⁵ Meanwhile, other African-born players (and/or players with at least one African parent) such as Jose Sise,¹⁶ Walid Atta,¹⁷ John Pelu,¹⁸ Pascal Simpson,¹⁹ Benjamin Kibebe,²⁰ Mike Owuso,²¹ and Jones Kusi-Asare have instead opted to play for Sweden.²² In addition, a third group of footballers have done both. Kangana Ndiwa and Kebba Ceesay first represented Sweden at the under-19 and under-17 levels, respectively, and then at the senior level switched to their African nations of birth.²³

The question of what national team to play for has created a dilemma for a number of these athletes, not least since African football officials and fans have repeatedly called for these Swedish-based players to compete for them internationally—no matter how tenuous the latter’s actual relationship might be to their African countries of birth.²⁴ (In some instances, such interest has even been extended to include second-generation immigrants who were neither born nor raised in Africa but have one or more African parents.²⁵)

For some of these players, the quandary of which country to compete for is clearly an agonizing one,²⁶ though for many, this decision appears to be primarily informed by professional considerations. This decision process is partially about which national

squad the player is most likely to make it onto, but it is likewise about which team will provide the biggest international stage for him. Yet in the end, this decision is frankly also about which national team shows the most interest in enlisting a player's services.²⁷ So while the significance of nationalist (and sentimental) attachments should not be totally discounted, pragmatic considerations usually seem to triumph.

Playing in big international competitions is an excellent way for footballers to showcase their talents, and for this reason, most hope to compete for the highest ranked national team they can. In the Swedish context, this ordinarily means that Sweden will be the first preference for the majority of players of African heritage.²⁸ This is because in the last two decades, the Swedish national team has had an impressive record of qualifying for both the European and World Cup: the game's two most high profile events at the international level.

Players competing for one of the smaller African states are, in contrast, much less likely to get the opportunity to perform on such an elevated world stage, so from a purely careerist point of view, representing Sweden is a far more attractive proposition for these players than competing for a country like Gambia or Benin. Accordingly, most footballers of African heritage only opt to play for their countries of birth once it becomes plain that they are not likely to ever get the chance to represent Sweden at the senior level.

As of 2010, no player in this position had yet rejected a roster spot on the Swedish senior team to compete for a lower-ranked African squad. Njogu Demba-Nyrén, for instance, long wanted to play for Sweden²⁹ but was never given the chance, so he ultimately decided to represent Gambia instead (though he insists he did so with great pride³⁰). Henok Goitom likewise made clear his desire to represent Sweden at the senior level after already doing so at the under-21 level, but when this invite never materialized, he briefly considered switching national teams to compete for his parents' country of birth, Eritrea, instead.³¹ Rami Shaaban initially found himself in an identical situation, but since he was eventually offered the opportunity to play for Sweden, he ended up rebuffing an earlier overture from Egypt.³²

Competing for Sweden might conversely also be quite appealing for African imports who come from one of the bigger African football powers, like Cameroon or Nigeria, where it is normally much more difficult to earn a spot on the national team. Peter Ijeh, for example, had previously represented Nigeria at the youth level, and when he first came to Sweden, he made no secret of the fact that he hoped to represent his country of birth at the senior level.³³ However, since he had never played in an international tournament at the senior level for Nigeria, this meant that he could still potentially switch and compete for Sweden instead. And once it became clear that he was not going to make the roster of the Nigerian senior team, Ijeh publicly let it be known that he was open to acquiring Swedish citizenship in order to play for Sweden.³⁴ Ijeh's teammate on Malmö FF, Joseph Elanga, at one point similarly expressed interest in switching to Sweden as a result of his frustration about not being called up by the Cameroonian senior team.³⁵ Ultimately, neither one was ever extended an invitation to compete for Sweden, but this issue is sure to arise again in the future.

Yet the fact that some African-born footballers would for essentially pragmatic reasons opt to play either for Sweden or alternatively for their African country birth (or even their parents' African country of birth) does not necessarily tell us whether they fundamentally think of themselves as being "African" or "European" (or some combination of the two). In this age of increased intercontinental migration between Africa and Europe and rising rates of dual citizenship, the idea of nationality—or at least of

national identity—is becoming more and more complex, if not always more inclusive in contemporary Europe. These days it would not be unusual for a person possess a European passport but still feel “African” or vice versa, depending on the particular context. The very idea of national identity becomes further muddled as soon as it is extended to include notions of cultural and political self-identification as well, and this is obviously a particularly thorny issue to sort out for those who have direct personal ties to both continents, as more and more people in Europe now do. Hence the question of “national belonging” is not just a simple matter of what is stamped on one’s passport.³⁶

Owing to the complexity of this situation (and given the difficulty of arriving at a coherent definition of “African” in the context of contemporary European society), these next three chapters will therefore largely limit themselves to discussing African nationals who came to Sweden as either teenagers or adults with the specific intent of playing professional football. (This group does, however, also include a number of African players with dual European citizenship.) The experience of African-born players who learned to play organized football in Sweden prior to adulthood will, in contrast, be mostly excluded from this examination. This is because—at least from a footballing perspective—these footballers are “culturally” Swedish, meaning that they were already acclimated to Swedish football norms prior to entering *Allsvenskan*. (This is a point to which we will return in Chapter 7.)

African Footballers in Sweden: A Brief Overview

Even if one opts to narrow one’s investigation solely to adult footballers holding African passports (that were not Swedish nationals at the time that they first entered *Allsvenskan*), this group alone is, in many respects, still quite heterogeneous. For starters, it is worth emphasizing again that a handful of these players were born and/or raised in Europe and therefore also learned to play the game in Europe.³⁷ This gave them a decisive advantage since it unquestionably eased their transition into the Swedish professional game.

Furthermore, the amount of professional experience varies a great deal among the group of 109 African nationals listed in Appendix A. While many of these footballers were still only in their late teens when they first arrived in Sweden, others were rather accomplished by the time they landed in *Allsvenskan*—with some already in the twilight of their careers. In this group, one finds players such as the previously mentioned Samir Beloufa, the former AC Milan defender and Algerian international who was recruited to Helsingborgs IF in 2007,³⁸ or the former Senegalese international, Mamadou Diallo, who had just won the MLS scoring title for the Tampa Bay Munity in 2002 before signing with IFK Göteborg in 2003.³⁹ Then there are some like Yunus Ismail and Abdel Seidou, for instance, who had never played organized football—never mind professional football—prior to their arrival in Sweden.⁴⁰

That having been said, someone like Seidou, who only started playing competitive football when he was 27 years old,⁴¹ is of course an exception, because most African football imports in *Allsvenskan* have spent their entire lives around the game and some, like Dominic Chatto (Nigeria/BK Häcken 2009–2010) and May Mahlangu (South Africa/Helsingborgs IF 2010), basically grew up in African football academies.⁴² On account of these vast disparities, their individual experiences in Sweden—and also their expectations about playing in *Allsvenskan*—are, in some respects, going to be very dissimilar from each other.

In relation to Africa itself, *Allsvenskan* draws players from virtually all over the continent and from countries as different from each other as Egypt and Zambia. Yet as was mentioned in Chapter 2, the bulk of all African football migrants in Sweden nonetheless originate from English-speaking West Africa.⁴³ Presumably, this is chiefly because English is the most widely spoken foreign language in Sweden, though it certainly also reflects the fact that West Africa is currently the primary football exporting region on the African continent.⁴⁴

The reason for this is mainly rooted in the structural economic weakness of the domestic game in West Africa, which leaves professional footballers there with little choice but to go abroad in search of work.⁴⁵ The same observation can also be made about players from East Africa where the local football economy is (if anything) even frailer than it is in West Africa.⁴⁶

In contrast, far fewer players from North Africa have ever made their way to *Allsvenskan*. In fact, as of 2010, only seven North Africans had played in the top Swedish division.⁴⁷ This is undoubtedly explained by the fact that in this part of the continent, footballers can make a decent living playing in first division clubs in Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt.⁴⁸ For this reason, there is far less incentive for the best footballers from this region to play for one of the lower paying European leagues, such as *Allsvenskan*.⁴⁹ Hence there is a strong correlation between the financial strength of each African domestic league and rate of football migration to Sweden (and other parts of the world).

The poignancy of this general observation is underscored when one looks at football imports from a country like the Republic of South Africa. Because the republic has a fairly prosperous professional league, South African players frequently have the luxury of staying closer to home if they wish to do so.⁵⁰ In relation to *Allsvenskan*, this has meant that while South African footballers might still try their luck in the league, they also tend to return to South Africa if things do not fall into place for them in Sweden.⁵¹

For many of their counterparts from Central, East, and West Africa, however, returning home is just not a financially viable option. Accordingly, when players from these parts of the continent fail to secure a good contract in *Allsvenskan*, they normally try to stay on in Sweden (even this means playing in one of the lower Swedish divisions) or they move on to another European league—or even to Asia. In short, footballers from Central, East, and West Africa have less professional leeway than their neighbors from either North Africa or the Republic of South Africa.

Beyond these regional distinctions that are largely rooted in the financial health of the local football economy of each country, there are many other internal differences among the African football imports in Sweden. This is a crucial point, since there is a tendency in Europe to lump all African football migrants together and to automatically equate them with economically destitute footballers from the sub-Saharan parts of the continent.⁵²

In the Swedish case, this stereotype is not totally unwarranted, but it is not entirely accurate either, and it serves to mask a number of crucial internal distinctions. To begin with, African footballers in Sweden are not necessarily synonymous with “black Africans.” In addition to a handful of players of Arabic descent from North Africa, three “white” Africans have likewise played in *Allsvenskan*.

The first of these three, South African Neathan Gibson, first played college soccer in the United States and then briefly moved to Asia prior to joining IFK Norrköping in early 1997.⁵³ Three years later, Stephen Armstrong became the second white South African to land in the Swedish top division. Armstrong was born in Scotland, but his family

migrated to South Africa when he was seven. Armstrong eventually played football at Butler University in United States before finally signing with Västra Frölunda in 2000.⁵⁴

In 2006, Paulo José Lopes de Figueiredo became the third Caucasian African national to play in *Allsvenskan*. Figueiredo was recruited by Östers IF in 2006,⁵⁵ and his path to Sweden was arguably even less straightforward than Armstrong's. He was born in Angola, but his family departed for Portugal following Angolan independence in 1975. Figueiredo was subsequently raised in Portugal, but in 2003, he was unexpectedly invited to compete internationally for his country of birth, at which point he also became an Angolan citizen. Between 2003 and 2007, he played 29 games for the Angolan national squad and was the team captain during the 2006 World Cup in Germany.⁵⁶

The personal biographies of these last two players hint at the considerable diversity of experience that exists among the growing ranks of African footballers in Sweden. Even among the larger majority from black sub-Saharan Africa, there are a number of key internal fault lines within this group—and this observation often applies to players originating from the same nation. One such fracture is of course religion, and both devout Christians and Muslims can be found among *Allsvenskan's* African football imports.⁵⁷

Another important internal distinction (again even among African players from the same country) is language. Within the African football colony in Sweden, one finds speakers of Arabic, French, Portuguese, and English, and in recent years, even a rising number of Swedish speakers.⁵⁸ Beyond Arabic and the just-mentioned European languages, these players often also grow up speaking a wide variety of local tribal languages. GAIS midfielder, Reuben Ayarna, for example, was raised in northern Ghana and speaks Kusaal, Twi, Ga, and Hausa in addition to English. So when he, for instance, socialized with BK Häcken's Nigerian striker, Dominic Chatto, they normally conversed in Hausa, which is a language that is used in many parts of West Africa.⁵⁹

That Ayarna and Chatto communicate in Hausa serves as a reminder that linguistic differences and tribal loyalties frequently transcend national boundaries in Africa.⁶⁰ And in many instances, these distinctions (along with religious ones) are far more significant than having a shared nationality.⁶¹ In practice this means that African football migrants from the same country do not necessarily share a common language, religion, or tribal affiliation, though the collective experience of being a foreign football import in Sweden undoubtedly does much to negate these differences—differences that would definitely have been more significant in an African domestic context.

Motives for African Football Migration to Sweden

Class, or socioeconomic status, is the final key internal marker among African football migrants. The commonly held stereotype of these imports is that they have come to Europe in order to escape grinding poverty. This assessment undeniably holds true for many African footballers in Sweden. Here one can, for example, point to players like Kennedy Igboananike and Sheriff Suma who grew up in the slums of Lagos and Free-town, respectively,⁶² or to the former South African international Jabu Mahlangu who was raised in the poverty-stricken black township of Daveytown just outside of Johannesburg.⁶³ Indeed, for this group of players (and in all likelihood for the great majority of the African footballers in Sweden), economic necessity was the principle driving force behind their decisions to migrate abroad. In this respect, they are not all that different from a lot of other African immigrants in contemporary Europe.⁶⁴

However, all African footballers in Sweden do not fit this description, as some of them come from solid middle class, if not elite, backgrounds. An educated guess is that approximately one out of every ten of these imports has such origins. This includes well-known players such as Razak Omotoyossi, Pa Dembo Touray,⁶⁵ Joseph Elanga,⁶⁶ Peter Ijeh,⁶⁷ Reuben Ayarna,⁶⁸ Richard Ekunde, René Makondele, and Yannick Bapupa, who all fall into this category.⁶⁹ Ekunde's dad, for example, is a lawyer in Kinshasa,⁷⁰ whereas Omotoyossi's father is an engineer and his mother is a businesswoman. (Omotoyossi also has two sisters at university in Nigeria and a brother who is a computer technician in London.⁷¹) The middle-class backgrounds of these players, however, probably does not match the mental picture that a lot of Swedish football fans have of the typical African football import.

Some might be equally surprised to learn that South Africans Neathan Gibson and Stephen Armstrong are not the only two African players to have attended a university or college before turning professional in Sweden.⁷² Reuben Ayarna went to a US university for three years prior to departing for *Allsvenskan*,⁷³ while fellow Ghanaian Majeed Waris attended Hartpury College as a high school senior in England before moving to BK Häcken in 2010.⁷⁴ Still other African imports, such as Sehten Hills, Abdel Seidou, and Yussif Chibsah, either have begun their university studies in Sweden or have continued to work toward advanced degrees after their arrival.⁷⁵

Admittedly it is also quite common for educated, middle class Africans to relocate to Europe in search of better paying jobs, but the point here is that all the African footballers in Sweden were not necessarily driven abroad out of a sense of economic desperation. So their motives for moving to Europe are often more complex than they might seem at first glance, and in Africa overall, it is not unusual for people to emigrate due to a combination of political, personal, and economic reasons.⁷⁶

In Sweden, there have been a handful of African players that originally arrived as political refugees.⁷⁷ The former Kenyan international Andrew Oyombe Opiyo, for instance, first came to Sweden as an ordinary football import in 2004 when he played for Enköpings SK in the Swedish Second Division. However, he subsequently went back to Kenya only to return to Sweden again in 2010, this time as a political refugee. By early 2011 Opiyo was trying to resurrect his football career with Skårhamns IK in the Third Division while waiting to hear if he would receive humanitarian asylum or not.⁷⁸ For political refugees, such as Opiyo, the stakes of making it in Sweden are obviously much higher than they are for most other African football migrants,⁷⁹ though the same argument could maybe also be made about those players who initially landed in Sweden for essentially personal (and non-football-related) reasons.

Such was the case for the first African footballer in *Allsvenskan*, Melki Amri, who came to Sweden because of a girlfriend in 1977.⁸⁰ Over the years, several other African players have likewise returned to (or ended up staying in) Sweden due to romantic and/or familial ties.⁸¹ William Amamoo, Ghana's reserve goalkeeper during the 2006 World Cup, is a good illustration of this. Amamoo is married to a Swedish woman, and he has repeatedly let it be known that he wants to remain in Sweden in order to be close to his children. His first stint in Sweden came in 2005, but he has returned twice since then with the ambition of one day signing with an *Allsvenskan* club.⁸²

Gambian international Dodo Loum similarly ended up in Sweden mainly for family reasons. Dodo's father was already living in Helsingborg, and it was Loum senior who first put Helsingborgs IF in touch with Dodo.⁸³ Hence the exact circumstances that initially bring these footballers to Sweden—and that at times also keep them there—can vary a great deal from one player to the next. This being the case, all these players should

probably not technically be considered “football imports” in the strictest sense of the word, though for simplicity’s sake, this book will continue to refer to them collectively as such.

This eclectic array of motives and backgrounds underscores the importance of not treating African footballers in Sweden as a uniform group that is having one singular experience. International scholarship on the broader topic of African footballers in Europe has reached similar conclusions,⁸⁴ thereby making broad generalizations about this group difficult. So while the bulk of the African players in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe would perhaps be best characterized as economic migrants from the sub-Saharan part of the continent, this general classification still leaves room for considerable diversity of experience and individual differences.

Allsvenskan as a Stepping Stone?

Regardless of their personal motivations, all the aforementioned players appear to share a near universal satisfaction about having reached Europe.⁸⁵ Prior to their arrival, most of the African footballers in Sweden knew little to nothing about the country⁸⁶—except that it supposedly was very cold.⁸⁷ And indeed to many African football migrants, it matters little where exactly they initially land in Europe, only that they have finally made it there.⁸⁸ Among the players themselves, competing anywhere in Europe is ordinarily regarded as a status symbol.⁸⁹

For a big majority that have come to Sweden first and foremost for football-related reasons, the Swedish professional game is initially viewed as a springboard to one of the better paying—and more prestigious—European leagues. Typically these players are very candid about their long-term ambitions and do little to hide the fact that they see Sweden as just a stepping stone en route to one of the bigger leagues.⁹⁰ This mind-set is almost universal for all foreign imports, and Brazilian footballers basically have the same attitude about playing in Sweden.⁹¹

While most regard *Allsvenskan* strictly as a way to advance up the European football ladder, for Africans arriving from either Asia or North America, the Swedish top division is also attractive because it is more likely to be monitored by their own national teams. They believe that it is difficult to get the attention of their respective football federations if they are not competing in Europe.⁹² Viewed from this perspective, then, landing in Sweden is a move in the right direction—or at least this is what the players themselves originally think. (Whether this is true or not is a different matter and is a point to which we will return in Chapter 7.)

Some African imports adopt a very matter-of-fact attitude toward *Allsvenskan*.⁹³ The former Nigerian international Justice Christopher, for instance, told a group of Swedish sport reporters following his trial at Trelleborgs FF in 2004 that “I am a football player. For me it doesn’t matter what country I play in, or for what team,” though he simultaneously added that playing for Trelleborgs FF would hopefully attract the interest of a bigger European club.⁹⁴ The views expressed by Christopher were unquestionably truthful (and probably also pretty representative), but such candor is still a bit unusual.

In public, most African footballers tend to express more enthusiasm about being in Sweden and are normally more tactful if asked about their future plans.⁹⁵ When interviewed, the most common response from these imports is that although they are currently very happy to be in *Allsvenskan*, in a few years they nonetheless wish to transfer to

a more competitive European league.⁹⁶ In particular, most of them aspire to compete in the German *Bundesliga*, *Serie A*, *La Liga*, or the English Premier League.⁹⁷

Such dreams are also nursed among Africans in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system.⁹⁸ Sierra Leonean Ibrahim Tahini, for example, asserts that his personal aim is to reach the top division in either France, Italy, or Spain, though it does not matter for which club. (At the time, Tahini was still playing for the Swedish Third Division club IK Oddevold.⁹⁹) South African Amethyst Bradley Ralani shared this ambition as well, though in Ralani's case, his stated preference was explicitly to land in *La Liga*. In the meantime, Ralani was biding his time in the Second Division while waiting to move up to *Allsvenskan*.¹⁰⁰

In sum, then, most African footballers seem to regard Sweden as a good enough starting point en route to one of the more reputable European leagues.¹⁰¹ This should come as no surprise, since these days, the normal career path for African footballers in Europe is to start off in one of the smaller leagues with the hope of one day moving up.¹⁰²

In this context, it must be stressed that the quest for money and fame and the desire to advance one's career by transferring to a more competitive league is nearly universal among today's professional footballers, and it is in no way unique to these African imports.¹⁰³ Aspirations to this effect are certainly common enough in Scandinavia, where indigenous players have historically desired to play in England.¹⁰⁴

African Footballers in Sweden

Position and Status in the Global Football Market

For Africans in Sweden, however, the dream of eventually making to one of the top leagues by and large proves to be an illusion. By end of the 2010 season, only three African footballers (Joachim Yaw Acheampong, McDonald Mariga, and Richard Kingson) had successfully made the leap directly from *Allsvenskan* to *La Liga*, *Serie A*, or the English Premier League, though two more (Edward Ofere and Moestafa El Kabir) would leave for *Serie A* in early 2011.¹⁰⁵ Beyond this group, Derek Boateng would also make his way up *La Liga* in 2009, but only after having first made a few other stops along the way.¹⁰⁶ In other words, very few African football migrants in Sweden have so far ever achieved their goal of competing in one of Europe's four preeminent leagues.

That said, another 25 players have at least transferred out of *Allsvenskan* to a better paying (if not always more prestigious) league in either Europe or Asia.¹⁰⁷ In some instances these moves have represented a clear improvement. Nineteen members from this group left for the top divisions in Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Cyprus, Denmark, Israel, Japan, Norway, Qatar, Rumania, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, while another five transferred to Second Division clubs in England, France, Greece, Portugal, and the Netherlands. In contrast, it is more debatable if relocations to the Belgian Third Division, Rumanian Second Division, or to the First Divisions in either Lebanon or Malaysia can really be considered an upgrade (even if some of these leagues may provide bigger paychecks than *Allsvenskan*).¹⁰⁸

Of the remainder, five arguably fell downward to less prestigious leagues. (Two went from *Allsvenskan* to the Norwegian Second Division, and three ended up in Finland.) An additional 13 footballers returned to Africa, whereas 12 others were either completely out of football following their last season in *Allsvenskan*, or their subsequent destination remains unknown. Another 20, however, were still in the top Swedish Division as of the end of the 2010 season, while a final group of 23 players ended up in one of the

lower Swedish divisions after their last stint in *Allsvenskan*. (In about half of these cases, this occurred as a result of their respective teams being relegated.¹⁰⁹)

Taken all together, then, *Allsvenskan* served as a springboard to a better league for slightly less than one-third of these African imports.¹¹⁰ These findings basically correspond with Raffaele Poli's earlier research on African football migrants in Switzerland. Poli shows that of the 158 African footballers in the Swiss top division between 1990 and 2001, about 31 percent eventually left Switzerland for a higher ranked league.¹¹¹

Poli's data, conversely, indicates that the rest (and overwhelming majority) of these players (77 percent) eventually either ended up transferring to a less competitive league or simply disappeared from the professional circuit.¹¹² Given that at end of the 2010 season approximately 30 of the players that this study looked at were still playing professional football in Sweden (at some level), it is impossible to know how these figures will ultimately bear out in relation to Sweden, but as of the end of 2010, about one-fourth of the African imports of the 109 studied here moved to an objectively lower-ranked league (and/or division) the year after they last appeared in *Allsvenskan*.

Statistically the most frequent destination for this last group of players was in one of the lower tiers of the Swedish league system, and as the first decade of the twenty-first century wore on, the Swedish Second and Third Divisions slowly began to fill up with African imports with *Allsvenskan* experience.¹¹³ On occasion, these former *Allsvenskan* players have ended up clustered together in the Swedish lower divisions, as was the case in 2008 when Charles Sampson (Ghana/Assyriska FF 2005), Aluspah Brewah (Sierra Leone/Hammarby IF 2004), and Kabba Samura (Sierra Leone/IFK Göteborg 2000–2003, Assyriska FF 2005) all found themselves competing for Bodens BK in the Third Division North.¹¹⁴ Although other foreign footballers at times also end up falling down into the lower stratum of the Swedish league system, what distinguishes African players is that few other foreign imports are willing to stay in Sweden to play semiprofessionally in the Third or Fourth Divisions.

But the situation is not always a bright one, even for those Africans who are fortunate enough make to the leap to a better European league, since many of them end up failing to establish themselves there. Consequently, it is not terribly unusual to see African players who had previously left Sweden for "greener pastures" later return to *Allsvenskan*¹¹⁵ or in some cases to one of the lower Swedish divisions.¹¹⁶ Joseph Elanga (Cameroon/Malmö FF 2001–2005, 2010),¹¹⁷ Diogh Williams (Liberia/BK Häcken 2005–2006, 2011),¹¹⁸ and Kevin Amunike (Nigeria/Landskrona BoIS 2004–2005, IFK Norrköping 2008) are but a few examples of African footballers that as of 2010–2011 had already made repeat return visits to *Allsvenskan* after brief (and typically less than stellar) forays out into other parts of Europe.¹¹⁹

As is the case for many other African immigrants in Sweden and other parts of Europe,¹²⁰ life in Europe does not always live up to these players' original expectations—at least not football wise. If anything, such dashed dreams can be found in abundance among these imports. Sierra Leonean striker Sheriff Suma provides one such illustration. When Suma first arrived in Sweden in late 2006, he stated that his goal was stay in *Allsvenskan* for two or three years and then transfer to a bigger European club. More precisely, he hoped to be playing for Chelsea in five years, and once he was done there, he wanted to end his career with his favorite childhood club, Olympic Marseille.¹²¹ Four years later, however, after a brief and (largely unremarkable stints) in Norway, Cyprus, and Turkey, he found himself back in Sweden playing for Jönköping Södra in the Second Division.¹²²

When he first signed with Örgryte IS as a 17 year old in 2004, Zambian Dominic Yobe similarly declared that it was his ambition to one day line up next to David Beckham with Real Madrid.¹²³ At the time, his optimism did not seem totally unfounded, in view of that he had already had a trial at Manchester United.¹²⁴ However, only 3 years later, he was playing in the Finnish Second Division. Yobe was subsequently banished from Finnish professional football after he was found guilty of match fixing, at which point he returned to Zambia in disgrace.¹²⁵ In hindsight, this represents a rather humbling fall from grace for someone who initially appeared to have such a bright future ahead of him.

Yobe is not alone because he is by no means the only African footballer in Sweden to have seen potential greatness slip from their grasp.¹²⁶ Sierra Leonean Samuel Barley had likewise auditioned with Manchester United in his late teens, and great things were certainly expected of him when he first joined Malmö FF in 2004.¹²⁷ But seven years later, Barley had yet to establish himself in *Allsvenskan*, and following extended play in both Finland and the Swedish Second Division, he finally left Sweden in early 2011 to join FC Mughan in Azerbaijan.¹²⁸

A few of these imports have had the additional discomfort of witnessing their former friends' and teammates' careers take off in one of the big European leagues while theirs had essentially stalled in Sweden. Both Ghanaian Ibrahim Atiku and the former South African international Jabu Mahlangu have found themselves in this unenviable position. Atiku grew up with Michael Essien, and in his youth, he also auditioned with Essien at Manchester United,¹²⁹ but the latter's subsequent fame and fortune has thus far eluded Atiku. With the exception of one year in *Allsvenskan* with Assyriska FF in 2005, Atiku has spent most of the rest of the first decade of the twenty-first century in relatively obscurity in the Swedish Second Division.¹³⁰ Mahlangu, meanwhile, was at one point very close to signing with Olympic Marseille. This earlier teammate of Steven Pienaar, however, saw his once promising career implode due to his own drug and alcohol abuse. As a consequence of these off field troubles, by 2010 he was trying to resurrect what was left of his career with Östers IF, which at that time was also in the Second Division.¹³¹

In light of these stories, it might be tempting to think of the Swedish professional game as a "boulevard of broken dreams," so far as these African footballers are concerned. There is undeniably a kernel of truth to this, especially given that many of these imports also fail to break into the starting lineups of their Swedish clubs and never manage to establish themselves in *Allsvenskan*. Yet as we shall see, this characterization demands a few crucial qualifications.

Position and Status in Allsvenskan

In football, computing match appearances has traditionally been an accepted way to measure the relative success of each player. So tallying the average number of league appearance offers a seemingly straightforward way of evaluating the individual merits of *Allsvenskan's* African footballers. And since a season consists of 30 games, 30 appearances or more appears to be a good career benchmark of individual achievement in the top Swedish division.

Of the 109 African imports that this study looked at in depth, 50 had reached this total, while the remaining 59 had only played 30 or fewer games in the league. Of these 59, moreover, a full 55 had appeared in 15 (or fewer) games—with 26 of these imports having played in 5 or fewer games. (In fact, 7 of them had not made one single appearance in the league.¹³²) With this in mind, it is more accurate to say that 109

(non-Swedish) African nationals were signed by *Allsvenskan* clubs between 1977 and 2010 than to state that 109 had *played* in the league.

Judging by these numbers, it would be easy to conclude that most of these imports are simply not good enough to establish themselves in the top Swedish division. In Sweden, this is also a commonly held conviction, which in turn is ostensibly vindicated by these low appearance figures.

Although the individual accomplishments of some African players is not in dispute, there is nevertheless an overarching feeling in Sweden that these footballers are generally of subpar quality, and this observation applies to most imports from the global south. As will be shown in Chapters 6 and 8, beliefs to this effect are quite widespread, and they are detectable not only among fans and journalists but even among club officials and other members of the Swedish football establishment.¹³³

This mind-set was exemplified in a recent interview with Stefan Andreasson, the director of football operations at IF Elfsborg. When questioned if his club was interested in recruiting Africans, Andreasson rhetorically countered, “How many Africans have really succeeded in *Allsvenskan*?”¹³⁴ This dismissive attitude is fairly typical in Sweden today, but it is not really justified. The basic trouble with this line of argumentation is that it confuses impact with quality. Just because many Africans have not had that much of an impact on the league does not necessarily mean that the majority of them are lacking in talent. So the fact that approximately two-thirds of these imports never established a regular presence in *Allsvenskan* does not in itself tell us all that much about their actual abilities as football players.¹³⁵

In order to investigate this issue further, we take a more in-depth look at the previously discussed appearance numbers. An analysis of these figures provides a far more nuanced portrait of this data, which by extension also offers a different perspective on the overall quality of the league’s African players.

As the 2011 season got under way, about 20 of these 109 players were still on the rosters of *Allsvenskan* clubs, so the number of appearances for this group is likely to increase, thereby moving these statistics in an upward direction. Second, these figures only refer to league games, meaning that appearances that these players might have made in other competitive contexts, such as matches in the Swedish Cup, the UEFA Europa League, the Champions League, and so on, are not included in these statistics. Third, the appearance figures for about ten of these players were negatively affected when their teams were relegated from *Allsvenskan*, and here it must be stressed that many of these imports would continue to play key roles for their teams following their demotion to the Second Division.¹³⁶

Furthermore, single-mindedly focusing on the total number of individual match appearances risks creating a misleading causal relationship between appearances and on-field performance. While a high number of appearances does indeed often suggest success, one cannot, conversely, automatically equate fewer appearances with poor individual performances or failure.

To provide a specific illustration, in the late summer of 2005, Assyriska FF signed Adelino Lopes and Mateus Lopes (no relation) from Portimonense in the Portuguese Second Division in a last ditch effort to stave off relegation.¹³⁷ Yet Adelino (Cape Verde/Portugal) and Mateus (Guinea-Bissau/Portugal) only ended up playing fewer than five games each before being let go by Assyriska FF.¹³⁸ If one looked at their statistics alone, it one might incorrectly deduce that they had flopped in *Allsvenskan*. But in reality, they were cut after only one month, because by then, it had already become clear that Assyriska FF would not be able to escape relegation after all.¹³⁹ At this juncture, it appears

that the team merely sought to shed as much salary as it possibly could, and hence the decision to release Adelino and Mateus presumably had very little to do with their on-field performances.

To be sure, a few African imports have been real busts in *Allsvenskan*. Here Raoul Kouakou's disastrous spell at Malmö FF from 2005 to 2007 comes to mind. During one of his very first games with the club, the former Ivory Coast international had the dual misfortune of not only scoring an own goal but also seriously injuring a teammate during a misjudged challenge in the air.¹⁴⁰ (After that, Kouakou never regained the coaching staff's confidence, and in the end, he only played six games for Malmö FF.¹⁴¹) Another such example might be Hassan Mila Sesay, who was recruited to Örebro SK from the top Finnish division in 2009 but never played a single minute in *Allsvenskan* for ÖSK. At Örebro, Sesay was asked to play out of position and was also hampered by a series of nagging injuries, and as the 2009 season came to close, ÖSK and Sesay decided to part ways by mutual agreement.¹⁴²

Such failures notwithstanding, it is probably fair to say that (taken as a whole) African footballers in Sweden are, if anything, underrated. Since the reasons for this will be discussed later in the book, we will now look at some of the recurring reasons a lot of these imports have made so few league appearances.

One basic cause simply has to do with the economic logic of the global transfer market for today's footballers. As was noted in Chapter 2, Swedish clubs have relatively limited financial means in comparison to many of their European competitors, and accordingly they do not possess sufficient funds to hold on to their best Africans for very long.¹⁴³ This, for instance, explains why the very promising young Nigerian footballer Yakubu Alfa only ended up appearing in two league games for Helsingborgs IF before being resold to the Belgian First Division club K. Beerschot AC in early 2009.¹⁴⁴

Needless to say, the allure of a bigger paycheck has also drawn away many other Africans from the top Swedish division. A lot of times it is of course the players themselves (or at least their agents) who initiate the transfer process, either because they feel that they are presently being underpaid in Sweden¹⁴⁵ or because the offers that they have received from other foreign clubs are just too lucrative to pass up.¹⁴⁶ It is also not totally unheard of for these imports to try to force a trade¹⁴⁷ (or to simply break their contracts)¹⁴⁸ when they are dissatisfied with either their playing time¹⁴⁹ or the specific terms of their employment.¹⁵⁰ All these types of situations must consequently also be taken into consideration when evaluating their collective appearance numbers in *Allsvenskan*.

On other occasions, more mundane factors are at work, like coaching changes, which can likewise negatively affect these players' opportunities in *Allsvenskan*.¹⁵¹ Several of these imports have felt victimized and complained about such changes,¹⁵² though obviously any footballer in the league can potentially find themselves in this same position.

Some African players have also had their careers in Sweden derailed by so-called character issues. A couple of these imports have been expelled from their clubs owing to problems relating to truancy, repeated tardiness, or just having a "bad attitude." This was, for instance, the case with the South African Thando Mngomeni, who wore out his welcome at Helsingborg in 2005 as a result of this sort of behavior; the club was later forced to release Ugandan Michael (Mike) Sserumaga for the same reason in 2009. For both men, such troubles allegedly continued to dog them even after their return to Africa.¹⁵³

Joseph Elanga (Cameroon/Malmö FF 2001–2005, 2010) and Dulee Johnson (Liberia, Sweden/BK Häcken 2001, 2005, AIK 2006–2008, 2009–2010) likewise severely tested the patience of their respective clubs over the years due to their off-field conduct.

In both cases, their transgressions away from the pitch led to a change of club addresses—but apparently their offenses were not too egregious in that both men were eventually allowed to return to their original Swedish teams.¹⁵⁴ (However, in late 2010 Johnson was once again forced to leave AIK following yet another highly publicized off-field episode. This time he was charged but then acquitted of rape.¹⁵⁵)

Identical charges were, however, also brought against Michael Mensah and Yannick Bapupa, and in these two instances, both men were found guilty. They were subsequently imprisoned in Sweden, which at least temporarily put a stop to their football careers.¹⁵⁶ Although only four of these imports were convicted of any crime during their stay in Sweden, the negative publicity surrounding these incidents has nonetheless been enough to scare off some Swedish teams from signing Africans.¹⁵⁷

While it is understandable that “character issues” and troubles away from the pitch tend to attract a lion’s share of the headlines, in reality, it is far more commonplace for these careers of these players be waylaid by either serious injuries or illnesses. Such was the case, among others, with Bonaventure “Boniek” Maruti (Kenya/Örebro SK 2001–2003),¹⁵⁸ Afo Doodoo (Ghana/Landskrona BoIS 2002–2003),¹⁵⁹ and Gbassy Bangura (Sierra Leone/Degerfors IF 1997, IF Elfsborg 1998).¹⁶⁰ Yet the most dramatic example in this category was undoubtedly the premature death of the former Olympic bronze medalist, Shamo Quaye, in November 1997. Quaye’s successful spell at Umeå FC was ended by a freak accident during an informal pickup game while visiting his family in Ghana.¹⁶¹

Other unfortunates include the French-Cameroonian midfielder Joseph Nguijol (Gefle IF 2005) and the Moroccan goalkeeper Driss El Asmar (Malmö FF 2001–2002, Enköpings SK 2003). Nguijol was badly hurt in practice during only his third day with Gefle IF. He never fully recovered from this injury and only appeared in two games for the club.¹⁶² El Asmar was equally unlucky, as his sojourn in the top Swedish division came to a sudden end after the onset of an undiagnosed condition that manifested itself in severe headaches that affected his sight—this after only having started in four games.¹⁶³

Still, the cruelest fate of all was probably inflicted on Yunus Ismail who suffered a career-ending stroke at age 24. At the time of this episode, Ismail had already been practicing with Örebro SK for several years, but he had not been cleared to play in league games by Swedish immigration authorities. Tragically only a few days after his stroke, he received his permanent resident permit, which would finally have allowed him to compete for ÖSK. In effect, his professional career was over before it had even started.¹⁶⁴ Out of the seven Africans that did not appear in a single league game, three of them (including Ismail) were brought down by injuries before they ever had the chance to take the field in the top Swedish division.¹⁶⁵

The aforementioned pitfalls have combined to adversely affect the appearance numbers of the league’s African imports—yet none of these events really tell us much about their actual capacities as football players. For this reason, appearance numbers are not always a reliable indicator of individual performance, and as a result, these kinds of statistics must be approached with caution.

None of these hazards are of course unique to African imports, since they could conceivably hamper the career of any of the league’s players. Moreover, since no comparable data exists, we have no way of evaluating whether African footballers are more likely to be beset by these types of troubles than their indigenous counterparts. Yet given that the failure rate in professional football is very high overall, there is little reason at the present to believe that this is the case. All we know for certain is that these appearance numbers

alone do not automatically lend credence to the idea that most African football migrants in Sweden are of subpar quality. (The origins of this general perception will be more systematically analyzed later on.)

The next chapter will moreover demonstrate that to the extent that African footballers fail to establish themselves in the Sweden, there are often institutional reasons for this that are related to the way most Swedish clubs treat foreign players and Africans in particular. The next chapter will likewise show that these problems are not solely the result of faulty recruitment practices as is often said to be the case but are also rooted in the clubs' limited commitment (and resources) to help these imports to get acclimatized in Sweden, both on and off the pitch.

While this chapter has studied a handful of different scenarios that can potentially hurt the career prospects of any footballer in the Swedish elite game, the next two chapters will instead examine a number of challenges that (in addition to racism) are more distinct to Africans and other players from the global south. These chapters further reveal that *Allsvenskan's* African footballers normally compete under considerably more difficult circumstances than their Swedish-raised counterparts do—but despite these long odds, many of them still do comparatively well in Sweden.

CHAPTER 6

African Football Imports in the Eyes of Swedish Clubs

This chapter looks at how African footballers are perceived and treated in the Swedish elite game. It is particularly interested in how the clubs' racialized attitudes and policies affect the career prospects of these imports. This chapter finds that while Swedish teams certainly appreciate some of the traits that are commonly ascribed to African players, many clubs are nevertheless skeptical about signing them. In no small part, this is because most teams would in principal prefer to rely on domestically raised footballers, but for economic reasons, this is less and less possible.

This disinclination to sign African imports can be largely attributed to the widespread belief that the recruiting process itself is flawed, and for this reason, bringing in players from outside of Europe is generally regarded as somewhat of a crapshoot. Yet this reluctance also stems from the reality that recruiting footballers from Africa and other parts of the global south frequently leads to a number of new practical headaches for the clubs. To an extent, these are all valid concerns, though this chapter will simultaneously show that teams repeatedly fail to capitalize on the talent of these players because they do not do enough to ease these imports' transition into the Swedish professional game.

As was made clear in Chapter 2, Swedish football teams have a relatively brief history of dealing with foreign imports and an even shorter one with players from the global south. The latter have consequently presented the clubs with a set of unprecedented challenges. Like elsewhere in Europe,¹ this occasionally results in cultural clashes in the locker room,² but in many instances, these problems can be something as simple as learning how to work around the dietary restrictions of footballers who are observing Ramadan.³

That said, just managing players that do not speak the same language can be real test,⁴ and dealing with these imports at times introduces scenarios that the clubs have precious little prior experience with. This might, for instance, include treating footballers with either malaria⁵ or posttraumatic stress disorder.⁶ In fact, on medical grounds alone, some Swedish team doctors have advised their clubs not to sign up Africans.⁷

In addition there a number of logistical troubles that come with bringing in African players, such as obtaining work visas. Issues related to visas and/or the acquisition of passports have repeatedly created obstacles in conjunction with the recruitment of these

imports.⁸ From the teams' perspective, the international commitments of the league's African footballers can likewise be problematic. Since *Allsvenskan* always shuts down when the Swedish national team competes, the clubs are never overly disrupted by the temporary loss of their indigenous players. This, however, is not the case with their African imports, whose international commitments sometimes collide with the Swedish preseason and season.⁹ These commitments can be an irritant for the clubs, which have been known to complain when their African players fail to return from their international obligations in a timely manner.¹⁰

All these issues have therefore generated new difficulties for the clubs, which basically did not exist in earlier times when the Swedish elite game relied solely on indigenous footballers. This being so, it is maybe not that odd that many clubs have, at least until very recently, been hesitant to sign Africans.¹¹

Admittedly not everyone has been deterred by these concerns. Teams such as BK Häcken, Djurgårdens IF, Helsingborgs IF, and Örgryte IS all insist that they have had largely positive experiences with these imports. They have moreover been quick to hail the contributions of their new African recruits.¹²

Still, this appears to be a minority opinion, and strong praise for individual players has done little to alter the dominant view in Sweden that imports from Africa (and other parts of the global south) are by and large of subpar quality.¹³ Such sentiments are quite prevalent among Swedish club officials,¹⁴ and when asked, the latter can normally rattle off a list of Africans, like Mahmada Alphajor Bah, Samir Beloufa, and so forth, that they deem to have been failures.¹⁵

As a result of these misgivings, most Swedish teams would ideally still prefer to recruit locally, and if not players from Sweden, then at least ones from countries that are thought to be more culturally alike, such as ones from one of the other Nordic states.¹⁶ This is because coaches worry about the destabilizing impact that both communication problems and internal cultural differences will potentially have on their squads.¹⁷ For this reason, many Swedish clubs desire to have rosters that are as socially and linguistically homogenous as possible.¹⁸

These preferences are by no means uncommon in European football, and this tendency has quite been marked in the United Kingdom as well.¹⁹ In general, northern European clubs have traditionally sought to recruit foreign footballers principally from one of the nearby neighboring countries. Not only do these imports share the same football traditions, but it is additionally believed that it is easier to create internal cohesion among players from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds.²⁰

Swedish clubs are basically of the same opinion,²¹ as they are concerned that bringing in too many foreigners will lead to instability—for if there are a lot of players constantly coming and going, this makes it difficult to achieve a sense of continuity on the pitch. It is also thought that too much transience will tear at the squad's inward unity.²²

Last but not least, some teams worry that should their rosters become filled up with too many foreign imports, this will make it harder for their local fan bases to identify with the club "brand." Although officials at the big urban clubs also fret about this issue,²³ such anxieties tend to be most acutely felt in smaller rural clubs such as Kalmar FF, Mjällby AIF, and Örebro SK, which see themselves as representatives of their local communities.²⁴

Given these apprehensions, Swedish club officials invariably declare that they are committed to developing locally raised talent and keeping foreign signings to a minimum.²⁵ In a 2007 poll, 14 out of 14 sports directors in *Allsvenskan* affirmed that it was their intention to rely on homegrown talent over foreign-born imports.²⁶ For a few

teams, this prioritization is a matter of financial necessity²⁷—though this group admittedly seems to be a distinct minority. Most teams fall well short of this stated ideal, as they usually find it less expensive to bring in foreigners.²⁸ This is especially true for Africans, since these days, they are often the most affordable option available to the clubs.²⁹ Indeed, whatever other positive attributes these imports may have, Swedish teams make no secret of the fact that the signing of African footballers is ultimately informed by their comparatively cheap price tag.³⁰ Swedish clubs also do not necessarily deny that they are engaging in a more or less exploitive trade that takes advantage of the poverty-stricken origins of many of these players.³¹

Some Swedish team officials, however, do not like the stigma of being involved in this trade,³² and others meanwhile reject this practice on the grounds that the primary purpose of their teams is not to act as investment banks.³³ Yet such philosophical objections notwithstanding, more and more Swedish clubs are finding it difficult to resist the urge to recruit African (and other cheap foreign) imports in view of their own worsening economic situation.³⁴

As the first decade of the twenty-first century came to a close, the Swedish professional game appeared to be hitting rock bottom financially, and this state of affairs continued into the next decade. By European standards, *Allsvenskan* has never been in a particularly strong commercial position to begin with, but in this period, the league's economic standing was further undercut by a precipitous drop in both attendance and corporate sponsorship.³⁵ This hit the clubs hard as they customarily have had very few other revenue streams from which to draw upon. Swedish teams ordinarily do not own their own stadiums, and the monies earned from sponsors and television rights have also always been relatively limited.³⁶

In relation to the clubs' recruitment strategies, this negative confluence of events has had two main consequences: First, the teams had less money to spend on new signings (foreign or domestic). Second, the clubs have become ever more dependent on player sales as a major source of income.³⁷ At first glance, these two developments might appear to be incompatible with each other, but in the current economic climate, this has translated into an intensified reliance on less expensive African imports.³⁸

In light of these difficult financial realities, even clubs such as GIF Sundsvall and Trelleborgs FF that would still really prefer to employ only homegrown talent have begun to bring in these imports in increasing numbers.³⁹ These days this is also true for a team like Kalmar FF, which only a decade ago was more or less exclusively composed of locally reared players.⁴⁰

While many clubs try to keep their dependence on foreign imports to a minimum,⁴¹ the reality is that the number of African footballers in the Swedish top division steadily rose over the course of the 2000s. In 2011, the number Africans in *Allsvenskan* had once again jumped, reaching 30—an all-time high.⁴² Journalists who have studied this topic agree there is no end in sight to this trend so long as the present economic situation in the Swedish elite game does not radically improve.⁴³

Yet since the clubs' growing dependence on players from the global south has, in essence, been forced on them, some teams have concomitantly sought to wean themselves off this importation. It is striking that as the second decade of the twenty-first century got under way, clubs that had previously been so closely identified with the recruitment of African footballers, like Helsingborgs IF, Örgryte IS, and Djurgårdens IF, all suddenly showed signs backing off from this approach in favor of concentrating on developing players from their own youth sections instead.⁴⁴

Other teams like AIK, however, have since taken over where the latter left off. Initially, reluctant to recruit Africans,⁴⁵ the refinement of these imports has now become central to the club's business model. By 2011 this experiment already appeared to be paying off for AIK, as the team was able to sell its two Sierra Leonean strikers (Mohamed Bangura and Tetteh Bangura) at a significant profit.⁴⁶ AIK's director of football operations, Jens Andersson, likened the "Banguras" to two winning lottery tickets.⁴⁷

The lottery ticket analogy is quite appropriate, for there is a widespread sense among Swedish clubs that bringing in foreign footballers, and particularly ones from the global south, is a bit of a gamble.⁴⁸ The overall feeling seems to be that because there are so many more "unknowns" about these imports, there are also a lot more potential pitfalls for the clubs.⁴⁹ Despite these dangers, some clubs feel that this is a risk worth taking.⁵⁰

These sorts of trepidations have repeatedly been voiced in the sports pages as well. In regard to African players, Swedish journalists have not only raised questions about the health and stamina of these imports⁵¹ but likewise called attention to the fact that, in contrast to their bigger European competitors, Swedish teams are usually recruiting "raw" football talent that has yet to be refined. This, in turn, makes it much more difficult for the clubs to assess which of these players are the most likely to prosper in Europe.⁵²

Above all, the media has identified faulty recruitment practices as the main culprit. From the journalists' point of view, the problem for Swedish clubs is that even though the latter have stepped up their presence in Africa, they do not currently have the financial resources to set up a fully developed scouting network on the continent. Accordingly, the clubs still do very limited scouting on location in Africa, and instead they continue to rely on a system of bringing in players on short-term trials. In the eyes of its detractors, this practice is particularly ill-suited for evaluating footballers from the global south, since the latter normally need additional time to accustom themselves to the Swedish game.⁵³ (This is a point to which we will return.)

The end result of these inadequate recruitment practices is that signing these imports, in effect, becomes reduced to "rolling the dice."⁵⁴ In an attempt to minimize their risk, the clubs initially try to sign African players to short contracts or alternatively bring them in on loan. Such caution was, for instance, demonstrated by Hammarby IF when it first recruited Monday James. The team only purchased the Nigerian defender outright once it was convinced that he could adapt to *Allsvenskan*.⁵⁵ The existence of such safeguards notwithstanding, some critics still think that the habit of "panic buying" cheap foreigners continues to be far too rampant in Swedish professional football.⁵⁶

This issue, however, is not quite as straightforward as these critics would have it. By attributing these troubles to the recruitment process, this implicitly lays the blame on the players rather than on the clubs. The unspoken logic behind this line of argumentation is essentially that the teams have bought "damaged goods" that are unsuitable for use in the Swedish football market. Though the recruitment process may well be partially at fault, the clubs' policies toward these players often also play a decisive role when these imports fail to produce.

The truth is that the clubs typically do not invest very much in these Africans. In most instances, the latter receive only minimal assistance to settle in, in spite of the fact that most coaches recognize that these players must make big changes both off and on the pitch in order to succeed in the Swedish elite game.⁵⁷ Footballers from the global south moreover require such aid to a much greater degree than players arriving from other parts of Europe or from North America, who, as a rule, have to make fewer adjustments culturally and otherwise.

No one in Swedish professional football today disputes that there exists a direct correlation between this kind of institutional support from the clubs, on one hand, and getting “good performances” out of these imports, on the other⁵⁸—though this is no guarantee that such assistance always materializes. To be sure, some Africans claim to have received a lot of help from their teams during the initial acclimation process,⁵⁹ but this does not appear to be the norm. In fact, in the most extreme cases, the players complain that they were more or less abandoned by their new Swedish clubs. Amadiya Rennie, for example, states that during his brief spell with IF Elfsborg, he pretty much had to fend for himself, at least when he was not training.⁶⁰

A very similar picture emerges of Razak Omotoyossi’s time with Helsingborgs IF. In this instance, it was one of the player’s Swedish neighbors that took it upon himself to help Omotoyossi navigate everyday life in Sweden: it was this neighbor who helped Omotoyossi get a cell phone, instructed him on how to pay his bills, took him food shopping, and so on. This suggests that even at a club such as Helsingborgs IF, which has employed more Africans than any other team in *Allsvenskan*, there is still relatively little infrastructure in place to help these players get settled in.

In some clubs, almost all of this type of work is done on a more or less ad hoc and voluntary basis, as the teams do not have anyone assigned to deal specifically with these kinds of issues. Such was the case with Djurgårdens IF when the team recruited its first players from Kinshasa City FC. The club seems to have done little more than provide an apartment for the team’s four new Congolese players, and everything else was pretty much taken care of by either Bror Anders Månsson or Fedo Moukoko’s younger brother, Benjamin.⁶¹ In some cases, the fans have even taken upon themselves to try to assist their teams by helping these imports to find apartments and so on.

That said, over time, many Swedish teams have unquestioningly gotten better at providing this sort of support for the players. BK Häcken and Örgryte IS, in particular, now pride themselves on their success at managing African and other imports from the global south.⁶² Örgryte IS has, for instance, placed some of its Africans with Swedish host families in hopes of facilitating the acclimation process.⁶³

BK Häcken’s recruiting philosophy, meanwhile, has been to recruit Africans in pairs whenever possible. According to Sonny Karlsson, the club’s director of football operations, it is much simpler to keep these imports together, since this way they can lean on each other for support.⁶⁴ Other clubs such as Kalmar FF and AIK have previously adopted a similar method in relation to Brazilians and other South Americans. It perhaps goes without saying that the clubs also adopt this strategy because it is easier for them to deal with foreign imports from only a select number of countries and cultural backgrounds.⁶⁵

Still, the very fact that the teams consciously try to build up mutual support networks among these players in itself speaks to Swedish clubs’ circumscribed approach to this issue. In essence, this is assimilation “on the cheap,” and many teams freely admit that they simply do not have sufficient economic resources to help these players get properly acclimated.⁶⁶ This reality has apparently also deterred some clubs from signing Africans in the past.⁶⁷

In practice, the teams’ policies toward these imports are ordinarily restricted mostly to language instruction.⁶⁸ The clubs would really prefer that all their players speak Swedish,⁶⁹ though this objective is not always obtainable. For this reason, tactics are occasionally laid out in multiple languages, and the working language is frequently English,⁷⁰ though the stated preference remains that the players learn Swedish, in part because it is believed that mastering the language will also help these imports better interact with the local community outside the training grounds.⁷¹

While such language acquisition is clearly of value, this alone cannot compensate for the lack of adequate assistance from the clubs in many other areas. Beyond language instruction and housing, these footballers are more or less left to their own devices. Taken as a whole, European clubs have a poor track record in this regard,⁷² and this is a field in which some Swedish clubs concede that they could certainly improve on.⁷³

The origins of this problem are not just rooted in the clubs' limited financial resources but also related to the comparatively cheap price of these imports. Since most Africans are initially either signed to short-term contracts or brought in on loan, the clubs have usually not made a huge economic commitment to them up front. This, by extension, means that the teams can basically afford to treat these players like expendable commodities that can be tossed aside if they fail to produce immediately.

This creates a "sink or swim" environment for these players. If the footballer in question can achieve good results at once, then great, but if he cannot, then the clubs can just bring in the next African standing in line. Virtually no one in contemporary Sweden has as little job security as these imports, and the rest of this chapter will look at the specific challenges that these players face as they try to adapt to the Swedish elite game.⁷⁴

While some African footballers do have an immediate impact in *Allsvenskan*,⁷⁵ this is very unusual.⁷⁶ And as for those few who do succeed at once, they characteristically have significant professional experience elsewhere in Europe prior to coming to Sweden.⁷⁷ This was the case, for instance, with Ghanaian Yaw Preko, who had already won the Belgian Championship three times over with Anderlecht before signing with Halmstads BK in 2004.⁷⁸

The overwhelming majority, however, need time to adjust to the Swedish game before they are ready to perform at a consistently high level. There is little disagreement about this among Swedish coaches,⁷⁹ who assert that most African footballers are neither physically nor tactically ready for *Allsvenskan* when they first arrive in Sweden.⁸⁰

When these imports are given adequate time to acclimate, a lot of them have gradually developed into key players for their Swedish clubs. In this category, one might mention someone like René Makondele from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), who was first signed by Djurgårdens IF in 2002 but only fully blossomed a few years later after moving to Gefle IF in 2006.⁸¹ Nigerian Edward Ofere is another African who took a few years to adapt to *Allsvenskan*. Ofere, whose father was also a professional footballer, arrived at Malmö FF in 2005, though his breakthrough did not come until the 2008 season, at which point he became a bona fide star. (Prior to this, the club's fans had harshly criticized his performance,⁸² with some apparently voicing to their displeasure by cheering "Black as a bucket of coal. When are ya' gonna' to score a goal? Edward Ofere, Edward Ofere!")⁸³

The players themselves testify that it often takes a while for African imports to accustom themselves to Swedish football. Even success stories such as Robert Mamba Mumba,⁸⁴ Majeed Waris,⁸⁵ and Reuben Ayarna make clear that they, at first, found this transition to be rather difficult.⁸⁶

Derek Boateng's initial experience in Sweden highlights the difficulties of this transition. Boateng's arrival at AIK in 2003 was accompanied by sky-high expectations, but things at his new club did not get off to a good start, in part due to nagging injuries. For this reason (and similarly to Ofere), Boateng was initially regarded as a huge disappointment. Boateng, however, eventually found his bearings in Sweden and soon became a favorite among the AIK faithful⁸⁷—though this only occurred once the club had finally helped him and his family get settled in Stockholm.⁸⁸

Adjusting to life in a new country undeniably comes with its own set of difficulties (which will be discussed in the next chapter), but a big part of the problem likewise lies in opposing approaches to the sport. There are a number of important differences between the way the game is played in Sweden and the way it is in most parts of Africa, and these distinctions are widely acknowledged by these imports, as well as by their Swedish coaches.⁸⁹

For starters, the pace of the game is usually much quicker in Sweden than it is in Africa—this according to the players themselves.⁹⁰ African footballers additionally find the Swedish game to be far more physical than what they are used to,⁹¹ and initially this can prove to be a serious hurdle for these imports.⁹²

These differences furthermore translate into divergent training routines. Swedish football has traditionally stressed conditioning and strength training, which is new to many African footballers.⁹³ This has caused some Africans to protest that far too much emphasis is placed on conditioning in Sweden at the expense of drills with the ball.⁹⁴ If one reads between the lines, African players occasionally also imply that the Swedish game is not really technical enough for their taste.⁹⁵ (In this context, it is of interest that Brazilian footballers frequently have had similar troubles and have to make the same sort of adjustments when they first arrive in Sweden.⁹⁶)

Generally speaking, African football attributes more value to ball-handling skills and individual showmanship than has historically been the case in Sweden, where the overarching focus has instead been on disciplined team defense. This defensive-oriented strategy is supplemented with quick counterattacks. For this reason, the Swedish game relies largely on long balls aimed at isolated target players up front, as opposed to playing an offensive and possession-driven game organized around short quick passes, which is what most Africans are used to.⁹⁷

These conflicting approaches to the sport are aptly illustrated by Sheriff Suma's experience playing in Sweden versus in Turkey. Suma says that in Turkey the game was lot more like the one he had grown up with in Africa, as Turkish football is far less physical and also less dependent upon long balls than its Scandinavian counterpart.⁹⁸ Reflecting on these differences, Ibrahim Atiku adds that "when one comes directly from Africa there is a different mentality. One wants to demonstrate one's technique, so one starts dribbling. But here [in Sweden] it's discipline that counts and you have to prove that you are a team player as well."⁹⁹

Not surprisingly, not everyone is able to make this transition—or at least not quickly enough to satisfy their clubs. More than anything else, Swedish coaches gripe that African players have trouble with on field positioning,¹⁰⁰ and Swedes who have been hired to oversee various national teams in Africa share this same sentiment.¹⁰¹

Europeans tend to regard African footballers as being tactically naïve,¹⁰² and these shortcomings are routinely also cited as a reason for dismissal. This was the case, for example, with Tanzanian Haruna Moshi Shabani, who was cut by Gefle IF halfway through the 2010 season¹⁰³ and also with the Sierra Leonean forward Aluspah Brewah. Brewah's coach at Hammarby IF, Anders Linderoth, publicly panned him, declaring that "Brewah was undisciplined in his positional play, and clearly lacked formal football training."¹⁰⁴ Gidlund, the head coach of Bodens BK, was equally negative in his assessment of the former *Allsvenskan* forward and Rwandan international Bobo Bola. Gidlund concludes that "even though Bola had good scoring instincts, he had enormous difficulty learning the game's tactical elements."¹⁰⁵

Criticisms to this effect are frequently echoed by the fans as well. Among Swedish football supporters, the overall consensus seems to be not only that these imports have

difficulty in their positional play but that their defensive skills also leave much to be desired.¹⁰⁶ Yet what is ordinarily not asked by the fans is whether these players receive sufficient opportunity to master these aspects of the game.

In many cases, they undoubtedly do not. Some supporters, however, appreciate that their clubs need to be more patient with foreign imports and further note that the latter are not always given a real chance to prosper in the Swedish professional game.¹⁰⁷ The clubs' impatience presumably also explains why some of the players who have failed to establish themselves in *Allsvenskan* have later gone on to be more successful elsewhere. Such was the case, for instance, with Zambian Clifford Mulenga, who was considered to have underachieved during his brief spell with Örgryte IS in 2005–2006.¹⁰⁸ But only a year later, Mulenga was voted the Confederation of African Football (CAF) Young Player of the Year,¹⁰⁹ and he was subsequently also selected to the Zambian national team that won the African Cup in 2012.¹¹⁰

AIK's Kwame Quansah is another example of a player who later thrived in a different foreign environment. During his time with AIK in 2003–2004, Quansah was widely regarded as a disappointment, but after he left the club, he subsequently went on to become a key contributor for the First Division Belgian club Heracles.¹¹¹ Both of these illustrations point to the fact that Swedish clubs are not always able to identify talent, even when they have the opportunity to study these imports up close.

Indeed, whenever the failures of the recruitment process are discussed, what is typically not mentioned is that Swedish teams have on repeated occasions failed to sign (or to keep) African footballers that have later gone on to play in far more competitive leagues. Hammarby IF, for instance, choose not to give a contract to Jonathan Quartey, who afterward went to Nice and also became a starter on Ghanaian national team. At the time, however, Quartey was not even considered good enough to play for the Third Division club Vasalunds IF.¹¹² Henok Goitom recounts a similar story about the Moroccan Abdherraïman Kabous, who during his tenure with the Second Division club Degerfors IF in 2006 was mostly relegated to the bench. Kabous eventually transferred to CSKA Sofia Bulgaria, and from there, he moved to Real Murcia in *La Liga* in 2008.¹¹³

Still, the most dramatic example in this category is indisputably Mohamed Kallon, who apparently was rejected by both AIK and IFK Göteborg while he was playing for Spånga IS in the lower tiers of Swedish league system. Soon thereafter Kallon was snapped up by Inter Milan, and he would later compete for other top European clubs such as Monaco and AEK Athens.¹¹⁴ To this day, he remains the most accomplished player to ever emerge from Sierra Leone and arguably also one of the best foreign footballers to have ever played in Sweden. Obviously it is easy to be critical in hindsight, but these last three examples nonetheless underscore that Swedish clubs are not always able to recognize the merits of African footballers—in all likelihood because they not always know how to evaluate them correctly.

In other words, just because some of these footballers fail to break into the Swedish top division does not automatically mean that they lack talent. Nigerian Akombo Ukeyima is another good illustration of this. When he first signed with GIF Sundsvall in 2007, big expectations were placed on him, though they were never fulfilled. By all accounts Ukeyima was an excellent target player with lots of potential, but he was not able to adapt to the Swedish game. During his three years with GIF Sundsvall (which included a six-month loan to IFK Mariehamn in Finland), he only managed to score two goals in 18 appearances for the club (of which only one was in *Allsvenskan*). Consequently, by 2010, he was back playing with Kwara United in the Nigerian First Division,

where he quickly rediscovered his scoring touch. Hence for Ukeyima the adjustment troubles created by his move to Sweden simply proved too difficult to surmount, and this is only highlighted by the reality that he continued to excel upon his return to Nigeria.¹¹⁵

The distinctions between the Swedish game and the one that most Africans are accustomed to back home unquestionably account for why so many these imports never establish themselves as starters in the Swedish top division. In 2009, for instance, there were 18 African footballers in *Allsvenskan*, 11 of which were considered good enough to represent their own national teams—with some of them being key players on these squads. But even among this last group, many were not in the starting 11 on their Swedish club teams.¹¹⁶ However, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that their Swedish clubs would defeat their respective national teams if they were to meet head to head. Thus what really determines whether someone will start or sit on the bench, then, is not so much an objective evaluation of the player's individual ability. Rather, this is decided by how well his coaches think that he will fit into the chosen system of play. And since the African approach to the game in some vital respects diverges from the Swedish one, this is sure to put these imports at a relative competitive disadvantage in *Allsvenskan*.

Although Swedish clubs do of course want to showcase their African imports for resale, coaches are at the same time always under pressure “to win now.” Accordingly, they are more prone to start players that are already steeped in the “Swedish approach” to the game, since the coaches have more faith in them to carry out their tactical directives.

Identical practices are also detectable in other parts of northern Europe. Research on English football managers, for example, reveals that the latter prefer to rely on footballers that “most resemble themselves since they trust that they [these players] can be trusted to act in the expected manner.”¹¹⁷ In England this has historically also meant that managers have been the most likely to sign and start (Caucasian) players from other parts of the British Commonwealth, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia.¹¹⁸ This preference is additionally founded in the belief that northern European footballers are less emotionally volatile and therefore also more disciplined in their conduct.¹¹⁹ In the Swedish case, there are obvious parallels between these kinds of beliefs and the idea that footballers with non-Nordic origins are hot tempered.¹²⁰

Now another common reason that many of these imports fail to establish themselves in the Swedish professional game is because they are mainly utilized as secondary role players. As a rule, the latter are brought in to complement the existing core troop, which is usually made up of ethnic Swedes. In practice, this means that these imports are only competing for a very restricted number of positions in the starting lineup.

More specifically, Africans and other imports from the global south are classically brought in to add a bit of creative spark on the offensive half of the pitch.¹²¹ Above all, they are recruited to score goals, and many Africans are signed for this explicit purpose.¹²² These days, this tendency is increasingly evident in the lower Swedish divisions as well.¹²³ It is safe to say that during the first decade of the twenty-first century, non-European imports became more and more crucial to offense of many Swedish teams,¹²⁴ and *Allsvenskan's* top scorers now routinely come from somewhere outside of Europe.¹²⁵ As the new century entered its second decade, this trend showed no signs of diminishing in the Swedish elite game.¹²⁶

Beyond their prowess in front of the goal, Swedish clubs and coaches generally also value African imports for their individual technical abilities.¹²⁷ In this respect, Africans are regarded in a very similar light to that of most players from non-Nordic backgrounds, and as a result, they are habitually assigned the same sorts of roles on the pitch. In both

cases, the clubs hope to create a positive synergy between the offensive qualities of these imports and “immigrant players” on one hand and the defensive discipline exhibited by the squad’s ethnically Swedish core on the other.¹²⁸ These kinds of ideas can naturally be very restricting and are apt to negatively impact the career prospects of many non-European football imports in Sweden.

Another potential obstacle for these players is that they are rarely part of the clubs’ long-term plans. Since most Swedish teams wish to depend chiefly on indigenous players, the recruitment of foreign imports is, as a rule, regarded as a temporary stopgap measure.¹²⁹ In relation to Africans, this assessment is partially based on the recognition that most Africans will one day seek to move on to a better European league,¹³⁰ and even when Swedish clubs want to hold on to the best of these imports, the teams know that they are not likely to be able to do so in light of the higher salaries offered by their wealthier European competitors. Accordingly, even clubs like AIK—which have otherwise come to embrace the role as refiners of African football talent—insist that they too need to rely primarily on homegrown players in order maintain some semblance of stability and continuity.¹³¹

All these various considerations consequently shape team selections, and this is also why a lot of Africans—and especially African strikers—find it difficult to break into the starting lineups in *Allsvenskan*. Indeed, many forwards, like Abiola Dauda (and Brima Koroma before him at Kalmar FF) have mostly been used as so-called super-subbs whose participation in most matches is ordinarily limited to the last 15 to 20 minutes.¹³² Many Brazilian footballers in the Swedish elite game seemingly find themselves in the same position, and this is a topic that deserves extra scrutiny.

The reasons for this are probably mostly unconscious and are almost certainly never fully articulated. This is because there is an unexpressed racial dimension to this practice. Since this is a subject to which we will return later in the chapter, here it is sufficient to point out that African (and other foreign) imports are always tacitly being judged against idealized Swedish standards of play. This is a common phenomenon in European football,¹³³ and in Sweden, these same preconceived notions also inform how players of non-Nordic origins are evaluated and treated. The “Swedish” approach the game is, in contrast, accepted *a priori* and therefore never needs to be explained, justified, or problematized.¹³⁴

So while the traits that are customarily attributed to Africans are frequently valued in Sweden (individual technical skill, etc.), there is simultaneously never a sense that Swedish football really has anything to learn from its African counterpart. Hence one cannot really speak of an equal exchange of ideas in the meeting between these two football cultures. Instead, the process of integrating African footballers into the Swedish professional game takes place almost exclusively on Swedish terms, and in this regard, it is not unlike the assimilation process in Swedish society at large.¹³⁵ Although this point is maybe obvious, it is still worth acknowledging. For as long as the Swedish game is implicitly upheld as the uncontested measuring stick, the play of these imports is sure to always fall short in Swedish eyes.

An additional challenge facing African footballers in Sweden is that higher expectations are generally placed on *all* foreign imports regardless of their national origins.¹³⁶ International scholarship on this subject indicates that this is true elsewhere in Europe as well,¹³⁷ and it is definitely something that many Swedish players have likewise experienced when they have transferred to other European leagues.¹³⁸

This same body of research has further found that the popular acceptance of foreign footballers tends to be more qualified (and results driven) than it is for players belonging

to the dominant host society.¹³⁹ As long as these imports excel on the field, all is usually well, but if they fail to produce, the fans are typically quick to single out foreigners for criticism.¹⁴⁰

Historically in Europe, the same double standard has also been applied to all players of African descent, irrespective of nationality.¹⁴¹ For this reason, black footballers have regularly become scapegoats when their teams have not lived up to the public's expectations.¹⁴² And today's African imports often feel that they are judged more harshly than their Caucasian teammates due to unspoken racial prejudices.¹⁴³

Though this subject needs to be more researched, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that this pattern is manifest in *Allsvenskan*, too. We have already discussed AIK supporters' original criticism of Ghanaian Derek Boateng,¹⁴⁴ and these same fans were equally impatient with his countryman Kwame Quansah,¹⁴⁵ as well as with Nigerian Samuel Ayorinde.¹⁴⁶ Another example of this tendency was when Örebro SK's fan base turned against Kenyan international Paul Oyuga during his last season with the club¹⁴⁷—this in spite of his strong start with the team.¹⁴⁸ Even someone as genuinely popular as Djurgården's Pa Dembo Touray was intermittently made a scapegoat by the fans when the team played poorly.¹⁴⁹

Now living up to the fans' expectations is an especially serious challenge for goal scorers,¹⁵⁰ and while this can also be an issue for indigenous strikers, the public is normally even less patient with foreign imports. This being the case, it is no wonder that those Africans who have widely been considered to be the largest disappointments by both the clubs and fans alike were the ones that had been specifically brought in to score goals. Aside from the previously mentioned Akombo Ukeyima,¹⁵¹ Haruna Moshi Shabani,¹⁵² Aluspah Brewah,¹⁵³ Kwame Quansah,¹⁵⁴ and Clifford Mulenga,¹⁵⁵ one could also put players such as Issa Mohammed,¹⁵⁶ Nathan Paulse,¹⁵⁷ Mamadou Diallo,¹⁵⁸ and Michael Sserumaga on this list of supposed “underachievers.”¹⁵⁹

Although it probably does not help that the clubs themselves tend to blame their foreign imports when the teams stumble,¹⁶⁰ the fans' negative attitude toward these players characteristically also has other, and multiple, origins. For starters (pure xenophobia aside), it incontestably requires a much greater empathetic leap to identify with players whom the average Swedish football supporter does not share a common nationality, language, or cultural references with. Furthermore, as was discussed in Chapter 3, football fan culture is chiefly a “bonding” rather than a “bridging” activity, and it is one that is premised on an “us versus them” mind-set. This particular context makes attempts to relate with the “other” very difficult, if not impossible, seeing that it is largely organized around a binary worldview that trades in exclusion: social, ethnic, racial, or otherwise.

Another burden for African imports in this regard is that their “outsider” status is magnified by the reality that (as previously noted) their presence at any Swedish club is in most cases likely to be short-lived. This, in turn, means that few African footballers will ever stay long enough to form a strong bond with the local fan base and surrounding community, though there have been a handful of exceptions to this rule, like Pa Dembo Touray (Djurgårdens IF 2000–2011),¹⁶¹ Joseph Elanga (Malmö FF 2001–2005, 2010),¹⁶² and Samir Bakaou (Västra Frölunda 1987/GAIS 1988–1990),¹⁶³ who over time all came to identify closely with their respective clubs. But most Africans football migrants in Sweden will never forge this type of relationship with their teams—even in those instances when they appear to be fairly popular with the fans.

Many indigenous Swedish footballers will obviously also change club addresses, but unlike most foreign imports, it is also more probable that they will eventually return to their original clubs, or at least to *Allsvenskan*. In addition, Swedish-raised players

are more likely to have longer personal histories with their teams, because in many instances, they came up through the club's youth sections. African (and other foreign) imports, conversely, do not have this kind of long-standing relationship with their Swedish teams, so their connection to their club's supporters is bound to be more tenuous from the very start.

These players' status as outsiders in the eyes of Swedish fans is likewise reinforced by the knowledge that most of these footballers conceive of *Allsvenskan* as a stepping stone en route to a better paying league somewhere else. For this reason, there is a strong tendency among European football supporters to regard all foreign imports as "hired guns" that lack team loyalty,¹⁶⁴ and such views are definitely in evidence in Sweden.¹⁶⁵

Suspicious regarding the team loyalty of these imports are at times seemingly confirmed by the players' own statements. Like many other international footballers,¹⁶⁶ these imports are occasionally quite frank about the fact that they are principally motivated by money,¹⁶⁷ and some African players have even gone so far as to liken themselves publicly to "prostitutes" that are for sale to the highest bidder.¹⁶⁸ Given that football is a business, it is only natural that these footballers seek to sell their labor at the best possible price, though at the same time, this sort of attitude understandably does little to endear them to the average football supporter. Consequently, the common perception that *Allsvenskan's* foreign imports are mercenaries creates additional distance between them and the local fans, thereby all but ensuring that these players are not likely to get the benefit of doubt, especially during those spells when they are also not producing on the pitch.

Such conditional acceptance, coupled with these suspicions, can occasionally create a very difficult—if not outright hostile—work environment for Sweden's African football migrants. This is particularly so when these conditions are also accompanied by open expressions of racism and more veiled forms of institutional discrimination.

There is a well-established history of institutional racism in the European elite game, not just toward Africans but toward all footballers of African ancestry, whether they are African-born or not. These discriminatory practices are moreover rooted in long-held ideas about racial differences based in biology. In contrast to their Caucasian counterparts, the performances of black athletes have customarily been interpreted in genetic terms, and sportsmen of African descent are further said to have "natural athletic ability."¹⁶⁹ While these ideas no longer go unchallenged in European football, they have by no means totally vanished,¹⁷⁰ and they are still detectable in other European sports as well.¹⁷¹

The notion that people of African descent are genetically endowed with athletic ability still enjoys wide currency in Swedish football. During his tenure as UEFA president, Lennart Johansson provided an excellent example of this racialized outlook. When asked by a journalist why people of African heritage make such good footballers, Johansson responded, "They [black footballers] have the rhythm, the dance. They move in a way that we [Caucasians] don't. They just glide forward."¹⁷² As indicated by Johansson's answer, race thus continues to act as an important starting point for judging black athletic performances in Sweden,¹⁷³ as it is elsewhere in the Western world.¹⁷⁴ (This is a topic that will be investigated at greater length in Chapter 8, but before we move on, it is worth noting that the alleged defensive tenacity of ethnically Swedish players is, conversely, never interpreted in genetic terms.)

In relation to the Swedish elite game, African imports are specifically associated with strength and speed, and many of these footballers are recruited explicitly because of their physical dexterity and size.¹⁷⁵ Cameroonian Bertil Samuel Ze Ndille was, for example, referred to as a "giant" when he first signed with Örebro SK.¹⁷⁶ Other Africans, such as

Sierra Leonean Aluspah Brewah and Nigerian Abiola Dauda, meanwhile, were hailed because of their quickness, as their new Swedish coaches described them as being “fast as the wind.”¹⁷⁷ Because these physical attributes are valued in Sweden, this also informs the recruitment process.

Indeed, at present, the bodies of African footballers are being sculpted to suit the needs of the European football market. This might therefore rightly be regarded another expression of neocolonialism, a process in which African “raw materials” are still being prepared for European consumption. Under the watchful eye of the “European gaze” African footballers are currently bulking up and adding muscle mass to better cater to the perceived desires of European clubs.¹⁷⁸ In Sweden, this has led scouts to talk about African footballers “whose bodies are built out of desperation,” and caused agents, like Patrick Mörk, to sing the praises of Sierra Leone, which according to him produces an abundance of “strong power forwards that are perfectly suited for the for the tough Scandinavian leagues.”¹⁷⁹

That there exists such a powerful relationship between supply and demand is only logical, yet the problem is that this emphasis on the physicality of African footballers implicitly acts to fortify these earlier ideas concerning biological difference and the “natural ability” of black athletes. At times, these ideas are expressed in ostensibly “positive” terms, as was exemplified by Lennart Johansson’s earlier comments that the play of African footballers is “rhythmic and instinctual.” Viewed through this highly romanticized prism, African football is more “pure,” since it is allegedly free of the cynical tactical schemes that frequently characterize the contemporary European game.¹⁸⁰ This interpretation is implicitly rooted in European prejudices dating back to the Enlightenment, which held that Africans were “noble savages”—that is, uncivilized but innocent.¹⁸¹ These sorts of views also have a well-established tradition in Swedish sports writing.¹⁸²

However, when formulated in more overtly negative terms, the notion of “natural athletic ability” is tacitly always accompanied by the belief that people of African heritage are simultaneously less intelligent and disciplined. Hence the achievements of black footballers are attributed to their genetics rather than their intelligence, tactical cunning, or hard work.¹⁸³ For a long time, these same beliefs, in effect, also acted to disqualify people of African ancestry from occupying more cerebral positions in the sport, such as coaching and upper-level management, which require intellectual aptitude.¹⁸⁴

Another lingering supposition from the earlier colonial era that has been common in the European game is that players of African descent, furthermore, lack stamina and self-control.¹⁸⁵ Finally, there is the added suggestion that this general lack character among black athletes translates into a greater propensity for off-field troubles as well.¹⁸⁶

In European professional football, these ideas are not just theoretical abstractions but rather have concrete applications. Known as “racial stacking,” there has been a historic tendency to assign players of African heritage to select positions on the pitch.¹⁸⁷ In particular, black footballers have traditionally been deployed in attacking roles—and above all as wingers. The basic logic at work here is that players of African ancestry can make the most of their speed and athletic talent in these positions. Yet since black footballers at same time supposedly lack discipline, tactical cunning, and stamina, they should, conversely, not be trusted in central defensive roles. As a consequence of these beliefs, black footballers in Europe have overwhelmingly been used in offensive positions.¹⁸⁸ It is only in the last decade or so that players of African descent have been given the opportunity (at least in any greater numbers) to become goalkeepers, defenders, and central midfielders at the elite level.

This last development suggests that that these older ideas and practices are increasingly being contested and this trend is also visible in Sweden. In recent years, African imports, like Thando Mngomeni, Mateus Lopes, and Dominic Chatto have, for instance, been described by their clubs as “being smart players” with high “football IQs.”¹⁸⁹ Other Africans, such as Jimmy Dixon and Isaac Chansa, have additionally been celebrated for their tenacious defensive skills¹⁹⁰—acclaim that thus goes directly against these older racialized ideas.

Since “race” is more of a social construction than a biological fact, racial stereotypes are also malleable and can change over time. It is perhaps to be expected, then, that these prejudices are slowly being cast aside—especially since the practice of racial stacking has no valid genetic basis. That said, these ideas have not yet been entirely discarded, for as it stands, the highest praise that these African imports can still receive from their Swedish coaches is that they “play game like Europeans.”¹⁹¹

In short, many of these earlier preconceptions nonetheless persist to this day, albeit in a slightly more diluted form. As has already been noted in this chapter, there continues to be a widespread sense in Sweden that African footballers are undisciplined and tactically unsophisticated. Thus, intentionally or not, complaints about poor positional play and so on subliminally sustain the old stereotype that Africans lack self-control and mental fortitude. Such prejudices, along with previously discussed emphasis on the physicality of these imports, both therefore unwittingly legitimize the notion of black intellectual inferiority.

These biases are by no means new to Swedish sports,¹⁹² and they are moreover very reminiscent of the stereotypes that are still routinely entertained about other footballers from non-Nordic backgrounds—for, as already indicated, these footballers have traditionally also been portrayed as lacking self-restraint.¹⁹³ These ideas are normally not rooted in explicitly articulated racist convictions (in the conventional political sense); rather they reflect a more broadly diffused racialized worldview that is mostly subconscious and can be found in the broad layers of Swedish society. This fact, however, does not make the impact of these racialized beliefs any less detrimental to these imports. In *Allsvenskan*, these views are, for example, arguably expressed in the “super-sub” phenomenon, which is based on the unspoken premise that many African footballers simply have neither the stamina nor the discipline to play the entire 90 minutes.

More important, this racialized mind-set is likewise made manifest in a discernable pattern of racial stacking. As is the case in many other parts of Europe, in the Swedish elite game, African players have disproportionally been recruited for and deployed in offensive positions. If we just look at 2007, during that season, there were 31 Africans in the 2 top Swedish divisions, *Allsvenskan* and *Superettan*. Of these 31, 10 were forwards, 14 were midfielders, 7 were defenders, and 1 was a goalkeeper.¹⁹⁴ The same picture basically emerges when we widen our scope to examine all the players listed in Appendix A. Out of the 109 Africans that were signed by *Allsvenskan* clubs between 1977 and 2010, 46 were forwards, 37 were midfielders, 23 were defenders, and 3 were goalkeepers.¹⁹⁵ Of the 37 midfielders, most of them were utilized chiefly in attacking roles, meaning that offensive players represented a clear majority overall. It is equally notable that forwards are significantly overrepresented within the group as a whole.

In view of these results, it is indisputable that racial stacking is a reality in the Swedish elite game.¹⁹⁶ Though there can be little doubt about the influence of these prejudices, there are a handful of other possible reasons for this as well. To begin with, the clubs doubtlessly calculate that it is easier to prepare African offensive midfielders and strikers for the European market than African defenders. Second, as more and more Swedish

teams come to adopt the refinement and resale of African football talent into their business model, this bolsters this pattern of recruitment, since strikers characteristically command a higher price on the European transfer market than defenders. At the moment, the demand for African forwards and offensive midfielders remains considerable in Europe (in no small part due to the persistence of the just discussed racialized biases).¹⁹⁷

Taken all together, these various considerations combine to adversely affect the career prospects of those African imports that seek to establish themselves in Sweden. European scholars who have examined this subject agree that racialized expectations are still routinely placed on black footballers (of all nationalities) and that this can have very damaging consequences for these players, particularly when these ideas influence coaching decisions.¹⁹⁸ In sum, these beliefs create real restraints, which can inhibit both the development and success of these players. In the long run, the practice of racial stacking and other types of institutional discrimination are ordinarily far more detrimental to the careers of African footballers than more overt forms of fan racism.¹⁹⁹

Beyond the challenges created by structural discrimination, these players are often further asked to shoulder the added burden of expectations to succeed from back home. In Africa, football has a long history of being a source of communal pride. This dates back to the colonial period when the sport became an important symbol of national resistance to European colonialism, and to this day, the achievements of African footballers in Europe are collectively celebrated throughout the continent.²⁰⁰

This being the case, the on-field performances of these players in Europe are closely monitored by not only by the African media and public but also by other members of the African Diaspora.²⁰¹ Such scrutiny is an inescapable reality for African footballers in Sweden²⁰² and all the more so for those who come from one of the continent's football minnows, such as Gambia,²⁰³ Sierra Leone,²⁰⁴ or Zambia²⁰⁵—countries that do not have a lot of players participating in the bigger European leagues.

This attention has the effect of turning these footballers into de facto ambassadors for their countries, creating extra (and presumably often unwanted) pressure on them. On an individual basis, they additionally represent the collective aspirations of their families and local communities.²⁰⁶ With this in mind, it is not really shocking that some of these imports become so crippled by these expectations that they cannot perform properly.²⁰⁷ Indeed, in the most extreme cases, these players are simply too ashamed to return home when they fail to secure a professional contract in Europe.²⁰⁸

The stress of these footballers is also enhanced by the reality that many of them are the primary breadwinners, and in a lot of instances, they are expected to provide for their entire extended families.²⁰⁹ Ibrahim Atiku, for instance, claims that nearly fifty members of his family are financially dependent upon him, so he feels enormous pressure to succeed.²¹⁰ Nigerian Prince Ikpe Ekong similarly reveals that he is economically responsible for at least ten people beyond his immediate nuclear family.²¹¹ And as is often the case with Africans in Europe,²¹² even players from middle-class families also regularly send money back home.²¹³

On top of these more narrow family obligations, African footballers in Sweden moreover frequently provide financial assistance to the local communities in which they grew up, giving money to schools, churches, and hospitals.²¹⁴ Another common form of charitable activity among these players is that they collect used football equipment in Sweden and then ship it back to their childhood clubs in Africa.²¹⁵

In contrast, no Swedish footballers compete under such taxing circumstances. In the domestic context of *Allsvenskan*, ethnic Swedish players are never asked to serve as spokespersons for their home communities, and they are definitely never expected to be

primary providers for their entire extended families or act as financial patrons for their own neighborhoods. This is not to say that they do not engage in a variety of charitable activities but just points out that Swedish players are normally not anticipated to shoulder the same kinds of burdens.

The only possible exceptions to this rule are footballers with more recent immigrant roots, who at times are also treated as representatives for their entire ethnic group or alternatively as symbols for the immigrant-dense neighborhoods in which they grew up. Another potential parallel between the latter and *Allsvenskan's* African imports is that they are on occasion likewise asked to take economic responsibility for their entire families and/or help fund charitable activities in their parents' countries of birth.²¹⁶ But again this is a rarity in Sweden, where footballers generally do not have to worry whether their families will eat or receive adequate medical treatment if they do not succeed.

One does not have to be a psychologist to recognize that playing under these pressures is liable to have a negative impact on one's production. This is not meant to be an excuse for *Allsvenskan's* African imports in the face of poor performance; rather, the intent here is only to point out that these various factors need to be taken into consideration when evaluating the individual performances of these players, which is something that is rarely, if ever, done in the Swedish media or in fan discussions on the Internet.²¹⁷

The clubs are clearly more cognizant of these challenges,²¹⁸ but even they often appear to fail to appreciate exactly how difficult it is for these imports to adapt to not only a new approach the game but also a new way of life outside the training grounds. The obstacles facing these players off the pitch are frequently just as formidable as the ones confronting them on the field, and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

The African Football Experience in Sweden

The preceding chapter explored how African football migrants have to acclimate to the Swedish elite game in order to succeed in *Allsvenskan*. Chapter 5, meanwhile, listed some of the most common reasons these players' careers in Sweden have been cut short. Such tribulations (injuries, etc.), however, potentially affect all professional footballers, so this chapter will instead concentrate on those challenges that are more specific to African imports. In particular, it will show that these problems are not just rooted in differing approaches to the game but also caused by the stress of having to adjust to new cultural and social norms off the pitch.

This chapter further demonstrates that although these various trials do clearly put additional pressure on these imports, many of them do nevertheless persevere and ultimately succeed in Sweden. It concludes with brief a discussion of how these African players rate their own experiences in the Swedish elite game and in Sweden overall.

Beyond learning a new approach to the sport, all African football migrants also have to acclimate themselves to everyday life in an alien country. International scholarship on this subject indicates that social isolation and cultural shock pose two of the biggest difficulties for African footballers in Europe.¹ In fact, for many players, these two issues present more of an obstacle than racism.² In large part, this is because racism is hardly a new or unexpected challenge for these imports. If anything, most Africans expect to be subjected to such prejudices when they arrive in Europe.³ This is likely not the first time that many of these footballers have been confronted by this issue while playing abroad.⁴ Other off-field problems in Sweden are, in contrast, more unanticipated, and for this reason, they can also be tougher to deal with.

These other challenges can take many forms, and at worst they can create a very stressful work environment. This is especially true for those players who have sought political asylum in Sweden, as they have been forced to practice, live, and play under the constant threat of deportation.⁵ In Sweden, the handling of asylum requests is routinely a very drawn-out process, and it can literally go on for years. African footballers that have faced this situation all testify to the emotional toll that this has taken on them.⁶ Although these cases admittedly represent an extreme scenario, all African footballers in Sweden are, at least to certain extent, negatively affected (in one way or another) by the strain of moving to a foreign country and culture.

To be sure, some players have less trouble adapting to Sweden than others,⁷ but taken as a whole, this appears to be a difficult transition, particularly at first. This is because these imports are, for the most part, wholly unprepared for the new life that awaits them in Sweden, and initially many of them are overwhelmed by this experience.⁸ As Nigerian Abiola Dauda puts it, “everything was new to me here—the food, the culture, the language, the weather—I didn’t pick Sweden, my agent did.”⁹

Given that African footballers can often make a decent wage and enjoy considerable freedom of movement, this places them in a relative privileged position in comparison to many other immigrants in Europe.¹⁰ Yet this does not change the reality that in many respects their experiences still closely mirror those of other non-Nordic groups in contemporary Sweden.

In a country where the welfare state has taken over many of the functions traditionally held by family and religion, these imports, similar to many other newly arrived African immigrants,¹¹ find the reach of the Swedish government to be astounding, though on occasion also a source of bewilderment and frustration.¹² Indeed, coming to terms with the extensive state bureaucracy can potentially be one of the biggest challenges facing all newcomers to Sweden.

On an even more basic level, just getting used to the Swedish weather alone requires a major effort for most these imports as it does for almost all Africans in Sweden.¹³ It perhaps goes without saying that a lot of these football migrants have never seen snow before,¹⁴ and the chilly winters ordinarily top their list of complaints about the country.¹⁵ At first glance, adapting to the climate might appear to be a rather small issue, but for many African footballers, this is actually a huge obstacle, as some even find the Swedish summers to be too cold.¹⁶

That something as seemingly trivial as the weather can create such discomfort hints at the difficulty of this transition. For this reason, many of these football migrants’ first preference is to move to the former colonial metropolises, due to their preexisting familiarity with the culture and language of these countries.¹⁷ René Makondele from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), for example, readily acknowledges that his dream was always to play in France. Just on linguistic grounds, this would have been much easier than coming to Sweden, since Swedish is generally considered very difficult to learn.¹⁸

Most African imports concur with Makondele on this last point. While Swedish grammar is not necessarily so difficult, getting the pronunciation right can be very hard.¹⁹ This being the case, English typically becomes the *de facto* language of instruction during all team-related activities—at times with rather tragicomical results. Samir Bakaou, also a native French speaker, recounts how during his first practice with GAIS in 1984, his new coach Bosse Falk (whose English apparently was even worse than his) directed Bakaou to “go home,” which Bakaou first mistook as a xenophobic insult, until he realized that what Falk was really trying to tell him was to play defense. (In the conversion from Swedish to English, “backa hem” became “go home” instead of “move backward [toward your own goal].”²⁰)

Such (mis)adventures in English notwithstanding, English-speaking players clearly enjoy a distinct advantage since most Swedes usually can speak or at least understand English. This is obviously also of enormous value to these African imports when they try to communicate with the larger community, beyond the training grounds.²¹

Connections to the local surrounding community are likewise often easier to create when these players migrate to their countries’ former colonial metropolises. Not only do these nations present fewer linguistic and cultural barriers, but they normally also offer

more opportunities to socialize with other Africans—who many in many instances, furthermore, share the same national and/or tribal affiliations as the players.²²

These opportunities generally do not exist in the same way in Sweden. To begin with, as was stated in Chapter 3, the African Diaspora as a whole—though growing—is still not very large in Sweden. Additionally, it is primarily made up of people from the horn of Africa—a region of the continent from which basically none of these footballers come from. This means that playing in Sweden is sure to be a very different experience than playing in, let's say, France and Belgium or in any other European country with a sizable African immigrant population. In many parts of Sweden, even a relatively simple undertaking such as finding an African food store or restaurant will be an ordeal.²³

That said, these imports do rely on the few African institutions and social networks that do exist in Sweden.²⁴ This is exemplified by McDonald Mariga's experience: he states that meeting a handful of fellow Kenyans and other Africans was vital to his original adjustment process in Enköping.²⁵ Samir Bakaou similarly asserts that his ties to the small Tunisian community in Gothenburg was absolutely essential to his success at GAIS.²⁶

Leaning on other Africans (or at least other people of African descent) for encouragement is a common coping strategy for all Africans in Sweden,²⁷ and in this regard, these football migrants are no different. Malian Adama Tamboura is a good example of this. He says that outside of practice, he principally socializes with Helsingborg IF's three other Africans: Razak Omotoyossi (Benin), Olivier Karekezi (Rwanda), and McDonald Mariga (Kenya). According to Tamboura, this was only natural since Omotoyossi and Karekezi also speak French.²⁸ Tamboura's experience at Helsingborg highlights that the friendships between African players regularly transcends national and/or tribal boundaries.²⁹

In addition to socializing off the field³⁰ (sometimes as entire families),³¹ African footballers also often live together during their first years in Sweden,³² and in several instances, these players either knew each other or were even roommates prior to coming to Europe.³³ Cameroonians Bertin Samuel Zé Ndille and Eric Bassombeng were, for example, signed to Örebro SK at same time, and they subsequently became roommates. Ndille and Bassombeng emphasize that this really helped to ease their transition into Swedish football and life.³⁴ This was also true for the three Liberians Jimmy Dixon, Dulee Johnson, and Dioh Williams, who were virtually inseparable when they first came to Sweden: living, fraternizing, and playing football together.³⁵

Sharing such an experience often creates a lasting bond for such players. This was the case for Zambians Boyd Mwila and Edwin Phiri, who were recruited together to Ögrgryte IS from Chimparamba Great Eagles in 2002–2003. In the early years, they shared an apartment in Gothenburg, and though they have since gone separate ways, establishing their own families in Sweden, they remain good friends to this day.³⁶

Owing to the central importance of family in Africa, the players who either arrive with family³⁷ or create new families while in Sweden are unquestionably in a less difficult position socially than those without families at their side.³⁸ Some players have left their wives and children behind in Africa,³⁹ but the majority of these men are young and single,⁴⁰ and because they have yet to get married, they normally do not enjoy this type of familial support in Sweden.⁴¹

For this last group, having Africans teammates is often crucial, as the latter can then act as a kind of ersatz family. Liberian Amadiya Rennie, who spent most of this free time with Reuben Ayarna (Ghana) and Eric Bassombeng (Kenya), likened the atmosphere at GAIS to that of one big family.⁴² Veteran players, furthermore, regularly serve

as mentors to the youngsters who have just arrived from Africa.⁴³ For the 18-year-old Nigerian Yakubu Alfa, coming to Helsingborgs IF represented a big adjustment both off and on the field, but he stresses that he was greatly assisted in this by the other Africans on the team—Isaac Chansa (Zambia), René Makondele (DRC), and Adama Tamboura (Mali). Alfa summarizes his experience in Sweden by affirming, “I am excited to have my African brothers here. They help me feel at home. They visit me in my apartment sometimes, and take me out and show me the city.”⁴⁴ In the absence of other African teammates, these imports characteristically spend their free time with the other foreigners on the club⁴⁵—and with the other non-Europeans, in particular.⁴⁶

In relation to the larger community beyond the training grounds, African footballers can sometimes also find a sanctuary in local churches⁴⁷ and mosques,⁴⁸ which is something that many Africans in Europe do.⁴⁹ Similar to the rest of the African Diaspora in Sweden,⁵⁰ these football migrants note that religion tends to play a much more central role in Africa than is usually the case in secular Sweden.⁵¹ African players are often not afraid to speak publicly about their religious beliefs, which makes them somewhat of a rarity in contemporary Sweden,⁵² where organized religion generally is on the defensive.⁵³

Moreover, in African football, religion occupies a central and privileged position⁵⁴ in a way that it never does in Sweden. It is not unheard of for these imports to openly talk about how they pray before games⁵⁵ or for them to accredit their performances to God’s will.⁵⁶ Nigerian Prince Ikpe Ekeong even went so far as to claim that God had directed him in a dream to sign with Djurgårdens IF over several other teams,⁵⁷ which is something that is very difficult to imagine an ethnically Swedish player ever doing in an interview. Swedish athletes rarely (if ever) discuss their religious convictions, so when Africans do this in such a vociferous manner, this tends to elicit a negative reaction. In fact, the Swedish Football Federation specifically moved to prohibit the Nigerian striker Peter Ijeh from displaying religious messages during his goal-scoring celebrations.⁵⁸

If anything, the religious beliefs and practices of some African players has repeatedly been a source of public derision in Sweden. Such disdain can be found both in the Swedish media⁵⁹ and in discussions on the Internet.⁶⁰ To provide a specific illustration (and a rare instance of a Swedish fan drawing a direct connection between an African player and Islam), “Al Capone,” responding to the news that Gefle IF’s midfielder Yussif Chibsah was fasting during Ramadan, writes, “To me it is incomprehensible that any grown up person in the year 2010 would have to travel more than 80 miles to consult with a group of old men [the Imams at the Stockholm Mosque] to seek permission to eat. Should one laugh or cry? That people believed in this type of nonsense 2000 years ago I can reluctantly accept, but in today’s information society not even children should believe in this sort of thing.”⁶¹ In Sweden this is a rather typical reader response to this sort of story, and it does not suggest a very tolerant attitude toward organized religion, whether this be Christianity or Islam.

That having been said, the unapologetic attitude of Christian evangelicals like Peter Ijeh and Prince Ikpe Ekeong appears to have been appreciated by their Swedish coreligionists. For this reason, they found a home in local Swedish congregations, where their views are welcomed.⁶² As a matter of fact, upon retiring from football, Ekeong became a priest in an evangelical church in Stockholm.⁶³

These sorts of inclusive, more racially integrated institutions, however, are far and few between once one gets outside the larger Swedish cities and towns. Social isolation and ennui tends to be a bigger problem for those imports who play for clubs in rural areas,⁶⁴ where other Africans frequently are pretty much nonexistent. Outside the big

cities, racial prejudices also tend to be far more blatant,⁶⁵ and at a minimum, anyone of African ancestry is sure to be more conspicuous.⁶⁶

While some African footballers do meet and form ties (and families) with Swedish women,⁶⁷ relations with the local indigenous population otherwise appear to be fairly limited—though not necessarily antagonistic. In this respect, these connections are very reminiscent of the ones that these football migrants usually have with their Swedish teammates, which are normally affable, but as a rule, these relationships do not seem to carry over beyond team-related activities.⁶⁸ (This a topic to which we will return later on in this chapter.)

According to the players themselves, most Swedes are friendly, if somewhat aloof—that is, with the exception of when they drink alcohol, which usually makes them much more animated.⁶⁹ From an African perspective, this is a bit strange, and the Swedish proclivity of not speaking to strangers is even weirder. This last habit is especially confounding, since to a lot of Africans, this is perfectly normal behavior.⁷⁰

To be sure, the individual experience in this regard varies a great deal from one footballer to the next, but overall, it is safe to say that these imports struggle with Swedish social mores. Since most Africans are used to socializing in public settings where one is ordinarily surrounded by neighbors and extended family, it can be very disorienting that in Sweden social life largely takes place behind closed doors within the confines of the private sphere.⁷¹ If one furthermore comes from a giant city, such as Kinshasa, where it would be normal to hear music and to see lots of people out in the street at night, the silence in most Swedish towns after nightfall can seem deafening.⁷² Abiola Dauda aptly captures the collective experience of many Africans in Sweden, concluding that “in Nigeria we all care about each other and we talk and mingle, but in Sweden everyone is on their own. It’s hard to acclimatize to that way of living.”⁷³

This sharp difference in social norms often continues to pose a challenge even for African-born footballers, like the Gambian-born Swede Njogu Demba-Nyrén, who was mostly raised in Sweden.⁷⁴ A sense of social isolation or exclusion is a common complaint among almost all African immigrants in Sweden,⁷⁵ and hence not just among these football migrants.

Yet for a lot of African footballers this alienation is—at least partially—of their own making and is explained by their transient status. The majority of them do not expect to stay very long in the country, and this definitely influences their attitude. Some players freely admit that, unlike many other immigrants in Sweden, they are not very motivated to learn the language.⁷⁶ Ghanaian Reuben Ayarna typifies this mind-set, saying that if he knew that he would remain in Sweden long term, he would be more committed to learning the language, but as it stands, he is not.⁷⁷

Though this mind-set is understandable, it nonetheless ensures that these players will continue to be outsiders—and also to be regarded as such. Because without mastering the language, they are never likely to ever fully integrate into Swedish society even if they can more or less get by daily just with English. It is also not any coincidence that those few players who originally came to Sweden principally for political reasons are usually much quicker to pick up the language.⁷⁸

This conscious act of distancing themselves speaks against forming personal attachments to Sweden, and as a consequence, some players show little to no interest in engaging with Swedish society at large. Instead they mostly keep to themselves when they do not have team-related obligations. Such was the case for Razak Omotoyossi, who described himself as a social recluse during his entire time with Helsingborgs IF. His contacts with the local community were basically confined to one Swedish neighbor and

his Malian teammate Adama Tamboura.⁷⁹ Mohamed Bangura, similarly, concedes that he has little incentive to make Swedish friends, since he does not know when he will move on again, and for this reason, he spends most of his free time with either his wife or his African teammates.⁸⁰ Needless to say, this tendency self-segregate and to socialize almost exclusively with other foreign imports only acts to enhance this sense of isolation from the larger community. This is a common problem among African football migrants in Europe, whose transient status in many instances prevents them from totally integrating into their new host societies.⁸¹

Self-created or not, this social isolation is frequently very real. Worse yet, it exacerbates feelings of homesickness, which can be intense among these players⁸²—even among those who are fortunate enough to be surrounded by their countrymen.⁸³ This longing, moreover, is not just limited to friends and family, but it encompasses many facets of African life: the climate, the food, the pace of everyday life, and so on. Homesickness is a regular cause of unhappiness among African football migrants in Sweden—and it is something that both club officials⁸⁴ and the players themselves agree can negatively impact their performances.⁸⁵

As already indicated, the stress of adjusting to a new way of life abroad is not particular to Sweden, for this problem confronts African footballers all over Europe, including in other parts of Scandinavia.⁸⁶ In this context, it is equally important to point out that other foreign players, like Brazilians, must overcome a lot of identical hurdles in Sweden.⁸⁷ So the argument here then is not that Sweden's African football imports are in a uniquely difficult position but rather that these challenges put them at a comparative disadvantage vis-à-vis indigenous players, including other African-born players who first learned to play organized football in Sweden.

This last group of footballers, many of whom were discussed in Chapter 5, typically migrated with their families to Sweden as either children or teenagers. The latter have often faced many of the same obstacles in Sweden that the 109 imports listed in Appendix A have: racism, learning the language, adjusting to the weather and new social norms, and so forth. However, because the majority of the 16 players found in Appendix B were raised (and went to school) in Sweden, they, for the most part, had already mastered most of these challenges by the time they got to *Allsvenskan*. That they grew up in Sweden also means that they have a local network of friends and family as a source of support.⁸⁸ Equally important, this group of footballers was brought up with the Swedish game, and they are therefore familiar with both the training regime and tactical outlook utilized by Swedish elite clubs and further understand the unwritten social codes that govern the locker room.⁸⁹ So at least from a football perspective, these footballers can be considered “Swedish” (and some these players are of course “Swedish” in every sense of the word—linguistically, culturally, and otherwise).

Presumably this also accounts for why this group has been more successful at establishing themselves in *Allsvenskan* (at least when measured by the number of appearances) than the larger group of adult football imports listed in Appendix A. Of the 16 African-born footballers found in Appendix B, only 6 of them, or 37.5 percent, had played in fewer than 30 games in the Swedish top division by the end of the 2010 season. Conversely among the other larger group of adult imports, the corresponding figure was 63.3 percent (69 out of 109). This is a very marked difference, even when one takes into account that the latter group of imports is much bigger than the first.

Of the six footballers listed in Appendix B that had appeared in fewer than 30 matches in the Swedish top division (Yosif Ayuba, Kangana Ndiwa, Njogu Demba-Nyrén, John Pelu, Mohamed Jallow-Mbye, Pagguy Zunda), in three instances (Ndiwa,

Demba-Nyrén, and Pelu), this is explained by the fact that they had left Sweden at a relatively early stage in their careers to become professionals abroad.⁹⁰ As for the other three (Ayuba, Jallow-Mbye, and Zunda), Ayuba and Jallow-Mbye were still early on in their careers at the end of the 2010 season, so it is still too early to predict what the future holds for them. At present, then, Zunda is the only one of these three that for sure seems unlikely to ever establish himself in *Allsvenskan*, as he spent most of the first decade of the twenty-first century in the Swedish Second and Third Divisions. In Zunda's case, this might be because he only came to Sweden as a 15 year old,⁹¹ which is at a much later age than almost all the other players listed in Appendix B. This being so, it means that Zunda also had less time to acquaint himself with the Swedish game before turning professional.

Of the remaining ten African-born footballers found in Appendix B, all but three had appeared in over 50 league games⁹²—with three of them playing in more than a hundred games. The latter's appearance numbers are, moreover, sure to continue to rise, given that as of the end of the 2010 season, only Pascal Simpson had retired. The comparable figures for the much larger group of 109 adult imports, meanwhile, are that 16 players had appeared in over 50 games and only 5 in over 100 games. Consequently these numbers attest to the relative advantage enjoyed by those African-born footballers that were culturally acclimated to Swedish society and football prior to launching their professional careers in *Allsvenskan*.

Comparing the relative success of these two groups is admittedly not entirely unproblematic, since players that grew up in Sweden are undoubtedly more motivated to make it in *Allsvenskan* than their imported counterparts. This is not only because this is a league that they are already very familiar with but also because they have stronger personal and family ties to Sweden outside of football. (In practice, this also means that they are probably more likely to choose *Allsvenskan* over other better-paying leagues for strictly private reasons than most African imports would be.)

The main point here, however, remains unchanged—namely, that African-born players that were raised in Sweden and who first learned to play organized football in Sweden enjoy a distinct competitive advantage over African football imports who characteristically face big hurdles both on and off the pitch when they initially arrive in *Allsvenskan*. More to point, this comparison underscores that whatever difficulties African football migrants face in Sweden, they are *not* rooted in genetics. Instead, most of these problems simply stem from having grown up with different football traditions, and since this is a matter of *nurture* (as opposed to *nature*), they can in time also be overcome.

Yet in spite of all the discussed obstacles, many African football imports do still thrive in the top Swedish division and have also positively contributed to the overall level of play in the league. In addition to Joachim Yaw Acheampong, Derek Boateng, Moestafa El Kabir, Richard Kingson, McDonald Mariga, and Edward Ofere (who all eventually moved on to one of the top European leagues), *Allsvenskan* has also been graced by quality players such as Samir Bakaou (Tunisia/Västra Frölunda 1987, GAIS 1988–1990),⁹³ Dominic Chatto (Nigeria/BK Häcken 2009–),⁹⁴ Shamo Quaye (Ghana/Umeå FC 1996),⁹⁵ Yaw Preko (Ghana/Halmstads BK 2004–2005),⁹⁶ Garba Lawal (Nigeria/IF Elfsborg 2004),⁹⁷ and Adama Tamboura (Mali/Helsingborgs IF 2006–2009).⁹⁸ The individual achievements of these (and other African footballers) have been widely recognized by the clubs, fans, and media.

Indeed, all these players have belonged to *Allsvenskan*'s absolute top echelon. Over the course of the last decade, Peter Ijeh (Nigeria/Malmö FF 2001–2004, IFK Göteborg 2004–2005), for example, has notably evolved into one of the league's biggest stars.

During the 2002 season, Ijeh won the scoring title, a feat later also repeated in 2007 by Razak Omotoyossi (Benin/Helsingborgs IF 2007–2008) when he shared this award with Magnus Berg.⁹⁹

Though perhaps less heralded, during the first decade of the twenty-first century, African imports such as Kevin Amuneke (Nigeria/Landskrona BoIS 2004–2005, IFK Norrköping 2008), Yannick Bapupa (DRC/Djurgårdens IF 2002–2004, Gefle IF 2006–2009), Yussif Chibsah (Ghana/Gefle IF 2008–), John Chibuike (Nigeria/BK Häcken 2009–), Lance Davids (South Africa/Djurgårdens IF 2006–2008), Jimmy Dixon (Liberia/BK Häcken 2005–2006, Malmö FF 2007–2009), Joseph Elanga (Cameroon/Malmö FF 2001–2005, 2010), Prince Ikpe Ekong (Nigeria/GAIS 2006–2008, Djurgårdens IF 2008–), Richard Ekunde (DRC/Djurgårdens IF 2002–2004, GAIS 2006–2010), Dulee Johnson (Liberia/BK Häcken 2001, 2005, AIK 2006–2010), Olivier Karekezi (Rwanda/Helsingborgs IF 2005–2007), René Makondele (DRC/Djurgårdens IF 2002–2005, Gefle IF 2006–2007, Helsingborgs IF 2008–2010, BK Häcken 2010–), Robert Mambo Mumba (Kenya/Örebro SK 2004, BK Häcken 2006, GIF Sundsvall 2008), Boyd Mwila (Zambia/Örgryte IS 2003–2006, Djurgårdens IF 2009–), Paul Oyuga (Kenya/Örebro SK 2001–2003), Edwin Phiri (Zambia/Örgryte IS 2002–2005, Ljungskile SK 2008), Emmanuel Tetteh (Ghana/IFK Göteborg 1997–1999), and Dioh Williams (Liberia/BK Häcken 2005–2006) have become well-known fixtures in the Swedish top division. With the exception of Chibuike and Tetteh, all these imports have played at least three or more seasons in *Allsvenskan* and/or have made 50 or more league appearances, and in so doing, they have greatly changed the outward face of Swedish professional football.¹⁰⁰

While making somewhat fewer appearances, many other Africans have likewise played vital roles on their new Swedish clubs. Players in this category deserving an honorable mention include Reuben Ayarna (Ghana/GAIS 2008–),¹⁰¹ Mohamed Bangura (Sierra Leone/AIK 2010–),¹⁰² Eric Bassombeng (Cameroon/Örebro SK 2008),¹⁰³ Isaac Chansa (Zambia/Helsingborgs IF 2007–2009),¹⁰⁴ Paulo José Lopes de Figueiredo (Angola, Portugal/Östers IF 2006),¹⁰⁵ May Mahlangu (South Africa/Helsingborgs IF 2009–),¹⁰⁶ Patrick Osiako (Kenya/Mjällby AIF 2010–),¹⁰⁷ Russell Mwafurlirwa (Malawi/IFK Norrköping 2008),¹⁰⁸ and Majeed Waris (Ghana/BK Häcken 2010–).¹⁰⁹

These footballers have, furthermore, been good enough to start consistently for their Swedish clubs, and many of them have even been key contributors for their respective teams. When one adds up all the just discussed players, this indicates that more than one-third of the African imports listed in Appendix A firmly established themselves in the Swedish top division.

These figures therefore act to repudiate the commonly held notion that African footballers have not had a substantial (and beneficial) contribution to *Allsvenskan*. If one additionally subtracts those Africans whose stints in the Swedish top division were cut short by either injury or other “migrating factors” (such as their teams being relegated, etc.) from the total, the percentage of those who made it in the league would be even higher, easily exceeding 50 percent.¹¹⁰ All and all, this is a solid accomplishment, particularly considering the comparatively demanding circumstances under which these imports compete.

African football migrants have moreover repeatedly had a similarly positive impact in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system. Sierra Leoneans Kabba Samura and Ibrahim Koroma are two excellent illustrations of this. Samura won the scoring title in the Second Division in 2004,¹¹¹ while Koroma was voted the best defender in the Third Division in 2010.¹¹² Other African imports to receive accolades at this level are Samura

and Koroma's fellow countrymen Charles Sampson¹¹³ and Sheriff Suma,¹¹⁴ as well as Nigerian Abiola Dauda. Prior to Dauda's move to Kalmar FF, he was accredited with almost singlehandedly keeping his team Sölvesborg GoIF from being relegated from the Third Division in 2007.¹¹⁵

Beyond this group of players who had more or less consistently produced for their clubs, other African imports have at least done so at decisive moments.¹¹⁶ Bonaventure "Boniek" Maruti was, for instance, considered critical to keeping Örebro SK in *Allsvenskan* during the 2001 season.¹¹⁷ A third and final group of African footballers are still fondly remembered for their efforts in specific games. Samuel Ayorinde, for instance, continues to be lionized by the AIK faithful for his equalizer in the derby against Djurgårdens IF in June 2003.¹¹⁸

Over the years, the fans have embraced a number of African imports, and some, like Samir Bakaou¹¹⁹ and Pa Dembo Touray, have become true football icons in Sweden.¹²⁰ Touray's personal popularity among Djurgården's supporters was (and is) unmistakable (this despite his occasionally inconsistent play).¹²¹ McDonald Mariga,¹²² Shamo Quaye,¹²³ Richard Kingson,¹²⁴ Reuben Ayarna,¹²⁵ Monday James,¹²⁶ Pa Musa Fofana,¹²⁷ Joseph Elanga,¹²⁸ Dulee Johnson,¹²⁹ Edward Ofere,¹³⁰ Dominic Yobe,¹³¹ and Emmanuel Tetteh¹³² are other examples of fan favorites in *Allsvenskan*. African imports have frequently proved to be equally popular in the lower Swedish divisions.¹³³

A handful of African footballers have even achieved a cult status among their club's supporters.¹³⁴ On occasion, the latter's worship of these players can be a bit sardonic,¹³⁵ but in many instances, it is unquestionably genuine.¹³⁶ (Such adulation, however, is not always entirely unproblematic as it is frequently articulated in a highly racialized manner, and this is a topic to which we will return in Chapter 8.)

African Footballers' Assessment of *Allsvenskan* and Sweden

As these illustrations indicate, some of these imports are very well liked in Sweden, but to what degree are these feelings reciprocated? And how do the players rate their personal experiences in Sweden? In many instances, such questions are hard to answer definitely. There are a couple of different reasons for this, and they are largely related to the available source material. First of all, it would be virtually impossible to systematically interview of all (or even most of) the players listed in Appendix A, considering the transient nature of their profession. Moreover, few if any of these players are likely to pen autobiographies about their experiences in Sweden. Since none of them have become international superstars, there is no demand for their memoirs—and at present, no such works have been published.

This leaves us with only various media sources to rely on. Yet such sources have two main weaknesses. First, most professional athletes learn early on to censor themselves when talking to the press. This is because they do not want to needlessly antagonize their clubs or the team's supporters—not least because players who voice their opinions too loudly run the risk of being accused of having a "bad attitude," which in the long run can hurt their careers. Accordingly, in most cases, these imports are bound to offer a somewhat selective, if not entirely sanitized, version of their experience in Sweden when addressing the media.

Second, the media, as a rule, tends to focus either on the small minority that have run into off field problems or on those players who are significant contributors to their teams. Leaving this smaller group of "troublemakers" aside, this type of study will

therefore almost inevitably have to rely very heavily on the personal testimonies of those who have been successful enough on the pitch to attract the attention of the media. And while these latter accounts are not necessarily untrue, it is not always clear how representative they are, since we are less likely to hear from (and about) African players who have had more marginal stints in *Allsvenskan*. A third and final problem, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 8, is that the press coverage of these players is itself frequently racialized, creating a distorted portrait of these imports.

These reservations notwithstanding, information culled from various media sources can nevertheless tell us a lot about the African football experience in Sweden. For starters, these accounts do confirm that some African football migrants have had quite a negative experience in *Allsvenskan*. The most extreme example is probably Issa Mohammed, whose coaches allegedly made him a scapegoat for the team's failures during his time at IFK Norrköping. Mohammed's situation apparently left him totally demoralized and depressed.¹³⁷ Others who have complained about their time in *Allsvenskan* include players, such as Samuel Ayorinde (Nigeria/AIK 2003–2004),¹³⁸ Bala Garba (Nigeria/GIF Sundsvall 2003),¹³⁹ Raoul Kouakou (Ivory Coast/Malmö FF 2005–2007),¹⁴⁰ and Eric Bassombeng (Cameroon/Örebro SK 2008–2010), who all feel that they were unfairly treated by their Swedish clubs, objecting to the provisions in their contracts and so forth.¹⁴¹

Gripes like these that are related to disciplinary issues, playing time, and contract terms are obviously fairly commonplace among professional footballers, yet there have also been a few grievances that are more specific to these imports' situation in Sweden. Both Patrick Osiako and Moestafa El Kabir, for instance, did not hide the fact that they were unhappy in the small town of Sölvesborg and wished to transfer to another European league—failing that, they at least wanted to leave Mjällby AIF for one of the country's bigger city clubs.¹⁴²

Another type of common complaint among African footballers in *Allsvenskan* is that their own national teams routinely ignore them because the latter either do not bother to or do not have the economic resources to scout players in Scandinavia.¹⁴³ While this is not a problem for all African imports (and most strikingly not for Sierra Leonean players whose national team was coached by a Swede),¹⁴⁴ it has been a persistent source of aggravation for players from established football powers such as Cameroon, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, and Nigeria.¹⁴⁵ This frustration at being overlooked is summarized by Edward Ofere, who grumbles that “if one is playing in a relatively unknown league in northern Europe, one needs to score a lot of goals to get noticed back in Nigeria.”¹⁴⁶

These grievances aside, African footballers by and large seem to regard Sweden as a good country to begin their European careers in¹⁴⁷—a view that also appears to be seconded by most Brazilian imports.¹⁴⁸ To these African footballers, the top Swedish division is usually seen as an excellent place to develop as a player.¹⁴⁹ From their perspective, it is absolutely vital for their own professional growth to get to Europe, even if it is only to one of the smaller European leagues like *Allsvenskan*.¹⁵⁰

Above all, African players are impressed by the highly organized nature of Swedish football,¹⁵¹ and the training facilities are also much better than what a lot of these imports are accustomed to.¹⁵² Swedish coaches likewise receive high grades,¹⁵³ and African players regularly credit their coaches with helping them develop as footballers.¹⁵⁴ Purportedly, these imports additionally appreciate the respectful and professional tone that ordinarily informs coach–player relations in Sweden.¹⁵⁵

African imports likewise report having been warmly welcomed at their new Swedish clubs,¹⁵⁶ asserting that their coaches and teammates alike have been very helpful.¹⁵⁷

For the most part, the internal clubhouse environment seems to be relatively friendly in Sweden, particularly when compared to the previous experiences that some of these footballers have had in other countries.¹⁵⁸

European research on this topic shows that the indigenous majority customarily sets the unspoken clubhouse rules, and foreigners need to accommodate themselves to these internal dynamics.¹⁵⁹ On the whole, this observation appears to apply to Sweden too, though at a few clubs—and most notably at BK Häcken and Djurgårdens IF—African imports have made a powerful imprint on the internal culture of these teams.¹⁶⁰ At these clubs, African music can, for instance, frequently be heard in the locker room,¹⁶¹ and in Djurgården's case, “Kamala Vesta” was also adopted as the team's victory song.¹⁶² Music and singing is of course extremely common in African football,¹⁶³ and this practice has thus now begun to make itself felt in the top Swedish division.

In this context, it must, however, simultaneously be stressed that even on a team like Djurgårdens IF, where Africans have established a strong visible presence, the clubhouse still remains largely racially segregated, with the African-born players forming their own subgroup.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, such internal divisions have traditionally been the norm in the European professional game—with foreign and black players generally keeping to themselves in the locker room.¹⁶⁵

While some Swedish players at the elite level clearly do harbor racist views,¹⁶⁶ these patterns of social segregation and exclusion normally tend to be unconscious. “White normativity,” it must again be emphasized, is not necessarily something that always expresses itself in a calculated and aggressive manner. In fact, by European standards, Swedish locker rooms do not appear to be overtly racially hostile environments for African footballers, whereas in some parts of Europe, African players are routinely excluded and racially abused by their own teammates and coaches.¹⁶⁷

Still, as we have seen, the fact that Swedish clubhouses appear to be free of malicious racism does not mean that they are totally inclusive environments, either. So the intent here, then, is not to overromanticize the experience of African footballers in *Allsvenskan* but only to note that the latter often are subjected to an even more antagonistic work atmosphere elsewhere in Europe.

Moreover, playing in the top Swedish division can have a number of other tangible advantages for these imports. For example, despite what was said earlier in Chapter 4 about the likely existence of widespread salary discrimination, some Africans do nevertheless make good money in Sweden. In 2009, for instance, Prince Ikpe Ekong was *Allsvenskan*'s best paid footballer, and that same year, Pa Dembo Touray was also among the league's top ten highest salaried players.¹⁶⁸

Another benefit of playing in Sweden is that *Allsvenskan* is not corrupt, nor is it subject to outside political interference. This ensures that the best players will also normally get to play in Sweden, which is not always true in many African leagues where political and economic calculations can at times also dictate the starting lineups.¹⁶⁹ So while African imports certainly face a number of other obstacles in Sweden, at least their chances of breaking into the starting 11 are not jeopardized by these sorts of considerations.

Furthermore, even those who fail to firmly establish themselves in the top echelons of the Swedish professional game undoubtedly find a much softer landing in Sweden than they would in many other European countries. In large part, this is because so long as their residency papers are intact, these football migrants are (like any other permanent resident) eligible for social assistance from the state.¹⁷⁰

As for the teams, Swedish clubs generally pride themselves on having a good rapport with these imports¹⁷¹ and also tend to think of themselves as being more socially

responsible than many of their continental counterparts.¹⁷² In truth, their record on this front is a bit mixed, and they have not always taken great care of the Africans that they have brought to Sweden.¹⁷³ On the other hand, though, there have also been a number of occasions when Swedish teams have gone to considerable lengths to help African players that have fallen seriously ill.¹⁷⁴ At a minimum, there have not been any reports in Sweden of African football migrants ending up destitute and homeless after having been released by their teams, as has been known to happen in other parts of Europe.¹⁷⁵ Nor have African footballers in Sweden typically faced as adverse working conditions as has been the case, on occasion, in other EU countries.¹⁷⁶

Generally speaking, African immigrants are impressed by the extent of the social safety net that exists in Sweden,¹⁷⁷ and in this regard, these football imports are no exception.¹⁷⁸ From the perspective of many African footballers, Sweden is not only more prosperous but also more peaceful and democratic than their countries of birth.¹⁷⁹ And keeping in mind that Sweden consistently places among the top ten countries in the UN's annual human development index (HDI) rankings, while most these imports come from nations that rank in the bottom fourth of this list,¹⁸⁰ Sweden can understandably be an attractive place to settle on permanent basis for a lot of these players.

This is particularly true for football migrants from poor and/or politically unstable countries like the DRC, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, who have stayed on in Sweden in large numbers.¹⁸¹ For many of these footballers (and those from other African countries beset by similar problems), even playing in the lower Swedish divisions can be an appealing proposition, especially when compared to the prospect of returning home again. If a player's primary motive for moving to Europe was either out of economic desperation or for fear of political prosecution, this can be a strong incentive to remain in Sweden, regardless of the level of competitive play.

Hence at least for those with more modest professional ambitions, Sweden offers a comfortable enough existence materially, and some African footballers have now been in the country long enough to begin setting down roots in their new adopted home.¹⁸² Among this group, many are currently preoccupied with the business of raising families in Sweden,¹⁸³ and upon retiring from professional football, some of these imports have also stayed involved with the game, working as coaches at the Swedish youth and amateur level.¹⁸⁴

The stability and relative prosperity that a life in Sweden provides may serve as a consolation for those imports whose European careers never fully took off. In early 2011, Kevin Amunke, for example, had not yet given up hope of making it to one of the big European leagues, but after two stints in *Allsvenskan* and several more years in the lower Swedish divisions, he was content to bide his time in Sweden while he waiting for another opportunity, preferably in England. In the meantime, he got married and bought a house in Sweden, and he had no intention of returning to Nigeria in the foreseeable future.¹⁸⁵

Sherriff Suma is another illustration of someone whose professional career had not panned out the way he had hoped but who was still content with the way things had ultimately turned out for him. Above all, Suma was grateful for the sense of security that Sweden had afforded him and his family, and he additionally accredited his time in Sweden with helping him grow as a person off the field. In Suma's words, "When I first got here [to Sweden] I thought, 'What is this?' But I have learned a lot from living here, and not just with football. It [my experience in Sweden] has helped me to become a better human being."¹⁸⁶

Even for some of the players, like Nigerian Akombo Ukeyima, who never managed to establish themselves in *Allsvenskan*, their experience in Sweden was not necessarily a bad one. Quite to the contrary, Ukeyima maintained that he had no regrets about coming to Sundsvall, for it had always been his dream to play in Europe. He not only learned a lot from playing in Sweden, but he had also really enjoyed living in the city of Sundsvall.¹⁸⁷

Indeed, for all these footballers, making it in *Allsvenskan* is not necessarily everything, and failing to do so does not always mean that things have gone badly for them in Sweden. Abdel Seidou from Togo is a good example of this. Seidou only appeared in three games for Örebro SK in 2000, but in the years since then, he has married, had a daughter, and received a university degree in mathematics. Today he is a schoolteacher in Sweden. Most strikingly, Seidou later switched to American football, a sport in which he would excel to the point of eventually also representing his new adopted country at the international level.¹⁸⁸ Seidou and Ukeyima's stories therefore both underscore the importance of not just exclusively focusing on football when trying to evaluate the collective experience of these African players in Sweden.

Many African imports further insisted that they had been generally well received in Sweden and claimed to feel at ease in their new local communities,¹⁸⁹ and in some cases, this even applied to those playing for clubs in smaller cities and towns.¹⁹⁰ In a quite a few instances, this good rapport also extended to the local fans.¹⁹¹ Richard Kingson, for instance, recalls that he was overwhelmed by the positive response he received from Hammarby IF's supporters during his three months with the club in 2007. He adds that from a football perspective, Sweden was maybe not the greatest, but socially it was the happiest point in his professional career abroad.¹⁹² In hindsight, Samir Bakaou is similarly sentimental about his time with GAIS.¹⁹³

To many of those who have ended up staying on in the country, Sweden has begun to feel rather comfortable. This is true for Richard Ekunde, who admits that although his first years in Sweden were quite difficult, he has increasingly come to think of it as home,¹⁹⁴ to the point that some of his African teammates at GAIS teasingly refer to him as "the Swede."¹⁹⁵ The idea that Sweden has become home—or at least a second home—is also shared by players such as Pa Dembo Touray and Prince Ikpe Ekong, who both underscore how much they have come to love Stockholm.¹⁹⁶ A handful of these imports, like Peter Ijeh, have even asserted that they have begun to feel a bit "Scandinavian,"¹⁹⁷ and when Ijeh's former teammate Joseph Elanga was asked if he felt more "Swedish" or "Cameroonian" now, Elanga, without hesitation, answered "Swedish!"¹⁹⁸

Yet in view of the fact that Elanga, Ijeh, Touray, and so on are among those who have had the longest and most successful tenures in *Allsvenskan*, their experiences in Sweden should probably not be considered totally representative for all the imports listed in Appendix A. In all likelihood, a more typical response is the one given by Razak Omo-toyossi, who simply declares that Sweden is "OK."¹⁹⁹

Still all told, this is not a bad grade, particularly when one allows for the reality that Sweden was basically none of these players' first choice and most had hoped to eventually end up in a more prestigious European league.²⁰⁰ As René Makondele makes clear, he had never even heard of Sweden and certainly would have preferred to have gone to France instead. But a decade later, he is still in the country, though now married with children and also a Swedish citizen.²⁰¹

Finally, when trying to evaluate the collective experience of African footballers in Sweden, it is also imperative to bear in mind that these players are not measuring their experience against an idealized notion of how life should be in a perfect world but against real lived experiences. In this comparison, Sweden seems to fare pretty well.²⁰²

Even from a pure football perspective, *Allsvenskan* often compares favorably with some of the other European leagues these footballers have played in.²⁰³ For all these stated reasons, Sweden appears to enjoy a good reputation among African football migrants²⁰⁴ and also among African agents.²⁰⁵

This not to ignore the many (and very real) hurdles that confront African footballers in Sweden but only to underscore that many of these trials would likely have been even worse elsewhere. *Allsvenskan* furthermore serves as a better international showcase for these players than most domestic leagues in Africa would, and in the overwhelming majority of cases, Swedish clubs probably also provide a more professional milieu in which to develop as a player. Consequently while *Allsvenskan* may not offer either the biggest spotlight or the largest paycheck, it still represents a reasonably decent situation for many of these football migrants.

Last but not least, what one should never forget is that whatever Sweden and *Allsvenskan's* limitations, there is no shortage of African players willing to take these imports' place, even if it means playing in one of the lower Swedish divisions.²⁰⁶ So although most aspiring footballers in Africa still dream of playing in one the big European leagues, for many, landing in *Allsvenskan* and Sweden would be good enough.²⁰⁷

CHAPTER 8

Racism, Racialization, and Xenophobia

African Footballers in the Eyes of Fans and Media

This chapter studies how the Swedish media's coverage of African (and other black) footballers has been and continues to be racialized in many instances. Furthermore, it looks at the editorial positions that the Swedish national press has taken in regard to the practice of importing foreign footballers. This chapter specifically investigates how the sports pages in *Dagens Nyheter* (independent Liberal), *Aftonbladet* (independent Social Democratic), and *Svenska Dagbladet* (independent Conservative) have all respectively dealt with this subject. (These papers have been selected not only because they represent three different political perspectives but also because they are three of the country's most well-known and widely distributed dailies.)

In addition, this chapter examines fan attitudes in relation to these same issues, and it finds that the supporters' perceptions of *Allsvenskan's* African players usually mirror those of the Swedish press. This study likewise considers the views of Swedish football authorities and players, and it ultimately detects several striking parallels between the public debate surrounding the importation of foreign footballers and the larger societal discussion about non-European immigration.

This investigation concentrates on the first decade of the twenty-first century—for this was when the majority of African footballers first arrived in Sweden and the debate concerning player importation came to a head. Yet this was also the decade that football-related discussion forums on the Internet came of age, and these forums have become the principal medium for fans to voice their opinions about all facets of the game. The anonymity of the Internet, however, has simultaneously created a public space in which the antiracist consensus can be directly challenged, and as a result, it provides a central platform for the articulation of openly racist and xenophobic ideas. Beyond such overt racism, more obliquely formulated notions about the racialized black body are also commonly found on football-related discussion threads. Though all these various ideas are regularly expressed on the Internet, at the same time, it is important to point out that there is no way to precisely measure how widespread these kinds of sentiments really are among Swedish football supporters. So the intent here is simply to present a broad range of fan attitudes as they pertain to race and the importation of foreign footballers in hopes of giving the reader at least some sense of the general contours of this debate.

Race and Football in the Eyes of the Swedish Press

Presently no other area of European society probably does as much as sports to reproduce and disseminate racial stereotypes about people of African descent to a mass audience.¹ This observation is especially pertinent to football, not only because it is the continent's biggest participatory and spectator sport, but also because of the highly visible role that black athletes occupy in the European professional game today. The indigenous media moreover is the primary conduit for the continued propagation of these racialized ideas.²

Racialized depictions of the black body and ideas concerning the alleged "natural athletic ability" of people of African heritage both have a long history in the European media.³ While these older stereotypes no longer go completely unchallenged, recent scholarship on this topic nonetheless confirms that this remains a significant problem in European sports reporting.⁴

A 2010 report by the European Union partially attributes this state of affairs to the fact that the continent's ethnic and racial minorities are still severely underrepresented in sports journalism. This same study found that the proportion of ethnic and racial minorities among sports journalists appeared to be even smaller than it is in a lot of other journalistic fields.⁵

Although this situation is slowly changing in Sweden, as of 2010, David Fjäll was still the only reporter of African descent among the nation's top football journalists. The profession as a whole has traditionally been dominated by ethnically Swedish men,⁶ and many of the country's older sports journalists appear to have entertained more or less racist views (albeit often subconsciously).⁷ Since this subject will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter, it is sufficient to note that such prejudices have unquestionably influenced their attitudes toward black athletes.

In relation to football, the Swedish press has an established track record of portraying black players in a racialized light. Indeed, racialized depictions of footballers of African descent predate Melki Amri's arrival in *Allsvenskan* in 1977 by several decades, as this practice stretches back at least to the late 1930s.

The first black footballer to make an appearance in Sweden was a Frenchman of North African ancestry by the name of "Gougou." "Gougou" took part in FC Bordeaux's promotional tour in June 1937 when his club played a series of exhibition games throughout northern Sweden.⁸ In the local Swedish press, "Gougou" was, among other things, referred to as "a very exotic Negro, though a good sportsman."⁹

His play, on the other hand, failed to impress, leading to criticism that "this undernourished Sudan inhabitant made an almost tragic impression in his clumsy attempt to handle even the simplest of balls. It was obvious, that he [Gougou] wasn't, and had never been, a real footballer."¹⁰ The readers were, however, simultaneously assured that the Frenchman "was a genuine Negro," which was also what the spectators supposedly had insisted on seeing. The reason we know this, according to the article, was "because it had rained."¹¹ (The implication seems to be that if "Gougou" had been a Caucasian player in blackface, the makeup would have washed off during the game as a result of the rain.)

In this period, such racialized discourse was not uncommon in Swedish sports journalism, and occasionally it was even applied to Caucasian players that were ascribed African physiognomic traits. Karl Justus Gustafsson, who played for AIK between 1917 and 1930, was, for example, known as "Negern" Gustafsson ("the negro" Gustafsson). It seems that Gustafsson's nickname had two possible origins. According to one version, this epithet came about after a game in which Gustafsson's face had been covered by

dirt while playing on a muddy pitch, whereas another version holds that it was due to his dark skin. Nor was “Negern” Gustafsson the only AIK player to have an overtly racist nickname in this era, as Gustaf Josefsson was referred to as “Niggnern” Josefsson. In the latter’s case, this apparently was because he had short curly hair. At the time, these patently racist monikers were not thought to be offensive and were widely utilized by both journalists and spectators.¹²

In the Swedish media, this tradition of racialized depictions of black athletes continued into the postwar era.¹³ Such expressions of racism have proved to be a recurring theme in Swedish sports journalism over the last several decades,¹⁴ and these racialized views have repeatedly also made themselves felt in relationship to *Allsvenskan’s* Africans and to other African footballers as well.¹⁵

The most blatant example of this type of racialized sports reporting was unquestionably when GAIS’ Tunisian forward, Samir Bakaou, was asked by *Göteborgs Tidningen* to pose for a photo while eating a banana with his foot resting on an empty box of Chiquita Bananas. The caption read “Bäst på Banan” (“Best on the track”). In Swedish, the caption was meant to be a clever play on words, since the names for a single banana and track are spelled the same way: banan. Hence not unlike the position that Pa Dembo Touray found himself during banana throwing incidents, Bakaou’s decision to eat the banana was in this instance plainly intended to counter this racialized treatment by making light of it.¹⁶

This illustration is instructive, for the intent here was presumably not to demean Bakaou, but the racialized implications of the photograph and caption are still unmistakable. For here, once again, bananas act as the link between Africans and monkeys, thereby symbolically underscoring the former’s “primitiveness” and inferiority.

Yet even when the racialized subtext is not as explicitly laid out, the basic problem is that any time a player of African descent’s race is highlighted by the media, this invariably risks accentuating the idea of genetic difference. This is true even in cases when this emphasis is meant to be a compliment. Such was the case, for example, when Umeå IF’s Ghanaian striker, Shamo Quaye, was approvingly referred to as “det svarta fyndet” (“the black discovery”).¹⁷

In the Swedish media, the allegedly unique biological characteristics of black athletes has, in fact, frequently been formulated in ostensibly positive terms.¹⁸ Another excellent example of this was *Expressen’s* headline “Svart Magi” (“Black Magic”) on October 14, 1993. The headline referred to the fact that the Swedish national team’s two biracial forwards, Martin Dahlin and Henrik Larsson, had scored all three goals when Sweden beat Finland to qualify for the 1994 World Cup in the United States.¹⁹ Indeed, the notion that black footballers possess some type of “magic” that their Caucasian teammates lack has been a consistent feature in European football reporting²⁰ (and this is a subject to which we will return).

As was already discussed in Chapter 5, one of the basic troubles with the idea of the “naturally gifted” black athlete is that this premise is routinely also accompanied by the tacit supposition that people of African heritage simultaneously lack discipline and mental fortitude. For this reason, the contention that black footballers are “naturally” gifted ultimately does not prove to be much of a compliment at all.²¹

British studies on this subject have shown that as the issue of racism has become more politically sensitive in recent years, the same stereotypes have effectively survived, though they are now articulated in less obvious ways because these days ethnic and racial differences are usually explained primarily in cultural rather than in crude biological terms.²² British press coverage of “ethnic immigrant clubs,” for example, still tends to

trade mostly in stereotypical characterizations that focus on the religious practices and/or other perceived forms of deviant behavior among the players and supporters of these teams.²³

The same observation can be made about Sweden as well. *Allsvenskan's* African footballers are arguably also often viewed through the gaze of unspoken Westernized, white normativity. The religious rituals of Muslim players is, for instance, a common leitmotif in many new stories about *Allsvenskan's* African imports²⁴—practices that would be of little interest if they were not considered abnormal. The best illustration of this sort of reporting is probably an article in *Aftonbladet* about AIK's striker Mohamed Bangura. The headline reads, "My stepmother was killed by voodoo," but when one actually reads the article, it turns out that though parts of Bangura's immediate family apparently believe in voodoo, he himself does not.²⁵ The headline is therefore misleading, and one might further ask what this information really adds to the reader's understanding of Bangura as a footballer? In reality not very much, and it seems to have only been thrown in due to its sheer entertainment value, to give the piece a more exotic and lurid slant.

Other illustrations of this type of sensationalist press coverage includes a story about how one of Öster IF's African players treated a leg injury by making an incision with a knife in order to quote unquote "let the bad blood out."²⁶ Needless to say, in Sweden this would not be considered standard treatment for this type of medical procedure, and this would presumably strike the average Swedish newspaper reader as crude. Along similar lines, an article about a group of Liberian footballers recounts how the chairman of Floda BoIF, Stig Johansson, had to explain to one of these players that in Sweden it is illegal to intentionally run over animals and even if one does so by mistake, one is obligated to report this to the police. According to the story, this was news to the bemused player, who was in the midst of butchering the deer that he had just hit with his car in Johansson's kitchen.²⁷ There was no real compelling reason to include this episode in the article, and whether this was by design or not, just like in the previous example, the reader is tacitly left with the impression that Africans are primitive and uncultured.

An equally unflattering picture of Africans usually emerges in stories dealing with the home countries of these imports—for these reports invariably center on the political turmoil and grinding poverty that some of these players left behind in Africa,²⁸ and this static portrait of the continent, in turn, reaffirms the negative image that many Swedes still have of Africa as a place that is unruly and impoverished. Yet this storyline cannot be applied to all African footballers, since many of them come from countries that are not only stable but also increasingly prosperous, like Ghana. This alternative narrative, however, never makes it into these accounts. In all likelihood, this is because this version just does not correspond with the preconceived (and often patronizing) Swedish idea of what life is like in Africa.

At times, the media's bias is fairly blatant. One of the historical European prejudices about Africans is of course that they are indolent, and this (at least unconsciously) appears to have informed *Expressen's* repeated questioning of Jones Kusi-Asare regarding his alleged laziness.²⁹ It is very difficult to conceive of a scenario in which *Expressen* would have stuck so aggressively to this line of questioning if it had involved an ethnically Swedish player instead. (Kusi-Asare is a Swedish national who grew up in Sweden but was born in Ghana.³⁰)

Another stereotype that has persisted in Europe about black footballers (regardless of nationality) is that they supposedly lack self-control and this absence of discipline, by extension, manifests itself in problems in their private lives. The British media in particular has been greatly preoccupied with this topic;³¹ but this tendency is undeniably

evident in Sweden as well,³² despite the fact that only less than 4 percent (3.8 percent) out of the 109 African imports that this study looked at had ever been convicted of a crime in Sweden.

This reality notwithstanding, these few episodes have received a disproportionate amount of attention in the Swedish media, leading to a distorted collective image of these imports. One player that has been subject to a lot of negative press coverage is the Liberian-born midfielder Dulee Johnson, who during the first decade of the twenty-first century seemingly became the poster boy for bad behavior in the Swedish elite game.³³ In many instances, Johnson's conduct has been merely juvenile rather than illegal, but regardless if his reputation was justified or not, it conforms to a familiar pattern in which people of non-Nordic origins are all too often associated in the Swedish media with crime and other forms of antisocial conduct.³⁴

And while it might be understandable that the Swedish media are likely to prominently feature any scandal involving a professional athlete, this nevertheless ends up having much more far-reaching consequences when it involves a foreign-born player from outside Western Europe. This is because in these cases it implicitly legitimizes damaging generalizations about all immigrants in a way that would never have occurred had the story been about an ethnically Swedish athlete.

Race and Football in the Eyes of Swedish Fans

Once these racialized portrayals pass from media to the general public, they are then consumed, renegotiated, and further sharpened on the terraces and in fan discussion boards on the Internet. There can be no doubt that these news stories influence how these players are viewed by the fans. For instance, immediately following Joseph Elanga's domestic violence conviction,³⁵ Djurgården's fans ridiculed Elanga by singing, "Slår sin fru inför sina barn. Bort med Elanga från fotbollsplan!" (He beats his wife in front of his kids. Away with Elanga from the football pitch!).³⁶ Another illustration of this was when IFK Göteborg's fans chanted, "Dulee has fucked a whore, and now he is going to jail" after the media reported that Dulee Johnson had been arrested and convicted of buying sex from a prostitute.³⁷

Among football supporters that appear to have explicitly racist views, these incidents have predictably also been employed as evidence of the purported lawlessness of all African and other non-Nordic immigrants.³⁸ Within this specific segment of fans, the criminality of the league's African footballers is systematically exaggerated,³⁹ and to people harboring such opinions, these news stories also supposedly confirm the moral, cultural, and genetic inferiority of these players.⁴⁰ As one anonymous blogger puts it, "Dulee Johnson is a living example of the old adage that you can take a Negro out of the jungle, but you can't take the jungle out of the Negro."⁴¹

In this context, rape has naturally proved to be a particularly explosive topic. As stated in Chapter 5, Yannick Bapupa and Michael Mensah were both convicted of rape in Sweden. Dulee Johnson was at one point also accused of the same offense, but he was eventually acquitted of this charge.⁴² In the aftermath of these three episodes, fan discussion boards were filled with racist vitriol. To give a few specific illustrations, reacting to Mensah's rape conviction, "rubadubroy," for instance, asserts, "Typical Negro, thinks only with his member. Ape-behavior."⁴³ A post by "Claire Redfield," meanwhile, insists, "after all, what can one expect, [Yannick] Bapupa is from the Congo, he is was only engaging in his country's national sport: rape."⁴⁴

Even though Mensah was actually convicted of raping his ex-wife (who was also from Ghana), the unspoken subtext was always the presumed danger that men of African descent pose to white, ethnically Swedish women.⁴⁵ For this reason, calls for these three players to be castrated were repeatedly heard in these discussions.⁴⁶ A post by “Jocke” referring to Bapupa, for example, reads, “castrate that Congolese and send him to hell. Fucking ‘darkies’ that rape Swedish women. I would be glad to take care of the castration myself.”⁴⁷

In light of Europeans’ historic anxieties about the purported sexual prowess and aggressiveness of black men that have their origins in the colonial era,⁴⁸ this reaction should not come as any shock. African immigrants testify that these fears are alive and well in contemporary Swedish society,⁴⁹ and they are definitely a consistent theme in these Internet debates.⁵⁰

What is most striking here is how closely the rhetoric on these fan discussion boards mimics that of the Swedish xenophobic right, which has long linked African immigrants to crime and to rape especially.⁵¹ In the just discussed cases, the calls for castration were also frequently accompanied by a demand that these players be deported from Sweden.⁵² Writing about Mensah, “gohomenow,” for instance, declares, “send that ‘hottentott’ back to Africa again, where he can play football with a coconut in the deep jungle.”⁵³ Indeed, the idea that any foreign-born person that is convicted of a crime should be expelled is a central pillar in Swedish far right propaganda.⁵⁴

Allsvenskan’s African imports have additionally been accused of taking jobs away from Swedes and also of defrauding the Swedish welfare state,⁵⁵ which are two other claims that the xenophobic right has routinely made in its anti-immigrant propaganda.⁵⁶ The discussion surrounding these players has therefore at times directly overlapped with the larger political debate regarding non-Nordic immigration.⁵⁷

This link was, for instance, made quite plain in relation to Yunus Ismail, the previously mentioned Somali-born footballer, who was still waiting for his permanent resident permit when he suffered a career-ending stroke before ever appearing in a single game for Örebro SK.⁵⁸ In the wake of his stroke, both the team and many local fans joined up to support him.⁵⁹ But even prior to this, lots of people in the Örebro region had already campaigned for his right to stay in Sweden,⁶⁰ and this effort only gained further momentum once Ismail fell ill.⁶¹

However, not everyone was so sympathetically inclined toward Ismail, with some fans opposing his asylum application on the grounds that “we Swedes” cannot afford to take care of everyone and to let him stay would only encourage “others like him” to come to Sweden.⁶² Besides, “Infidel” writes, “what does kicking a ball around really contribute to Sweden . . . The Negro should get out.”⁶³ These last remarks capture a common sentiment among domestic critics of Swedish immigration policy that non-Nordic immigrants have nothing of value to offer the country.⁶⁴

Still, as this last illustration demonstrates, public opinion on these types of issues is frequently divided, and these xenophobic views are not necessarily universally shared. Earlier in the book, we also established that the overtly racist attitudes of some supporters do not always go unopposed by their peers. Consequently, this raises the question of exactly how representative these kinds of racist opinions really are among Swedish football supporters. Since there does not exist any easy quantifiable method of measuring how widespread such racism is among fans, there is no way to definitively answer this question. (This is mostly because the participants in these sorts of discussions typically cannot be identified.) Nevertheless, looking at the Internet at least, there is good reason

to believe that the far right enjoys an exaggerated influence on many football-oriented discussion threads, where its ideas are regularly in evidence.

In other parts of Europe, EU studies show that racist football fans are very active on the Internet, and outside of the stadiums, the web is their main propaganda outlet.⁶⁵ This general observation indisputably pertains to Sweden as well. In the past decade, there has been rising concern about the disproportionate influence that the Swedish racist right enjoys in cyberspace. To xenophobic groups, the appeal of the Internet lies not only in that it is an effective and inexpensive vehicle for the dissemination of its political ideas but also in that it is also rooted in the relative safety of anonymity of the World Wide Web affords its users.⁶⁶ (The importance of such privacy should not be underestimated in a country like Sweden where self-declared racists are publicly shunned.)

In discussion threads and blogs that specifically deal with football, ethnicity, race, and nationality, the imprint of the racist right is quite obvious. For this reason, we should probably be careful not to interpret the blatant racism that is regularly found on football-related threads as a totally accurate reading of fan sentiments overall.

That having been said, there can be no doubt that more diffusely formulated racialized beliefs are still commonly held among many Swedish football supporters, and these ideas are by no means restricted to fans with explicitly racist views. It is clear that popular preconceptions about the racialized black body continue to enjoy wide currency among a lot of fans—and even among ones that otherwise ostensibly reject racism.

Similar to the media, Swedish football supporters habitually stress the speed and physical strength (as opposed to the intellect and tactical cunning) of these African imports,⁶⁷ and beliefs regarding the “natural” or “genetic” ability of black athletes appear to remain fairly prevalent among fans. To this day, race often continues to be the starting point for evaluating the performances of footballers of African descent—though this tendency admittedly was even more pronounced in late 1980s and early 1990s than it is now.

During the earlier so-called racist period, supporters of Djurgårdens IF, AIK, and Malmö FF all regularly celebrated the athletic prowess of their own black players by singing “ingen seger, utan neger” (No victory without a Negro⁶⁸). AIK’s supporter club, Black Army, also notably used to taunt their opponents by chanting “Ni har ingen neger! Ni har ingen neger!” (You don’t have a Negro! You don’t have a Negro!) after every time Pascal Simpson scored a goal.⁶⁹ While one is no longer likely to hear such chants from the terraces, a quick look at fan discussion boards on the Internet makes clear that these same racialized ideas have not yet been entirely eradicated among Swedish football supporters.⁷⁰

As was noted in Chapter 3, this racialized mind-set not only tacitly upholds the ideal of white normativity, thereby creating a matrix in which black footballers are viewed as deviating from the norm, but when such racialized praise is combined with open racist abuse of the opposing team’s black players, it also expresses itself in a perverse form of paternalism. Simply put, “our” black footballers are OK because they are “ours”—a point of view that essentially reduces the status of these players to that of a mascot or an adopted pet.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the physical attributes of *Allsvenskan*’s African imports were very much subject to a racialized gaze. Pa Dembo Touray, for example, was routinely mocked by opposing fans because of his size. Among other things, he was called a “steroid monster.”⁷¹ The “negroid” features of these players was likewise a topic of lively—if sarcastic—debate on various football-related discussion threads. In particular, the hair texture, lips, and rumored penis size of these imports

were favorite topics.⁷² To give the reader a sense of the nature and tone of these deliberations, a post by “Slaktar-Åke,” for instance, sardonically proclaims that “it is too bad that Kweku Turkson wasn’t wearing bicycle pants on AIK’s most recent team photo. Because now we can’t see his massive Negro-cock.”⁷³ In light of the earlier mentioned anxieties regarding black male sexuality, this sort of talk is probably to be expected, but it is still distressing.

These same racialized undercurrents have also been evident in many of the fans’ homages to *Allsvenskan*’s black footballers. Even when formulated in strictly positive terms, such tributes nearly always draw attention to the “blackness” and “otherness” of these imports. To provide a couple of concrete illustrations, one fan, for instance, describes Örebro’s Abdel Seidou as a “black steamroller.”⁷⁴ A tribute article about AIK’s Pascal Simpson, meanwhile, carries the headline “The Troublesome Togolese,” and although the author mentions in passing that Simpson was born in Togo, this fact is never further discussed.⁷⁵ So why then did the author choose this title for the article? The only reasonable conclusion that one can come to is that the writer attributes some unspoken significance to Simpson’s race and African origins (even though this cannot be proved to have had any impact whatsoever on the way Simpson played the game). Furthermore, as is true in this case, it is plain that, in many instances, fans do not regard this emphasis on race as anything derogatory.⁷⁶

Yet occasionally there is little question that these racialized statements are intended as an insult. A good example of this was when Hammarby IF’s supporters hung up a banner taunting Ibrahim Ba during one of their club’s derbies against Djurgårdens IF in the late summer of 2005. The banner read, “Å Han Ba. På Läktaren Ba. Skalar En Banan Ba.” (“Oh him Ba. On the Bench Ba. Peeling a Banana Ba.”)⁷⁷ Once more, the association between people of African descent and monkeys is thus specifically underlined. On an equally sinister note, around this same time, Hammarby IF’s fans had apparently mocked the club’s former (black) Brazilian striker Dedé Anderson by singing, “Dedé Anderson, he has his face painted today . . . he looks just like a chocolate bar.”⁷⁸

These sorts of racialized messages, however, are often just as likely to have a celebratory tone, at least in the public context of the stadium. This was, for instance, the case when Helsingborg IF’s fans in the fall of 1994 sang in tribute to their new Nigerian forward Michael Obiku, “Mike Obiku, svart med vita skor, Mike Obiku, Mike, Mike, Mike!” (Mike Obiku, black with white shoes, Mike Obiku, Mike, Mike, Mike!). Here, then, the allusion was not only to Obiku’s skin color but also to the fact that he wore black and white Adidas.⁷⁹

No player in *Allsvenskan* received as much of this type of racialized adulation as Samir Bakaou. During his six years with GAIS, the club’s fans came up with a number of more or less overtly racialized tributary songs about their Tunisian striker.⁸⁰ Among other things, the supporters sang (to the tune of Bob Dylan’s “Blowing in the Wind”), “Who has a negro on their team, that brings us [GAIS] from one victory to the next? The answer is easy, GAIS is number one, we beat the others, bloody easy!”⁸¹

Equally strikingly, Bakaou was referred to by both the fans and the press alike as “Svarta Pärlan” (the “Black Pearl”).⁸² Bakaou of course was not the first “Black Pearl” in European football, as many other black footballers had already previously been given this moniker, starting with Larbi Ben Barek and Eusébio da Silva Ferreira, up through Laurie Cunningham. As already implied, the subtext of these racialized nicknames is that footballers of African heritage possess a special kind of magic on the pitch that Caucasian players, on the other hand, lack. Consequently, the basic premise is that the latter bring an exotic and new dimension to the sport, further boosting the claim that

Africans have a more “instinctual” approach to the game. Historically these ideas have been customary in European sports,⁸³ so in this regard, Sweden is no exception.⁸⁴

Christos Kassimeris summarizes the traditional European attitude toward players of African descent in the following way: “The physique of black footballers, whether those playing their football for ‘us’ or ‘them’ has always been attributed to racialized features that either complement their physical qualities or designate their ‘natural’ shortcomings respectively. The black players that defend the values of ‘our club’ are, more often than not, portrayed in a much celebrated manner by bestowing them with nicknames emphasizing their athletic competence.”⁸⁵

In sum, then, these notions concerning the alleged “natural ability” and “exotic play” of black footballers consistently extenuate racial difference and by implication also black inferiority. This is because through endlessly invoking the stereotype of black physicality, these racialized tributes invariably negate the idea of black intellect and industriousness.⁸⁶

No less significantly, Kassimeris’s comments likewise illuminate that the acceptance of black footballers in Europe has all too often been conditional and contingent not only on performance but also on conformity to a set of idealized traits. Both the fans and media typically promote an idea of what attributes are valued in a good footballer (loyalty, grit, etc.) and to the extent that any player can live up to these expectations, he will, as a rule, also be embraced. What must be emphasized here is that the conditional acceptance of black footballers and/or foreign imports is not in itself a sign of progress or evidence of less racism, *per se*.⁸⁷

British research on this topic shows that such conditional acceptance or the existence of such racialized attributes do not necessarily exclude more explicit forms of racism, as all these seemingly divergent impulses can exist side by side.⁸⁸ In Sweden, the best example of this is a discussion thread entitled “AIK’s Negrer” (“AIK’s Negroes”). Purportedly this thread is intended as a tribute to all the club’s present (and former) black footballers. The thread’s authors further insist that they are not driven by any racist motives, adding that the word “neger” is only used in “the most loving way possible.”⁸⁹

These denials notwithstanding, the thread is unmistakably racist, through and through. For starters, most of AIK’s black footballers are sardonically dismissed as rubbish. Second, the thread is filled with overtly racist jokes along the lines of “Pa-Modou Kah is so black, that when he went to night school, he was marked absent.” Third, the physical characteristics of each player are given major—and exceedingly racialized—attention. Specifically, the skin color of each player is judged on a scale from “wannabe nigger” and “chocolate brown” to “blacker than coffee.” The discussion, finally, concludes with the assurance that “we [the authors] love the niggas! Ju svartare, desto bättre” (The blacker, the better).⁹⁰

Should there still be any lingering doubts about the authors’ racial preferences, the thread ends each new segment with the quote, “Man ska nicka som Dala Dahlkvist, man ska dribbla som Kurt Hamrin, man ska kämpa som Daniel Tjernström, och skjuta som Krister Nordin!” (One should head the ball like Dala Dahlkvist, one should dribble like Kurt Hamrin, one should fight like Daniel Tjernström, and shoot like Krister Nordin!)⁹¹ All these four players belong to the club’s pantheon of heroes and are of course Caucasian and ethnically Swedish. This implicitly sets a standard to which no foreigner and no person of color can ever hope to live up to.

This ideal is neither unique nor new, as a lot of Swedish football supporters have expressed—and continue to make clear—similar racial preferences. In the days when Djurgårdens IF, AIK, and Malmö FF’s supporters paid tribute to the supposed athletic

pro prowess of black players, like Steve Galloway, Pascal Simpson, and Martin Dahlin,⁹² IFK Göteborg's supporters conversely chanted, "Vi går till seger, utan neger!" (We go toward victory, without a Negro!).⁹³ Some of IFK Göteborg's more openly racist fans moreover still take pride in the fact that over the years the club has generally disavowed foreign imports, and their team is still the closest thing that one can come to an ethnically Swedish club.⁹⁴ However, a supporter complains that ever since the team signed its first black player in 1997 (the Ghanaian forward Emmanuel Tetteh), "things have gone down hill."⁹⁵

Given what has already been said in this chapter (and also in Chapters 3 and 4), it should surprise no one that in some circles there is still considerable indifference toward *Allsvenskan's* black footballers (foreign or not). For example, consider an online poll in which the forum participants were asked, Who will win the scoring title in *Allsvenskan* this year? Who will be the league's worst player? And who will have the biggest breakthrough this season? A post by "Jmb<3JP" simply responds, "some Negro" to all of the above questions.⁹⁶ Another fan similarly lets it be known that although he is happy that IFK Göteborg won its last game, he must try to suppress the reality that it was a "Negro" that scored the winning goal.⁹⁷ A third fan, meanwhile, simply determines that "there are just too many Negroes in Swedish football these days."⁹⁸

Yet even many unequivocally racist supporters concede that though they would obviously still prefer to see their team's lineup with an exclusively "Swedish" starting 11, this just is not possible anymore due to the global nature of today's football market. Owing to this reality, a lot of these fans appear to adopt a resigned view of the situation, concluding that after all "a goal is a goal, even if it is scored by a Negro."⁹⁹

Still, this is hardly a ringing endorsement, and fans with more or less blatantly racist views also tend to be hostile to the importation of any footballers from the global south. An entry by "Nemesisdivina," for instance, protests, "Why do Swedish clubs have to recruit these Kaffirs? Are there no talented Swedish footballers any more?"¹⁰⁰ In this same vein, a post by "2673a" declares, "I have never understood why we must import these 'bongo-bongo' players from the deep jungles of Africa. Don't we have football players from places closer to us?"¹⁰¹ Among this subgroup of supporters, a few even see a conspiratorial angle in this development, claiming that the recruitment of African and other foreign footballers is intended to create feelings of admiration among Swedes for nonwhite peoples, and this is just part of a larger scheme to generate support for multiculturalism at large.¹⁰²

Football fans that appear to harbor openly racist attitudes, furthermore, attribute the declining quality of the league to the intensified recruitment of non-European players.¹⁰³ In their eyes, *Allsvenskan* would be better off without these imports.¹⁰⁴ This point of view was forcefully articulated in a post by "Agent O," who vehemently objects to the recruitment of "these rubbish players from various jungle colonies," adding that "less than 1 per cent of them are worth keeping."¹⁰⁵ Among this group of fans, some additionally proclaim that they no longer follow *Allsvenskan* due to the heightened importation of footballers from the global south, and still others state that in light of this turn of events, they can no longer "with a good conscience" support their childhood clubs.¹⁰⁶

That people with ostensibly white supremacist views would oppose the recruitment of non-European players is not terribly astonishing, and other Swedish football supporters do tend to have a more nuanced take on this issue. A few, in fact, vigorously defend this importation,¹⁰⁷ not least on economic grounds, arguing that these foreign footballers are a sound economic investment for the clubs.¹⁰⁸

While there is no way of accurately assessing what group of fans is actually in the majority, judging from the posts that can be culled from various fan websites, it is at least fair to say that as of the first decade of the twenty-first century, a lot of Swedish football supporters still maintained a rather skeptical attitude about signing players from outside of Europe, and this was also true of a number of fans that otherwise did not show any outward signs of entertaining explicitly racist opinions.¹⁰⁹ Even among the latter category of supporters, many clearly wanted to see an end to the recruitment of players from the global south.¹¹⁰

This is partially explained by the fact that quite a few fans seem to think that the bulk of these imports are of subpar quality. As one AIK fan blog puts it, “in the last decade the club [AIK] has seen a rising number of foreigners. Some have left a positive memory, but most we would probably rather forget.”¹¹¹ And in these kinds of discussions, African players are almost invariably singled out for particularly bitter criticism.

Indeed, whenever fans debated the topic of who was the league’s worst foreign player, African imports such as Toni Nhelko, Aluspah Brewah, Emmanuel Tetteh, Samuel Barley, Mamadou Diallo, Kabba Samura, Raoul Kouakou, Kwame Quansah, and Pa Dembo Touray normally topped the nominations. What is especially instructive is how few Europeans—and even fewer Caucasians—are ever considered during these deliberations. In fan discussions about *Allsvenskan*’s least talented foreign imports, white Europeans are normally only represented by nameless “videojuggar.” (This last term, which might roughly be translated as “DVD recruits,” is a derogatory way of referring to players from former Yugoslavia that were signed unseen by some Swedish clubs in the early 1990s.¹¹²)

Black footballers from other parts of Scandinavia and Europe, such as Pa Modou Kah and Ibrahim Ba, however, are a different matter, as they too tend to be prominently featured in these debates. The same point can also be made about the black Brazilian national, Thiago Quirino da Silva, who failed to live up to the fans’ expectations during his brief stint with Djurgårdens IF. In these discussions, “Quirino” (as he was known in Sweden) is repeatedly cited as the prime example of the “underachieving foreigner.”¹¹³ All this seemingly supports the argument that black players are still routinely held to a different standard than their Caucasian teammates.

With this mind, it is maybe also to be expected that black footballers (of all nationalities) are also disproportionately overrepresented in fan conversations about the league’s worst players overall. On this list, African imports like Tony Nhelko, Nathan Paulse, Aluspah Brewah, Samuel Ayorinde, Kwame Quansah, and Pa Dembo Touray are once again prominently featured, but in this category, a large number of Swedish players of African descent, such as José Monteiro, Yosif Ayuba, Benjamin Kibebe, Patrick Manzila, Klebèr Saarenpää, and Kebba Ceesay are also included.¹¹⁴ Now the reality that players with “funny sounding” foreign last names tend to top these lists has not escaped everyone’s attention, and some fans have rightly pointed to the xenophobic undercurrent in these debates.¹¹⁵

Here again it is hard to gauge exactly how prevalent these kinds of prejudices are among Swedish football supporters, but at a minimum, it is clear that many fans would prefer that their teams rely primarily on homegrown talent.¹¹⁶ This mind-set was well exemplified in October 2008 when <http://www.svenskafans.com> (the country’s leading website for football fans) asked 14 of its regular contributors (one representing each team) whether they would like to see their teams recruit nationally or internationally. Out of these 14, 11 categorically declared that they wanted their clubs to prioritize local signings over foreign ones.¹¹⁷ Such preferences aside, the fans simultaneously acknowledge

that for financial reasons, the importation of foreign players is not likely to stop, so the best one can hope for now is simply to minimize one's dependence on such imports.¹¹⁸

The Swedish Press's Evaluation of *Allsvenskan's* African Imports

Given what has already been said about the media's influence on the fans, it is no wonder that likeminded sentiments have also often been heard from the press. This is not to suggest that the Swedish media has taken a universally negative view of these players, because, like the fans, the press has repeatedly paid tribute to the individual ability of some of these imports. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the inspired play of footballers such as Yaw Preko,¹¹⁹ Peter Ijeh,¹²⁰ Derek Boateng,¹²¹ Richard Kingson,¹²² Razak Omotoyossi,¹²³ Isaac Chansa,¹²⁴ Yussif Chibsah,¹²⁵ Dominic Chatto,¹²⁶ Patrick Osiako,¹²⁷ John Chibuikwe,¹²⁸ and Mohamed Bangura¹²⁹ has been celebrated in the sports pages. This, however, does not change the reality that the national press in Sweden (save for the conservative daily *Svenska Dagbladet*) has generally signaled its disapproval of this importation.¹³⁰ According to the country's two largest newspapers, *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*, this is largely because the bulk of these imports have been mediocre at best. Hence in the eyes of these two papers, foreign footballers have so far added little quality to the Swedish top division.¹³¹

In 2006 *Aftonbladet* systematically ranked all the 233 foreign imports that had played in *Allsvenskan* between 1996 and 2005. This was done according to a five-point scale, with five being the highest score and one the lowest. Out of these 233 players, only one (Brazilian Alfonso Alves) received a five. An additional seven foreigners were awarded the next highest score (a four), and another 38 were given a three, which was considered satisfactory. This means out of the total group of 233, only 46 of these imports received a passing (or better) grade.¹³²

Dagens Nyheter subsequently presented its own investigation on this topic, which looked at the 110 foreigners that had appeared in *Allsvenskan* during the 2009 season. The paper determined that out of these 110 imports, only 11 were of "high class." Another 30 were, in contrast, classified as "supplementary players," and the remainder were considered either "a questionable investment" or "poor."¹³³ Both of these overviews consequently came to the same conclusion—namely, that the majority of *Allsvenskan's* foreign imports were of inferior quality.

If we now take a more detailed look at how these two investigations specifically evaluated the league's African imports, an equally damning picture emerges. Out of the 233 players that *Aftonbladet* examined, 42 of them were African nationals. None of these 42 received a top rating of either a five or a four, and only 8 were ultimately awarded a passing grade. Of the other 34, 15 were considered below average, and the last 18 were judged to be inadequate.¹³⁴ Likewise in *Dagens Nyheter's* ranking of the league's 20 Africans in 2009, none was given the highest possible grade, and only one (Ghanaian Yussif Chibsah) was considered to be of "high quality." According to *Dagens Nyheter*, out of the remaining 19 Africans, 10 were "supplementary players," and the final 9 were deemed to be either "a questionable investment" or "poor."¹³⁵

The total picture that comes out of these two surveys conforms to a larger pattern in which African players have systematically been undervalued in the national press. To provide a specific illustration, midway through the 2007 season, *Aftonbladet* ranked all the players in the top Swedish division, and it notably concluded that Nigerian Edward Ofere was one of *Allsvenskan's* absolutely worst footballers. The paper furthermore

deemed Ghanaian Richard Kingson to be only the ninth best goalkeeper in the league.¹³⁶ Ofere of course later transferred to *Serie A*, while Kingson soon thereafter moved to the English Premier League (which one might add cannot be said for any of the other eight goalkeepers that *Aftonbladet* had placed ahead him on the list).

Similarly in its earlier discussed survey of 233 imports, *Aftonbladet* curiously deemed players such as Shamo Quaye, Garba Laval, and Derek Boateng to be of only marginal value.¹³⁷ *Dagens Nyheter* meanwhile apparently considered well-established footballers like Dulee Johnson, Richard Ekunde, Reuben Ayarna, René Makondele, Dominic Chatto, John Chibuike, and Abiola Dauda (as well as Edward Ofere) to be little more than supplementary players. In this same survey, the paper additionally dismissed Pa Dembo Touray, Adama Tamboura, Isaac Chansa, and Jimmy Dixon as being substandard.¹³⁸ These assessments are ill at odds with many of these same players' demonstrated value on both the Swedish and European transfer markets, casting doubt on the Swedish media's ability to rate objectively these imports.

With the benefit of hindsight it is of course easy to be critical of the press' (mis)judgments, but the latter's overly negative view of these imports is nonetheless unwarranted. This patent bias can only be accounted for by the persistence of submerged nationalist sentiments that on occasion border on being openly xenophobic. There is a tradition in the European sports media not only of fortifying racial and ethnic stereotypes but also of providing a public platform for aggressive jingoism;¹³⁹ and this tendency thus appears to be in evidence the Swedish press too.

The Debate about the Importation of Foreign Footballers

When such nationalism is combined with a powerful antiracist pathos, this can produce rather contradictory results. In Sweden, the sports section in *Aftonbladet* is probably the best example of such schizophrenia. As was noted in Chapter 4, the paper has distinguished itself by taking a firm stand against racism on the terraces, but it has concomitantly adopted a largely hostile attitude toward the importation of players from outside of Scandinavia.¹⁴⁰ Though the paper has not been totally consistent in this regard,¹⁴¹ it has, for the most part, assumed a nationalistic standpoint on this issue.

This point of view was, for instance, well illustrated by the paper's reaction to the EU ruling that the French Basketball Association could not legally keep Polish players out of the French league. *Aftonbladet* predicted that this would have ominous consequences for Swedish sports and it would potentially open *Allsvenskan* up to more foreign imports. The paper referred to this a "horrific scenario" that could allow "Djurgårdens IF to field eleven Congolese players, and Örgryte IS eleven Zambians."¹⁴² The racial subtext of this argument did not pass unnoticed, and in an open letter to *Expressen*, the former Swedish international Pontus Kåmark accused *Aftonbladet* of racism, pure and simple. In his response, Kåmark attacked *Aftonbladet* for being small minded and for failing to recognize the contributions of the league's African imports.¹⁴³ In hindsight, it is difficult to not agree with much of Kåmark's criticism, given that the racial implications of the article could not have been more blatant. The paper could just as well have pointed to the hypothetical danger of having 11 Czechs, Estonians, or Hungarians in Djurgården's starting lineup but instead opted to cite a scenario involving Africans.

On occasion, *Aftonbladet's* nationalistic perspective has been forcefully articulated. In an article from April 2004, for example, one of the paper's main sports columnists, Simon Bank, maintained that sports are by their very nature a patriotic endeavor, and

this is particularly so for football. More than anything else, Bank was concerned that the rising importation of foreign players would deny young Swedish players a chance to break into *Allsvenskan*, and in his opinion, this was sure to have inauspicious consequences for the Swedish national team in the long run.¹⁴⁴

Bank's views on this subject were by no means unique, and at the time, they enjoyed considerable support within the Swedish elite game. In Sweden there has never been calls for this importation to be completely halted but only for it to be limited to so-called quality imports.¹⁴⁵ Now initially the intensified importation of foreign players did not create undue anxiety,¹⁴⁶ but this changed midway through the 2000s as the number of imports continued to rise.¹⁴⁷

Consequently, this is a relatively recent topic of debate in Sweden. As was stated in Chapter 2, up until the early 1970s, no foreign nationals were permitted to compete in the top Swedish division. But in 1973 a new quota system was finally introduced, which allowed each team to have as many as three foreign imports on their roster. This practice remained in place until the Bosman ruling in 1995, which opened the Swedish elite game up to all EU citizens. These restrictions were further loosened a decade later in conjunction with the passing of the "Cotonou Agreement" in 2007, which also made it easier for some non-EU citizens (including many Africans) to enter the league. Thereafter, the citizenship criterion was totally dropped. At the present, each club must still have a minimum number of "homegrown" players on their squad, though by European standards, Sweden has adopted relatively permissive standards in regard to this question.¹⁴⁸

Again the original impetus behind these protective measures was always to protect the well-being of the national team by giving younger indigenous players priority in *Allsvenskan*. Most European countries have, at one time or another, had the same type of rules,¹⁴⁹ and the Swedish debate over this issue is very reminiscent of the one that has taken place (and still continues to take place) in many other parts of the continent.¹⁵⁰

In Sweden, spokespersons for the National Football Federation objected to the increased recruitment of foreign players for two basically interrelated reasons. Like a lot of sports journalists, people tied to SvFF were concerned that the swelling number of imports was preventing young Swedish players from breaking into *Allsvenskan*.¹⁵¹ Such anxieties were particularly acute in relation to forwards, since foreigners are disproportionately recruited to this position.¹⁵²

During the late 2000s, a few retired players also articulated fears to this effect, stating that too many mediocre imports were taking roster spots away from Swedes.¹⁵³ Not surprisingly, many younger Swedish footballers likewise felt that the rise in foreign imports had undermined their own prospects of ever making it in the domestic elite game.¹⁵⁴ In a 2008 survey of 140 players (born 1987 or later), 50 percent of the respondents believed that the intensified recruitment of foreigners was an impediment to their own career aspirations. (In contrast, only 23 percent saw this as a positive development.¹⁵⁵)

Among Swedish professional footballers, however, there was not necessarily a consensus on this question, as many of the league's older veterans did not appear to fret about the prospect of increased foreign competition.¹⁵⁶ The latter's seemingly tolerant approach to this issue was likely informed by their own experiences of having personally been in the opposite position earlier in their careers when playing abroad themselves. Yet in spite of this internal difference of opinion among the players, it is still probably fair to say that, taken as a whole, Swedish footballers have been less resistant to such importation than many of their European counterparts.¹⁵⁷ Though the Swedish Players

Union has expressed concern about this development, it has never formally opposed this importation,¹⁵⁸ as had occurred previously in England, for example.¹⁵⁹

Among Swedish coaches and club officials, there was no real unanimity on this question either. When asked about this subject by reporters, the clubs typically paid lip service to the idea that they too were obliged to look out for the long-term interests of the Swedish national team by focusing on domestic player development first and foremost.¹⁶⁰ Spokespersons for the clubs further insisted that prioritizing their own youth players over imports was also crucial because should their teams become “too foreign,” this would risk alienating potential sponsors and fans.¹⁶¹ These same misgivings have repeatedly also been heard from other members of the Swedish football establishment¹⁶² (as well as from *Aftonbladet*).¹⁶³

Still, when push came to shove, most clubs ultimately objected to placing any formal restrictions on the importation of foreign players. In large part, this is because most coaches appeared to take a pragmatic view of this situation, wanting the best squad possible no matter what nationality was stamped on their players’ passports.¹⁶⁴

In the end, it was the clubs that seized upon new EU directives to overturn the old restrictions on foreign players. More specifically, it was Helsingborgs IF’s challenge to the Swedish Football Federation over the Cotonou Agreement in 2007 that served as the death knell for the earlier quota system. This was driven by Helsingborg’s desire to utilize all its Africans at one time,¹⁶⁵ and the fact that the debate surrounding this agreement was about this group of imports in particular also ensured its strong racial undercurrent.

Moreover, it was in conjunction with these events that the public discussion over the importation of foreign players reached its climax in Sweden. As was noted in Chapter 2, the Swedish Football Federation had at first strenuously opposed Helsingborg’s effort to dismantle the earlier quota system, but in the long run, SvFF was forced to give in (though it in principal continued to object to this change).¹⁶⁶

Helsingborg IF defended its challenge to the old rules on the grounds that if it hoped to compete in Europe, then the club could not afford to rely exclusively on Swedish-raised players. Besides, the club spokespersons argued, opening the league up to more foreign imports would only be good for the clubs, as this would generate more internal competition for each roster spot.¹⁶⁷ This view certainly found support in some quarters¹⁶⁸ and not least among the team’s own fans, who generally backed the club’s attempt to overthrow the quota system.¹⁶⁹

In fact, during an away game against IF Elfsborg, the club’s supporters conspicuously put up a banner that read, “Rosa Parks sat in the front of the bus. Martin Luther King gave his life. Olivier Karekezi just wanted to play football. What do you want, [Lars-Åke] Lagrell?”¹⁷⁰ (Considering the neo-Nazi reputation of some of the team’s followers in these years, it is highly ironic that the club’s fans choose to cite Parks and MLK to justify Helsingborgs IF’s efforts to buck the status quo. In fact, in this same period, some of the club’s fans were also known to sing tributes to Jackie Arklöv—a convicted police killer and infamous Swedish neo-Nazi of *African descent!*)¹⁷¹

Among the other clubs, the opinions were—at least initially—pretty evenly split between those who endorsed these changes and those who opposed them.¹⁷² While AIK, IFK Göteborg, Malmö FF, and Kalmar FF assumed a neutral stance on this question, Djurgårdens IF, Gefle IF, IF Elfsborg, and Hammarby IF instead offered cautious support for Helsingborg IF’s position. In contrast, Halmstad BK, GAIS, Örebro SK, Trelleborgs FF, and IF Brommapojkarna all conversely rejected any revisions of the preexisting rules, insisting that was a bad future omen for young Swedish players.¹⁷³ Yet

after the fact, none of the clubs actively sought to contest these reforms, and most of them quickly realigned their recruitment strategies to conform to these new guidelines.

The Swedish press was also divided in its reaction to the Cotonou Agreement. *Svenska Dagbladet* markedly accused SvFF of overstating the danger that these revisions posed to Swedish football, asserting that heightened competition would only aid the development of younger Swedish players.¹⁷⁴ This outlook is consistent with the paper's previously stated opposition to any restrictions on the importation of foreign footballers,¹⁷⁵ and it additionally corresponds to the free trade position that most conservatives normally take in relation to economic questions. (As a rule, Swedish conservatives favor increased economic liberalization and competition.)

Aftonbladet predictably took the opposite tack, immediately adopting a more alarmist tone. Above all, the paper highlighted the negative repercussions that the Cotonou Agreement was likely to have for indigenous Swedish players and warned that these reforms would surely harm the national team.¹⁷⁶ This line of argumentation therefore basically reiterated the stance of the Swedish Football Federation,¹⁷⁷ though it was simultaneously in line with the standpoint that *Aftonbladet* had consistently taken on this issue up to this point.

At the time, identical complaints were likewise seconded by a handful of other media commentators,¹⁷⁸ as well as by many ordinary football supporters (including some of Helsingborg's own fans).¹⁷⁹ In this case, too, worries about the development of young Swedish players and the future prosperity of the national team tended to top the list of concerns,¹⁸⁰ and even prior to this, such fears had repeatedly been expressed in various fan forums on the Internet.¹⁸¹

A few fans added that it would frankly be difficult for them to identify with a team that was composed mostly of Africans.¹⁸² As one football supporter writing under the pseudonym "taags" put it, "When is Helsingborgs IF going to rename itself the Africa Athletic Association? Soon they will not have any Swedes left. I hope the team ends up so far down in the league table that this shows that it's not worth bringing in a bunch of Africans."¹⁸³

In response to these objections, some fans countered that this potential scenario in itself guaranteed that no club would totally fill up with foreigners, because should this happen, it would antagonize the supporters of these teams.¹⁸⁴ Still other fans essentially agreed with the position taken by *Svenska Dagbladet* that increased competition is good,¹⁸⁵ and they also accused SvFF of exaggerating the possibility of the league being overrun by foreigners. In the latter's eyes, the Swedish Football Federation was unfairly using Africans as a bogeyman in the debate about the perceived weaknesses of the Swedish national team.¹⁸⁶

Those supporters that defended these changes further argued that, if anything, the heightened importation of foreign players was actually helping to raise the quality of *Allsvenskan*, noting that without these imports the league would have been in even worse shape.¹⁸⁷ To these fans, it did not matter what countries the players came from, only that their clubs fielded the best possible lineups.¹⁸⁸

A few supporters finally also felt that there was an ugly xenophobic dimension to SvFF's opposition to the Cotonou Agreement. They pointedly asked why African imports were considered more of a threat to young Swedish players than either Finnish or Danish ones.¹⁸⁹ From the perspective of this set of fans, there was an unfair double standard at work that was both prejudiced and discriminatory.¹⁹⁰ A post by "Hankie," for example, completely rejects the notion that these imports are endangering the careers of

young Swedish players, adding that this argument is no different from the one that one might hear from the Swedish Democrats that foreigners are stealing jobs from Swedes.¹⁹¹

Indeed, as the content of this last post suggests, the discussion that was sparked by the Cotonou Agreement in some crucial respects dovetailed with the larger societal debate about immigration. As just stated, the most striking parallel is the claim that foreigners are taking jobs away from the native-born population and that their presence furthermore is a direct threat to the country's cultural traditions and long-term interests—in this instance, as embodied by the Swedish national team.

The overarching logic of this sort of argument, however, has several serious flaws. To begin with, there is no tangible proof that the rising importation of foreign players has actually harmed the performance of the Swedish national team. In addition, this nationalistic point of view fails to recognize what these imports (like the nation's other new immigrant groups) could potentially offer Sweden. A good illustration of this was when quality players such as Peter Ijeh and Joseph Elanga both expressed interest in representing Sweden internationally. Now given that the national teams of several other European states have already benefited from the inclusion of naturalized players from the global south, there is little reason to believe that this cannot happen in Sweden as well.

These sorts of essentially xenophobic objections moreover willfully ignore the reality that a number of foreign-born players have already bolstered the strength of the Swedish national team, representing Sweden at both at the senior and at the under-21 level. This includes a handful of African-born players like Pascal Simpson, Benjamin Kibebe, Samuel Wowoah, and Jones Kusi-Asare. Such immigration and/or importation alike could therefore just as legitimately be viewed as a source of potential strength for Swedish football, rather than as a detriment.

An added irony here is that in the very same breath that representatives from the Swedish Football Federation complain about the dangers of this “foreign invasion,” they also stress how imperative it is for Swedish players to get international experience by competing in one of the better European leagues¹⁹²—seemingly forgetting that the main reason that there are so many foreign imports in *Allsvenskan* in the first place is exactly because of the need to fill the vacancies left by departing Swedish-raised talent for other parts of Europe.¹⁹³ In 2008, for example, there were 102 foreign imports in the top Swedish division, while some 112 Swedish footballers were playing abroad.¹⁹⁴ These figures thus match each other almost exactly, highlighting the continued need for this importation.

Similarly, the assertion that the intensified recruitment of foreign footballers might alienate *Allsvenskan's* core supporters and corporate sponsors passively surrenders to such latent xenophobic sentiments, rather than trying to actively challenge them. One could conceivably make a case that SvFF and the league should instead work harder to channel public opinion in a more tolerant and inclusive direction.

Still, the most disquieting aspect of the debate surrounding the Cotonou Agreement was its obvious, if unspoken, racial dimension. Whenever the topic of player importation was discussed in Sweden, it always implicitly focused on players from the global south and notably not on imports from one of the other four Nordic countries, which historically have always represented the largest group of non-Swedish players in *Allsvenskan*.

The racial subtext of this discussion becomes even clearer one compares it to the debate about foreign coaches in *Allsvenskan*—or, more precisely, the complete absence of such a debate. Swedish clubs began importing foreign managers during the interwar era, principally from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.¹⁹⁵ However, since the end of World War II, the most well-known foreign coaches in the Swedish elite game

have usually been British, and among this group, Roy Hodgson is undoubtedly the most famous. Hodgson first coached Örebro from 1983 to 1985 and then Malmö FF from 1985 to 1990.¹⁹⁶ After holding several other coaching positions in Europe and the Middle East, he would eventually go on to lead Fulham, Liverpool, and West Bromwich Albion before taking over as the manager for the English national team in 2012. Also in the past decade, there have been a number of head coaches from the neighboring Nordic countries in the top Swedish division.

But in contrast to the controversy that has been associated with the importation of players from outside of Sweden, there has been no similar debate about the recruitment of foreign managers, which begs the question, why? In part this might be rooted in the fact that this practice has a much longer history in Sweden, and it likely also has to do with the fact that the recruitment of foreign managers has never occurred on same scale as the signing of foreign footballers. Though here it should be said that, percentage-wise, the difference has actually not always been that large. If we once again look at 2008, for instance, in that particular season, 28 percent of *Allsvenskan's* players had foreign passports, whereas the corresponding figure for head coaches was 25 percent,¹⁹⁷ which is a significant portion too.

In light of these realities, it is hard not to conclude that the only reason that this latter subject has not elicited as much attention is because these coaches have arrived from elsewhere in Western Europe. In fact, most of them currently come one of the other Scandinavian states and certainly none of them has arrived from the “global south.” Moreover, with the exception of the former Djurgården forward Steve Galloway (who briefly returned to the club as an assistant coach in 2009),¹⁹⁸ all these other foreign-born managers have also been Caucasian.

Hence in this respect, this discussion (or the lack thereof) closely corresponds to a larger debate about immigration in Sweden, which in effect these days is almost exclusively focused on non-European immigrants, whereas skilled professionals from other parts of the industrialized West are generally excluded from this conversation.¹⁹⁹ This *de facto* division, in turn, indicates that the racial hierarchy that was established during the earlier colonial era has survived pretty much intact, as some groups of people are still simply more valued than others.²⁰⁰

This same basic pattern can be seen in all of Western Europe today,²⁰¹ and in Sweden, like elsewhere on the continent,²⁰² the discussion regarding immigrants and refugees from outside of Europe is still framed mostly in negative terms. As it stands, the latter are all too often dismissed as an unwelcome necessity—and at worst as a burden on Swedish society.²⁰³ In this way, the idea that *Allsvenskan's* African imports are mostly of dubious quality with little positive to contribute to the league both directly buttresses and coincides with the basic premise that non-European immigrants are more or less undesirable. This idea, then, is not solely exclusive to the racist right, and it further illuminates the manner in which racism in Swedish football and society are mutually reinforcing.

So while it might be true that, by European standards, Swedes have a comparatively positive attitude toward immigrants,²⁰⁴ this outlook nevertheless has real limits. In relation to *Allsvenskan* at least, there is precious little evidence that (as of the end of the 2010 season) the average football supporter viewed the league as a successful model of multi-racialism (and/or multiculturalism) for the rest of Swedish society to emulate.²⁰⁵ Rather, during the first decade of the twenty-first century, the arrival of footballers from the global south was often met with considerable indifference, as a lot of fans still signaled

they would prefer to see their teams remain chiefly made up of domestically reared players—if not even ethnically Swedish ones.

Countercosmopolitanism in Swedish Football

On account of the aggressive nationalism that has characteristically been associated with European football, it would perhaps be naïve to expect the Swedish game to be free of these same tendencies. Swedish football culture also has a tradition of being a repository for popular forms of xenophobia, and the enhanced diversity and globalization of the sport in recent years has not inexorably erased this legacy—quite to the contrary.

A number of European studies on this topic demonstrate that the intensified globalization of the game has not eliminated local peculiarisms per se, for in many cases it has actually acted to invigorate them.²⁰⁶ As I, and others, have argued elsewhere, this turn of events is detectable in Sweden as well. In the face of greater integration into the EU, the escalating pace of globalization, and rising immigration from outside of Europe, many Swedish football supporters have reacted by retreating into increasingly localized identities.²⁰⁷ Swedish scholarship on this topic suggests that the more cosmopolitan the starting lineups have become in composition, the more the fans have asserted their own local and regional peculiarisms in an effort to compensate for the onset of these international influences.²⁰⁸

In Sweden, Helsingborgs IF probably offers the best illustration of these conflicting tendencies. Midway through the 2000s, no other Swedish club employed as many Africans as Helsingborgs IF, yet at the time, the team was also said to have had the largest following of neo-Nazis. This confluence of events consequently underlines that there does not necessarily exist a direct correlation between heightened diversity on the field, on one hand, and greater racial tolerance in stands, on the other. The truth is that these two phenomena can easily coexist, and one could point to numerous other examples of this in contemporary European football.²⁰⁹

So rather than delegitimizing racism, as some scholars have recently insisted,²¹⁰ the progressively cosmopolitan makeup of the European game only appears to have superficially masked many older prejudices. To be sure, in a lot instances, such bigotry may well have become less outwardly visible, but without ever being fully eradicated. Looking at the experience of players of African descent in *Allsvenskan*, it is clear that while manifestations of overt racism may have become less common in the last decade and a half, this has not automatically stamped out other less obvious and more entrenched forms of prejudice. As this book has demonstrated, institutionalized discrimination and the persistence of deeply held racialized beliefs both remain serious problems at all levels of Swedish football.

In this context, it is additionally imperative to emphasize that the fans' embrace of individual African footballers does not equate into approval for *all* Africans. Just because a person has a poster of their favorite Cameroonian striker on the wall does not necessarily mean that they want to live next door to an African family. And even if we were to accept the premise that tolerance (in our case toward Africans) can be disseminated in this way by positive association, this would still not make our hypothetical football supporter immune from harboring prejudices toward other ethnic, racial, or religious groups—for in Sweden, this is demonstrably not always so.

If we look at the fans of Djurgårdens IF, for example, although the latter have ostensibly embraced the team's new African players, it is equally manifest that some of these

same fans continue to entertain more or less openly prejudiced attitudes toward other minority groups. The persistence of such sentiments came into full view in early November 2009 when some of the club's followers hurled racist insults toward Assyriska FF and its supporters. (This incident received a lot of attention at the time because the match ended with a pitch invasion, at which time a couple of Assyriska players were also physically assaulted.²¹¹) This particular animosity has a long history, and there has been a well-documented tradition of overt racism on the part of Djurgården's fans whenever these two teams face each other.²¹²

The continuance of these kinds of bigoted attitudes were arguably also on display in video posted on YouTube in the spring of 2008, which shows a busload of Djurgården's supporters singing, "Don't think that you're Swedish, just because you received asylum." This song used to be heard with some regularity in the past, and its lyrics discuss the killing of "Svartskallar" ("black heads") and culminates with the exclamation "Sieg Heil!"²¹³ When this tune is sung these days, it is presumably meant to be a bit "tongue and cheek," but this type of behavior is still not very reassuring and definitely does not testify to a newfound tolerance on the part of at least some of the club's fans.²¹⁴ More to the point, all this accentuates that the acceptance of individual foreign and/or minority players is not automatically transferable to other racial or ethnic minorities.

Taken together, these findings thus raise questions about the integrative value of football, and this will also be the main focus of the next and final chapter. Specifically the conclusion discusses and expands upon many of the same themes that have been explored in this chapter, though we will now turn our attention toward the Swedish national team. Above all, it investigates whether the addition of players with non-Nordic origins, such as Henrik Larsson and Zlatan Ibrahimović, has opened the door to a more inclusive concept of Swedish national identity. Finally, this chapter also asks to what extent the team actually serves as a unifying symbol for the new diverse and multicultural Sweden.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

Football, Integration, and National Identity

As the twenty-first century enters its second decade, there is little disagreement that overt expressions of racism have become less frequent in the Swedish elite game; this, in turn, has led many Swedes to conclude that this issue has now been effectively resolved.¹ Though beliefs to this effect are not unique in Europe,² in the Swedish case, they are however also rooted in a larger pattern of denial about how entrenched racism actually is in society at large.³

What people really mean when they say that racism has vanished from the game is that racial chanting and so on has disappeared from the terraces. While it is certainly true that Swedish supporter culture has more or less been de-Nazified in recent years, this interpretation is nevertheless a bit shortsighted.

This is not to say that the decline in organized fan racism at the elite level has not had some tangible benefits. To begin with, it is undoubtedly a sign of genuine progress that it is no longer socially acceptable to vocalize racial hatred in this sort of public setting. This is an improvement in that there does undeniably exist a relationship between how people are referred to and how they are treated, for it is difficult to regard racial and ethnic minorities in a more positive light so long as the members of the dominant host society continue to speak of the latter in an blatantly pejorative way.⁴ A change in rhetoric is therefore an essential precondition for the construction of a more tolerant society, so this in itself represents a significant milestone. This shift has also resulted in a less hostile work environment for black professional footballers in Sweden, which by extension has made it safer for both retired and current players to speak out against incidents of racial bias when they still occur.⁵

These are vital steps to be sure, but the reduction of overt displays of prejudice in the stands does not necessarily signify that racism as such has been eradicated from the sport. In fact, in some ways, this development may even be detrimental in that it has created a false sense of complacency that this situation has now been totally remedied.

Moreover, is equally debatable whether the absence of monkey noises and so on really constitutes a state of newfound tolerance. One possible interpretation of why the abuse of black footballers has lessened since the early 1990s is simply because in the intervening period, the thrust of Swedish xenophobia has swung away from race toward

culture and religion. Above all, it has been redirected against Muslims, and since Swedish football supporters generally do not appear to associate *Allsvenskan's* Africans with Islam, the terraces seemingly do not provide a suitable platform for the articulation of Islamophobic sentiments. In short, what at first glance looks like progress might not be progress at all.

This be as it may, the main trouble with the commonly held assessment that racism is no longer a problem is that even explicit manifestations of racism have not yet completely disappeared from the professional game, which is something that many Swedish players of African descent can personally testify to.⁶ While maybe no longer publicly expressed in collective form, even in the second decade of the twenty-first century, *Allsvenskan's* black footballers have repeatedly been subjected to racial insults from both individual fans and opposing players.⁷ Here it must furthermore be kept in mind that these types of incidents are likely underreported, for as was discussed in Chapter 4, black footballers (of all nationalities) continue to have a strong incentive to remain silent in the face of such abuse.

This study has likewise shown that the shaming power of the antiracist consensus has driven racism more and more out of public view without ever eliminating it. These days unambiguous manifestations of fan racism typically only find expression in more secluded settings and especially in the relative anonymous environment of the Internet where such discourse remains rife. Finally it should be stressed that whatever advances have been made on this front at the elite level, they have not yet been replicated in the amateur and youth game, where the expression of such prejudices still present a persistent challenge.

The decline of organized fan racism in *Allsvenskan* moreover clouds the reality that other, more serious forms of discrimination remain in place within the Swedish professional game.⁸ Institutionalized racism at times continues to be discernable in club policies and also in how African footballers are portrayed in the media. Although such structural racism chiefly has its origins in racialized stereotypes about the black body, it is further rooted in a static and stigmatized view of contemporary Africa—and these biases have unmistakably influenced how *Allsvenskan's* African imports are perceived by the fans. Institutionalized discrimination within the game additionally expresses itself in patterns of social exclusion that are detectable not only on the terraces but also throughout the top echelons of the sport. Since this is a topic to which we will return later in the chapter, here it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the lessening of overt displays of racial bias does not inexorably lead to social integration, nor does this automatically produce a more racially, ethnically, and culturally inclusive environment.

As has been repeatedly noted in this book, these less readily detectable forms of discrimination within the sport are rarely (if ever) critically examined in Sweden, and as of 2010, Swedish football authorities had done little to address or investigate these inequities. Accusations of institutional racism have, for instance, also been leveled in relation to the apparent paucity of referees with immigrant origins in the Swedish professional game,⁹ and analogous complaints have been made about the alleged lack of economic support for immigrant clubs at the municipal level.¹⁰ Consequently far more research needs to be done on this broader subject, and in relation to *Allsvenskan's* African imports, the issue of salary discrimination in particular deserves additional study.

Another obvious area that needs to be looked at is whether there presently exists a glass ceiling for black managers in Swedish professional football. A lot has been written about this subject in England, where footballers of African descent have experienced systematic discrimination when they try to break into the coaching profession once

their playing careers are over,¹¹ and similar patterns of exclusion have been evident in other parts of Western Europe too.¹² Whether this is the case in Sweden has yet to be determined, but the limited available evidence suggests that this may well be so.¹³ As of 2010, only a handful of former black players, such as Martin Pringle, Steve Galloway, and Henrik Larsson, have ever entered the Swedish coaching fraternity at the elite level, with Larsson becoming the first (and only) black player to accede to the position of head coach when he took over the reins of Landskrona BoIS in 2010. In addition, what needs to be studied here is not only whether people of African ancestry are being denied opportunities to become coaches but also how many black players in Sweden have ever been encouraged by their former clubs to enter into the profession. Though this book cannot definitely answer all the questions it raises, it at least hopes to put them on the agenda for discussion.

Leaving the issue of institutional discrimination aside for now, research has likewise illustrated that racism rarely manifests itself as a fixed and coherent ideology. Instead, it is often contradictory in nature and regularly allows for an ample array of exceptions. So fans may well, for instance, approve of certain individual African players but not of Africans more generally; or alternatively they may embrace one ethnic/racial/religious minority while simultaneously rejecting other minority groups. Owing to these discrepancies, the concept of “tolerance via positive association” does not always function as some scholars have proposed. This is mainly because increased racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity does not inevitably erase deeply entrenched prejudices, as these two phenomena can often easily continue to coexist side by side.

Racism, furthermore, is quite malleable, and as this issue has become more politically sensitive in recent years, older prejudices may also become codified in new and less explicit ways. An excellent illustration of this is when IFK Göteborg’s fans deride their counterparts from Malmö by chanting “Rosengårdstattare, Rosengårdstattare!” (Rosengård-travelers, Rosengård-travelers!).¹⁴ This chant refers to the earlier discussed immigrant-dense neighborhood in Malmö (from which Zlatan Ibrahimović hails). In this instance, the offence does not lie so much in the use of the word “traveler,” but rather it stems from the fact that in the popular imagination Rosengård continues to be identified with crime and a host of other social ills.¹⁵ Hence it only works as an insult because a majority of Malmö FF’s supporters would themselves ostensibly not want to be associated with this neighborhood. In essence, this is the Swedish version of the English anti-Liverpool chant: “I would rather be a Paki, than a Scouse”; in both instances, the ideal of white normativity is implicitly upheld, while the “immigrant other” is simultaneously stigmatized.

Another example of how racism in Swedish football has been recodified in the twenty-first century is when AIK’s supporters pay tribute to the purported criminality of their own club’s black players. During Dulee Johnson’s final season for AIK, the team’s fans, for instance, chanted, “Dulee har knullat era horror” (“Dulee has screwed your whores!”) in reference to Johnson’s conviction for buying sex from a prostitute.¹⁶ (In addition, this chant plays to the earlier colonial stereotype regarding the oversexualized, aggressive African male.)

AIK’s supporters, similarly, have another song that celebrates Martin Mutumba’s alleged juvenile delinquency, which goes as follows: “Martin har rånat era kiosker! Han har hotat er med kniv! Hugga DIF! Han har meckat upp en fet!”¹⁷ (Martin has robbed your kiosks! He has threatened you with a knife! Crush DIF! He has rolled up a fat joint!). At least in Mutumba’s case, this tribute is not intended to be a personal affront, but this does not change the reality that its contents indirectly act to legitimize societal

stereotypes regarding the “criminal minority and/or immigrant.” Taken together, these two illustrations thus one again act as a crucial reminder that increased diversity on the field (and in AIK’s case even in the stands) does not by itself guarantee the elimination of long-standing racial and ethnic biases.

The intent here is not to single AIK’s supporters out for criticism (since the same tendencies are observable among the fans of many Swedish elite clubs), nor is this meant to imply that everyone (or even most of the people) who joined in in the singing of these chants and songs were avowed white supremacists. The problem is that even people who professedly reject racism can at times—if only unwittingly—engage in racialized behaviors. The common misconception that this cannot possibly be so has its origins in the antiracist consensus that offers a far too narrow definition of racism. Again, this is mostly because this consensus was never designed to address more deep-rooted forms of prejudice and discrimination, but rather its primary purpose has always solely been to politically isolate the xenophobic right.

The continued limits of this consensus came in to full view in early October 2012 when the retired and nationally renowned sports journalist Bosse Hansson created a stir by making racially insensitive statements during a radio broadcast of a match between AIK and Gefle IF. Specifically Hansson could be overheard uttering “no, not another blackie” when AIK’s Ghanaian striker Kwame Karikari entered the game in the seventy-seventh minute. Nor was this Hansson’s first racially inappropriate remark of the afternoon, as he had already earlier complained that during AIK’s last Champions League game, the team had relied on bunch of substitutes “with four ‘blackies’ whose names one had barely ever heard of.”¹⁸ When confronted about his comments after the game, Hansson claimed that there was nothing derogatory about referring to people of African descent as “blackies,” and he refused to apologize on that grounds that it had not been his intention to offend anyone.¹⁹

Hansson was not working in any official capacity that day but was just temporarily sitting in the radio booth to get warmed up. Hansson was subsequently banned by AIK from the team’s press area, and Mats Strandberg, Hansson’s former colleague, who had let him into the booth, was also relieved of his duties by *Sveriges Radio* (the state-owned radio network).²⁰ Strandberg incidentally had been embroiled in an almost identical controversy some 20 years earlier when he had suggested during a live radio broadcast that he personally would not like to see a Swedish national hockey team composed solely of “negros.” In his opinion, a Swedish roster with too many “negros” would be difficult for him to identify with. He further asserted that for genetic and cultural reasons, this probably would not make for a very good squad. After the fact, however, he too was adamant that his opinions had not been motivated by any kind of racial animus, thereby matching the position taken by Hansson.²¹

In the wake of this incident, Hansson’s comments were broadly condemned,²² not least in the media.²³ Yet this did not stop many of his older former colleagues from rushing to his defense. Hansson’s apologists declared that he meant no harm, claiming that this was just how people of African ancestry were customarily referred to in the past.²⁴ Arne Hegerfors, a well-known television broadcaster, even went so far as to dismiss this criticism as “hysterical political correctness.”²⁵ It is worth noting that Hegerfors himself had on a previous occasion been rebuked for using the word “neger” on Television, and to this day, he is still best remembered for his commentary during the 1994 World Cup, when he infamously quipped, “Things look dark on Cameroon’s bench.”²⁶

A few of Hansson’s older colleagues, however, acknowledged that he had undoubtedly made a mistake in judgment but still insisted that Hansson was no racist and these

statements were “merely made in the heat of the moment.”²⁷ This sort of argumentation brings us back to idea of the “accidental racist” (as opposed to the “real racist”)—a dichotomy that, in turn, speaks to a very limited general understanding of how racism characteristically manifests itself in everyday life. Moreover, since racialized depictions of black athletes has a long history in Swedish sports journalism, it really should come as no surprise that so many journalists of Hansson’s generation were quick to come to his defense.

Still not everyone was persuaded by these assurances of Hansson’s innocence, and in the ensuing debate, Hansson was attacked by many other sports journalists²⁸ and by a lot of his younger colleagues, in particular.²⁹ Above all, they rightly rejected the claim that Hansson’s words were essentially harmless. This latter view, which was put forth by many of Hansson’s older colleagues, overlooks the significance that derogatory language and other more symbolic forms of racism have in legitimizing both overt and more hidden forms of racial prejudice in society at large. In this book we have, for example, seen how Swedish football supporters have again and again drawn a connection between Africans and monkeys—a practice that tacitly verifies the supposed intellectual inferiority of all people of African descent. The perpetuation of such negative images is especially dangerous because it in effect justifies various institutional forms of discrimination in everyday life.

In this way, racism in Swedish sports and society are mutually reinforcing, and this is also why opinions of Hansson’s variety should not be allowed to go unchallenged. This is imperative given that sports are one of the most vital areas (if not *the* most vital area) in society in which racialized stereotypes about people of African heritage are not only consistently reproduced but also disseminated to a mass audience.

In relation to the debate that surrounded Hansson’s comments, it is likewise very telling that it mostly focused on the question of his *intentions*. It is further notable that this incident was essentially interpreted as a moral lapse of judgment on Hansson’s part—as opposed to as a symptom of a larger societal problem. In this regard, the discussion about racism in football has not advanced much in the five years that had passed since the throwing of bananas at Djurgården’s Gambian-born goalkeeper Pa Dembo Touray was being hotly debated. There are, in fact, several striking similarities in the way that the apologists of these two episodes have responded to the charge of racism: First, the accused and their defenders have sought to make themselves the arbitrators of which acts, statements, and attitudes should (and should not) be considered racially offensive. Second, this line of defense is always centered on the *intent* of the accused, rather than on the issue of what impact the latter’s actions might have on those affected by this abuse. Third, this argumentation is based on the faulty premise that racism is a well-refined political standpoint solely held by people with far right views. As previously discussed, racist sentiments and practices are only very rarely the product of a cogent ideological agenda; and a majority of people who make racialized statements, such as Hansson’s comments about “svartingar” (“blackies”), are ordinarily not politically organized racists. In addition, the expression of sentiments to this effect in contemporary Sweden does not normally signal a conscious assertion of white supremacist beliefs. Instead these kinds of behaviors and opinions reflect a broader and more diffusely defined racialized mind-set that has its origins in the earlier colonial era. This outlook is in turn predicated on an unspoken assumption about genetic difference that supposedly manifests itself in the culture, conduct, and ability of each race and/or ethnic group. These ideas still enjoy widespread currency in present-day Europe, so in this, Sweden is no exception.

In the end, maybe the most interesting aspect of Hansson's comments was his assertion that AIK's "blackies" were "the same type of players." Given that footballers such as Martin Mutumba (from the northern suburbs of Stockholm) and Kwame Karikari (from Ghana) were raised in radically different football traditions, Hansson's insistence that Mutumba, Karikari, and so on were "the same type of players" only makes sense when it is analyzed in the larger framework of enduring European ideas concerning the black racialized body. Last but not least, this episode also underscores that the performances of black athletes all too often continue to be evaluated through a distinctly racialized lens.

These same sort of "racialized" or "essentialized" ideas have likewise make themselves known in relation to the Swedish national men's team, leading to a related discussion about who exactly is an appropriate representative of Sweden and what implications this might have for Swedish national identity. As elsewhere in Europe,³⁰ this debate has sometimes been quite contentious, and it is a direct byproduct of the increasingly multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural composition of today's squad. Indeed, it is fair to say that in the past decade, the men's senior national team has become one of the principal public forums in which the issues of integration and national identity are routinely discussed in Sweden.

This has, in contrast, not been the case with the Swedish women's national team, which to this day remains far more racially and ethnically homogenous than its male counterpart.³¹ In addition, such controversy has not surrounded many of the country's other national teams. This is because, with the exception of boxing and women's basketball, Sweden's new racial and ethnic minorities are still generally underrepresented in most other sports.³² Furthermore, just like in a lot of other Western European countries, some popular national sports, such as cross-country and downhill skiing, continue to be regarded as fundamentally "Swedish sports" that attract relatively few non-Nordic immigrants.³³ For all these reasons, these kinds of discussions have so far been almost exclusively limited to men's football.

This is of course largely explained by the game's global appeal, and in this regard, football occupies a privileged position in Swedish sports. The men's senior national team has not only become one of the most potent representations of contemporary Swedish nationalism,³⁴ but it has likewise become a crucial symbol of the "new" diverse and multicultural Sweden.³⁵ There is some internal tension in all of this, and these sorts of conflicts are presently discernable throughout Europe, where the construction of an "imagined national community" has become progressively complex in the face of intensified European integration, intercontinental immigration, and globalization.³⁶

In most European states, popular conceptions of national identity have historically been tied to race and ethnicity.³⁷ This has been the traditional norm in Sweden as well,³⁸ and the inclusion of players from the country's new racial and ethnic minorities onto the men's senior national team has therefore been an indirect challenge to these older ideas. Such enhanced diversity has spurred debate going back at least to the early 1990s when the first black footballers took the field for Sweden.³⁹

It was at this time that a handful of biracial players such as Jean-Paul Vonderburg (1990), Martin Dahlin (1991), Pascal Simpson (1992), Henrik Larsson (1993), and Martin Pringle (1995) made their debut on the senior national team.⁴⁰ During this decade's second half, the composition of the men's senior squad was further diversified with the addition of footballers like Teddy Lucić (1995) and Yksel Osmanovski (1998), whose families had immigrated from the Balkans. (Osmanovski also became the first Muslim to represent Sweden internationally at the senior level.)⁴¹

Such diversity, however, would become more and more common in the first decade of the twenty-first century, when a rising number of footballers from non-Swedish ethnic backgrounds appeared for the national team.⁴² Similarly to Lucić and Osmanovski, many in this new generation of players did not necessarily have Swedish-born parents, and in some instances, Swedish was not the principal language spoken at home. In this category, one might, for example, mention people such as Daniel Majstorović (2002),⁴³ Behrang Safari (2008),⁴⁴ and Emir Bajrami (2010).⁴⁵ During this same period, the number of footballers with non-Nordic origins similarly soared at the under-21 level,⁴⁶ when players like Jimmy Durmaz (2009)⁴⁷ and Jiloan Hamad (2009) also put on the Swedish jersey.⁴⁸ (And soon thereafter both Durmaz and Hamad would likewise make their way up to the senior men's team.⁴⁹) Among this more ethnically and culturally mixed group of footballers, some were in fact themselves first-generation immigrants.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Swedish national team moreover became far more racially diverse, as the number of black (and biracial) footballers at both the senior and junior levels rose significantly. At the senior level, players such as Klebër Saarenpää (2000), Eddie Gustafsson (2000), Jeffrey Aubynn (2001), Daniel Nannskog (2007), Martin Olsson (2010), and Mathias Ranégie (2010) all made their debuts for the national team, and at the junior level, people like John Pelu (2000), Jones Kusi-Asare (2001), Kangana Ndiwa (2001), Henok Goitom (2005), James Frempong (2006), Kebba Ceesay (2007), Walid Atta (2008), and Jose Sise (2010) likewise came to represent Sweden internationally.⁵⁰ Yet beyond their skin color, one cannot really make any broad generalizations about this last group of footballers of African ancestry. While a handful of them had, for example, been born in Africa, others meanwhile had never even set foot on the continent.

All in all, then, this new generation of players with immigrant roots is very heterogeneous, and in truth, the latter do not have all that much in common with each other except that they have collectively done much to change the outward face of the Swedish national team at all levels. This turn of events has obviously not gone unnoticed, leading to heightened controversy about who precisely should represent Sweden.

The racial and ethnic composition of the men's national team was conversely less of an issue in the early 1990s when Martin Dahlin, Henrik Larsson, and so on first took the field for Sweden. This is largely because players with foreign roots were still fairly few in number then, but presumably it also had to do with the reality that these players (with the exception of Simpson) were all born in Sweden and had a least one ethnically Swedish parent. In addition, they were raised in Sweden and were all nominally Christian as well. As a result, this earlier group of footballers identified themselves principally as "Swedish," and Swedish was their native tongue. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they also typically avoided drawing attention to their ethnic/racial or cultural "otherness"; in the case of black footballers, they sought to deemphasize the significance of their skin color, declaring themselves to be Swedes first and foremost.⁵¹

The new generation of players with immigrant origins that first appeared for the senior Swedish national team around the turn of the twenty-first century, however, did not always fit this earlier mold. In part this is because they often tended to have more varied and unusual family histories.⁵² A lot of these footballers additionally came from Muslim countries or at least from states that were located outside of Western Europe, and this has all contributed to the perception that they are more "different" or "foreign" than their predecessors. Zlatan Ibrahimović (2001) is, needless to say, the best example of this new generation of players. Though "Zlatan" (as he is known in Sweden) makes it clear that he is proud to represent Sweden, he simultaneously does not downplay his

Balkan origins. (Zlatan is of mixed Bosnian-Croatian heritage, though both of his parents are Swedish citizens.⁵³)

Most strikingly, Zlatan is not afraid to defy Swedish social norms by asserting his own self-worth.⁵⁴ In Sweden such behavior is still considered somewhat taboo, as the “jante’s law” calls upon the individual to submit to the collective and not draw undue attention to themselves. Zlatan’s unwillingness to conform to these dictates has sometimes led to the accusation that he is arrogant and selfish,⁵⁵ and the notion that he is not always “a team player” is a stigma that he and other “immigrant” players are still routinely confronted with in Sweden.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Zlatan’s self-confidence on the pitch is generally considered to be something positive, albeit very “unSwedish.”⁵⁷

It is noteworthy that Zlatan’s original costar on the national team, Henrik Larsson, has never had his “Swedishness” questioned in the same way.⁵⁸ Unlike Zlatan, Larsson is not perceived to be culturally different—a distinction that many ordinary football fans have also called attention to.⁵⁹ This marked difference in how these two individual players have been viewed may circuitously suggest that Sweden is more open to the prospect of becoming a multiracial nation than a multicultural one. Although this is a feasible interpretation, it does not mean that popular antipathies toward players of African descent on the national team have totally disappeared. (This is a subject to which we will return.)

Zlatan, at any rate, is characteristically thought of as the first bona fide Swedish football star that is fundamentally “unSwedish” in both his persona and his style of play.⁶⁰ Due to his preeminent status, Zlatan is furthermore often upheld not only as a model of successful integration but also as the prime example of the benefits of a multicultural society.⁶¹ And for his part, Zlatan has become an outspoken advocate of the virtues of enhanced diversity.⁶²

In this sense, Zlatan occupies an almost identical position in contemporary Sweden to that of Zinedine Zidane in France, who was hailed as a national hero following the triumph of the French national team in the 1998 World Cup.⁶³ At the time, the diverse composition of the Zidane-led squad was eagerly celebrated by French political elites and intellectuals, who cited the team’s achievements as proof of the country’s success at integrating its ethnic and racial minorities.⁶⁴ In Sweden, too, some commentators have regarded the accomplishments of the French national team as a source of inspiration, and they have not surprisingly also viewed the Swedish equivalent (with Zlatan at the helm) in an equally positive light.⁶⁵

Similarly to their French and English counterparts,⁶⁶ Swedish intellectual and media elites have sought to use the increasingly diverse composition of the Swedish national team as evidence of the inherent value of immigration and multiculturalism.⁶⁷ They have further employed the multiracial and multiethnic character of the squad in their efforts to make the Swedish conception of national identity more expansive and inclusive.⁶⁸

These factors are of particular interest in light of the nationalistic line that the sports pages in major newspapers, like *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*, have so far taken in relation to the importation of foreign players to *Allsvenskan*. In one instance, greater diversity is thus valued, but in the other, it is not. Such contradictions notwithstanding, this has seemingly done little to dampen most Swedish journalists’ enthusiasm for today’s multicultural national team.

While these sorts of views appear to resonate most strongly among Swedish intellectual and media elites,⁶⁹ this not to say that they cannot also be found among a lot of ordinary Swedish football fans.⁷⁰ To this group of supporters, the country’s immigrants

should indeed be regarded as a source of strength, which in their eyes is illustrated by the latter's key contributions to the Swedish national team in recent years.⁷¹

Since the public discussion concerning the composition of the Swedish national team has frequently been tied to the bigger societal debate about immigration, this topic has predictably become more and more politicized.⁷² In no small part this is because spokespersons for the Swedish Democrats have repeatedly questioned Zlatan's "Swedishness," asserting that his persona is truly "unSwedish."⁷³ Such rhetoric is therefore very reminiscent of Le Pen's earlier criticism of the French national team, which the National Front leader did not deem to be sufficiently "French."⁷⁴

As a consequence of this politicization, the enhanced diversity of the Swedish national team has been utilized to rebuke the xenophobic right.⁷⁵ This basically mirrors earlier developments in France and England, where the two countries' national teams have likewise been employed to refute older ideas about the purported relationship between national belonging on one hand and race and ethnicity on the other.⁷⁶

Though this debate is not new in Sweden, it has become far more infected since the Swedish Democrats gained admittance to the parliament in 2010. As soon as it became evident that the Swedish Democrats were likely to surpass the 4 percent threshold needed to enter the Swedish *Riksdag*, this entire issue took on much greater urgency. On the eve of the election, a handful of prominent athletes, such as the former Swedish international Stefan Schwarz, signed an open letter urging the electorate to not vote for the Swedish Democrats.⁷⁷ Once the election was over, several members of the Swedish national team publicly expressed dismay about the Swedish Democrats' ascent into the parliament.⁷⁸ This included Zlatan,⁷⁹ who had already previously let it be known that he "pisses on racists" (meaning that he could care less what the Swedish Democrats and other xenophobic critics think of him).⁸⁰

This controversy reached its nadir in November 2012 when Zlatan's four-goal masterpiece against England coincided with the revelation that three high-ranking Swedish Democrats had been caught on tape using explicitly racist language and acting belligerently during a night out on the town. Though the incident itself was actually a few years old, the timing of the breaking of this story ensured that Zlatan's brilliant play would be utilized to repudiate the Swedish Democrats' persistent criticism of Swedish immigration policy, and right after the game, players like Jilovan Hamad, Mathias Ranégie, and others publicly derided the Swedish Democrats.⁸¹ Parts of the media were quick to follow suit,⁸² as were many bloggers, who likewise judged Zlatan's performance to be an indictment of the Swedish Democrats' entire political agenda.⁸³ Such sentiments were also in evidence on some football-related forums on the Internet.⁸⁴

While the attempt to utilize Zlatan as a way to create a new more inclusive concept of national identity that transcends older ideas about ethnicity and race may be commendable, this effort is in itself not entirely unproblematic. One potential pitfall of this approach is that by highlighting the societal contributions of people (such as Zlatan) with immigrant roots, this implicitly acts to reinforce rather than break down the deeply entrenched "Swede" versus "immigrant" dichotomy. (After all, Johan Elmander's and Kim Källström's performances on the national team are conversely never upheld as proof of ethnic Swedes' integral value to society.)

Another problem with this overall argument is that this positive view is not universally shared, for the leaders of Swedish Democrats are by no means alone in their belief that Zlatan is "unSwedish." In fact, this specific topic has long been the subject of quarrelsome debate on the Internet,⁸⁵ as some reject his "Swedishness" not only for cultural reasons but also on purely biological grounds.⁸⁶ "Chrille2," for instance, writes that

though he personally likes Zlatan (both as an individual and as a player), he does not consider Zlatan to be “Swedish” because, in his opinion, Zlatan is chiefly a product of his “Balkan genetics.” So when Zlatan scores for the Swedish national team (according to “Chrille2”), this is not really a “Swedish” goal and consequently nothing to celebrate either.⁸⁷

Identical reservations have been raised more generally about the national team, and it is plain that not everyone is happy that the squad is becoming progressively diverse, making their preference for an ethnically Swedish team crystal clear.⁸⁸ To this group of supporters, one or two players with immigrant backgrounds may be permissible, but their numbers on the national team must ultimately be restricted. These supporters feel that a team with too many people with non-Swedish origins would be impossible to identify with, and they could never accept a roster with “too many negroes” on it.⁸⁹ These objections therefore echo the ones that some fans have raised about the growing number of foreign imports in *Allsvenskan*.⁹⁰

These racial and ethnic preferences are furthermore routinely articulated in explicitly xenophobic terms,⁹¹ and they thus also surface in direct reference to the national team.⁹² As already suggested, this is not unprecedented, for such attitudes have intermittently made themselves known in other European countries as well, where historically there has often been resistance to the inclusion of ethnic and racial minorities onto the national team (at least initially).⁹³

In Sweden, those who possess these sorts of views moreover customarily make a distinction between Swedish citizenship and Swedish national identity, because in their opinion, the possession of a Swedish passport does not necessarily make someone “Swedish.”⁹⁴ The maxim that “just because a cat is born in a barn does not make it a horse” is a popular analogy in these discussions⁹⁵—the implication being that “Swedishness” should continue to be defined in purely ethnic and racial terms.

It perhaps goes without saying that for this segment of more or less openly xenophobic fans, the French national team is no role model—if anything, it is viewed as a deterrent example for Sweden.⁹⁶ Here it is additionally vital to point out that even though the Swedish public (by European standards) may have a relatively positive attitude about multiculturalism, many ethnic Swedes continue to have grave reservations about this general phenomenon. In Sweden, as elsewhere in Europe,⁹⁷ greater diversity is not always seen as a potential source of societal strength, but it is instead still often considered a threat to the country’s historical traditions and cultural cohesiveness.⁹⁸ Accordingly, some fans reject the notion that the Zlatan-captained national team should be taken as a proof of immigrants’ innate value to Swedish society.⁹⁹ In their view, “kicking a ball around” is not really that much of a contribution to Sweden.¹⁰⁰

Yet since it is difficult to gauge exactly how widespread such xenophobic sentiments are, one must be careful not to overstate their prevalence. (Such caution seems particularly warranted since, as previously discussed, the xenophobic right appears to be overrepresented in discussions regarding these types of topics on the Internet, which is also the principal forum for these debates.) Still, at a minimum, this indicates that there does exist a potent counternarrative to the idea that the national team should be upheld as an illustration of successful integration. In addition, these examples serve as a helpful reminder that even someone as celebrated as Zlatan is not totally shielded from more visceral forms of racism. Moreover, the very existence of this counternarrative indirectly raises doubts about the extent to which the national team really acts as a unifying symbol in present-day Sweden.

French studies on this topic have revealed that the sense of national cohesion that was temporarily generated by the Zidane-led national team proved to be ephemeral, and the squad's triumphs did not advance (or fundamentally alter) the socioeconomic position of the country's immigrant communities, who to this day continue to face discrimination in most facets of French life.¹⁰¹ English scholarship on this topic has similarly found that the elevation of ethnic and racial minorities into the country's pantheon of sporting heroes has not led to concrete improvements for these same groups in other areas of British society.¹⁰²

There is good reason to believe that the symbolic significance of the Swedish national team has been overstated as well. This is partly because the very notion of utilizing the national team as representative of the new diverse Sweden is implicitly based on the unspoken (and possibly flawed) premise that the country's new immigrant communities also identify with the Zlatan-captained squad. The trouble is that, at present, we do not really know to what degree this assumption is valid. In fact, the available evidence suggests that, just like in many other European countries,¹⁰³ the country's new immigrant communities do not always wholeheartedly line up behind the Swedish national team. Instead, the latter often have conflicting and multiple national loyalties, and Sweden is not the preferred choice in every instance.¹⁰⁴

That having been said, there is little doubt that Zlatan is idealized by many people with non-Nordic origins in Sweden (and by younger "immigrant" men, in particular).¹⁰⁵ What is less certain is that they regard his achievements as evidence of successful integration, for it is just as conceivable that he is viewed as someone who has triumphed *in spite of* Swedish society, rather than because of it. Among immigrant youths in France, Zidane is, for example, seen as a role model exactly because he managed to transcend the discrimination and injustices that habitually confront young men with foreign backgrounds in France.¹⁰⁶

Likeminded sentiments are present in Sweden as well,¹⁰⁷ where many young immigrant men clearly see football as a ticket out of socioeconomic deprivation.¹⁰⁸ That the latter invest so much hope in the sport is perhaps telling about how few other options they perceive to be open to them in contemporary Sweden.

At this juncture, it must further be emphasized that the general public's support even for Zlatan is by no means entirely unqualified. While it is true that he has become a national icon in the twenty-first century, earlier in his career, he was repeatedly vilified. To some extent, this was a byproduct of Zlatan's refusal to conform and his occasional abrasiveness, but it can also be attributed to the exceptionally high expectations that have been placed on him. At times this led to the accusation that he has underachieved on the national team.¹⁰⁹

However, those who have studied this topic in depth conclude that this criticism has often been overly harsh and that Zlatan has over and over again been held to a different standard than his ethnically Swedish teammates. In addition, they submit that in many instances Zlatan has been evaluated through a thoroughly racialized lens, in which his behavior has been explained primarily in cultural terms and ascribed to his foreign origins.¹¹⁰ Many fans have likewise observed that Zlatan's popularity is always seemingly contingent on his latest performance, and this has historically been the case for "immigrant" athletes in Sweden.¹¹¹

This type of treatment has been the norm in Western Europe, where footballers with foreign roots have normally been tolerated only so long as they continue to excel on the pitch.¹¹² The conditional acceptance that has greeted Zlatan (and other Swedish players from immigrant backgrounds) is therefore very reminiscent of the reception that African

imports have received in *Allsvenskan* so far. Future research on this topic might also look into if (and/or to what extent) players with non-Nordic origins have been scapegoated when the Swedish national team has failed to live up to popular expectations.

A final reservation about the symbolic value of the “new” diverse national team is that there have been questions concerning possible discrimination in the transition up from the junior to the senior level, where ethnically Swedish players still comparatively dominate. In relation to the national teams, there has been a marked disparity between the ethnic composition of the under-21 teams versus that of the senior squad. During the past decade and a half, players from immigrant backgrounds have consistently been vastly overrepresented at the junior level. In 1999, for example, footballers with foreign origins constituted 26.9 percent of all footballers at the under-17 level, compared to only 5.9 percent at senior level. A decade later, these percentages had reached 37.5 percent at the under-17 level, though also risen to 22.4 percent at the senior level.¹¹³ While this increase may well be regarded as progress, the drop-off is still very significant,¹¹⁴ and it replicates the same tendencies that are presently at work in Swedish club football.

Some fans believe that this discrepancy is a result of racism, pure and simple—a view that seems to be especially ubiquitous among people that themselves have immigrant roots.¹¹⁵ Such suspicions have previously dogged other European national teams as well,¹¹⁶ and in the Swedish case, they have presumably not been allayed by the recent revelation that the senior French national team had covertly sought to reduce the number of players of African and Arabic descent by secretly introducing ethnic/racial quotas in an attempt to make the squad more “French.”¹¹⁷ Now whether such fears are actually justified in relation to the Swedish senior team is impossible to know for sure, but the basic point here is that these kinds of anxieties can only be understood in a larger societal framework in which various forms of institutional discrimination have been shown to be an enduring problem.

Sticking just to football, the lack of ethnic and racial diversity in the top echelons of the sport is fairly conspicuous. During the second half of the first decade of the twenty-first century, no one on the Swedish Football Federation’s seven-member board of directors had immigrant origins (and only one of these seven was a woman). The situation was only marginally better among the Federation’s various steering committees, where 2 percent of the members had “foreign” origins—this despite the continued overrepresentation of people from immigrant backgrounds among the sport’s (male) players.¹¹⁸

Swedish elite clubs have an almost equally dismal record in this area.¹¹⁹ A survey from 2006 showed that only 5 percent of the board members in *Allsvenskan* had foreign origins. The corresponding figure for *Superettan* was 8 percent, but this slightly higher number was accounted for by the fact that Assyriska FF happened to be in the Swedish Second Division (*Superettan*) that year.¹²⁰

This pattern of underrepresentation was even more dramatic on the women’s side, where virtually no one of non-Swedish heritage could be found in the highest echelons of the sport (though in this case, ethnically Swedish women were at least somewhat better represented).¹²¹ The paucity of ethnic and racial minorities in positions of authority is a glaring issue in almost all Swedish sports,¹²² including the Swedish Olympic Committee¹²³ and *Riksidrottsförbundet* (the Swedish Sports Confederation). For example, in 2010, a mere 6 percent of the top leaders among the confederation’s 70 membership organizations had foreign origins, and of this group, less than 1 percent had non-European roots.¹²⁴ This figure was even lower at the district level, where merely 0.5 percent had such backgrounds.¹²⁵

All in all, then, ethnically Swedish men still dominate the Swedish sports establishment, this despite the fact that the number of ethnically Swedish women in leading positions has risen significantly in the past decade. (By 2007, women had nearly reached 30 percent within the highest levels of the Swedish Sports Confederation, following the introduction of a new gender-based quota system.¹²⁶) People with non-Swedish origins have, in contrast, so far failed to make similar gains, and even among the ordinary employees of *Riksidrottsförbundet*, pretty much everyone is ethnically Swedish,¹²⁷ and the same can be said for the staff at the Swedish Football Federation.¹²⁸ In sum, these patterns of exclusion are so pervasive in Swedish sports that they cannot credibly be dismissed as being the result of isolated individual prejudices. If anything, these statistics should be considered irrefutable evidence of systemic and institutionalized discrimination.¹²⁹

According to a 2010 EU report, this is the rule rather the exception in Europe today, for few, if any, racial and ethnic minorities can currently be found in leading positions in European sports. Yet in men's football, this dissidence is more noticeable than in many other sports, due to the considerable diversity of its players. While Sweden is by no means exceptional in this respect, it still remarkable that unlike some of the other European Football Associations, SvFF has no specific programs in place to address this problem,¹³⁰ and this holds true for Swedish sporting authorities more generally.

Even though spokespersons for the Swedish Football Federation and the Swedish Confederation of Sports both admit that this lack of racial and ethnic diversity is a problem,¹³¹ as of 2010, neither organization had taken any concrete action to rectify this situation. Instead they have resisted the introduction of ethnically based quotas and just seem to hope that this problem will somehow magically correct itself. New research on this topic furthermore indicates that that ethnicity (and/or race) remain a nonissue in the selection process for leading positions in Swedish sports.¹³² Hence, like in many other European countries, this process continues to be shaped by a system of “homosocial reproduction”—that is, a system in which people in authority systematically give promotions to those that most closely resemble themselves, socially and demographically.¹³³

In truth, very little thought is ever given to the question of why the country's new ethnic and racial minorities are so severely underrepresented among the Swedish sports establishment,¹³⁴ but to the extent that this issue is considered at all, these groups are by and large blamed for their own exclusion.¹³⁵ It is likewise evident that these patterns begin already in youth sports, where young people from immigrant backgrounds are not encouraged at the same rate as their ethnically Swedish teammates to take on leadership roles in their respective sports.¹³⁶

Although identical patterns of exclusion can be found in many if not most areas of Swedish society,¹³⁷ these findings are particularly jarring in view of sports' self-proclaimed mission to promote integration. Indeed, the reality that integration does not even work in a game as racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse as men's football arguably tarnishes the credibility of this entire idea. It additionally indicates that a high level of minority participation does not automatically translate into institutional power.

At this juncture, it is also crucial to point out that this failure should not just be viewed from a social justice perspective, because this practice also directly harms Swedish sports by denying it potentially valuable experience, knowledge, and leadership.¹³⁸ This, however, is not news to Swedish sports authorities, who have long been aware that people from immigrant backgrounds remain an underutilized resource.¹³⁹

So what accounts for this discrepancy between word and deed, then? Part of the answer lies in that, similar to in many other European countries,¹⁴⁰ these patterns of

exclusion are so pervasive that they have become completely normalized and thereby also self-perpetuating.¹⁴¹ Keeping in mind that most forms of institutionalized discrimination typically go unacknowledged in contemporary Sweden,¹⁴² it is maybe naïve to expect Swedish sporting authorities to be any more cognizant of this problem—the latter’s prointegration rhetoric notwithstanding.

This lack of diversity, in turn, also ensures (however unwittingly) that the members of the country’s new immigrant communities are not likely to find the halls of power within Swedish sports to be very welcoming.¹⁴³ Thus while not necessarily overtly racist environments, the boardrooms and decision-making bodies in Swedish sports are not always very inclusive ones, either.

In part, this problem stems from the reality that the integration process itself rarely takes place on equal terms. In most instances, Sweden’s new immigrants are expected to conform to the dominant sporting norms of the host country, and “immigrant” footballers have routinely been maligned when they have failed to do so. Thus when Swedish sporting elites speak of integration, what they usually really mean is total assimilation.¹⁴⁴

Though this assimilationist thrust is by no means rare in Europe,¹⁴⁵ it nevertheless does much to account for why sports do not always produce the integrative results that Swedish sporting and political elites wish for. In football at least, this attempt at forced assimilation is sometimes vigorously resisted. Moreover, the causal relationship between sports and integration is far more complex than commonly appreciated. First of all, as already indicated, there are significant gender differences, as women from immigrant backgrounds in Sweden engage in sports to a far lesser degree than their male counterparts. In fact, the latter’s participation rate in sports is well below the national average. On occasion, women with non-Nordic origins have also been actively discriminated against when they have sought to partake in some select forms of athletic activities.¹⁴⁶ In view of this evidence, sports in Sweden do not seem to be a very reliable avenue for the integration of immigrant women, and the same can be said for the entire European Union.¹⁴⁷

There are moreover huge divergences between various sports, because many of them do not attract large numbers of people from non-Swedish backgrounds. Finally, the importance of class is often overlooked in these discussions—for class must also be taken into consideration when evaluating the potential effectiveness of sport as a conduit for integration.¹⁴⁸

This is not to suggest that sports can never work as a vehicle for integration, because, as was noted in Chapter 3, some immigrants do indeed feel as if football has helped them make better contact with members of the dominant host society. The trouble here, however, is that it is not certain to what extent (if at all) these types of bonds transcend this specific activity into other areas of society. This is because peoples’ social identities are malleable and context specific, and accordingly, European research on this subject suggests that interpersonal connections forged on the field normally do not extend into other social realms.¹⁴⁹ In relation to Sweden, at present there is nothing to indicate that sports actually serve as a reliable pathway into mainstream society for the country’s new immigrant groups,¹⁵⁰ and this observation could basically be applied to all of Europe today.¹⁵¹

Even in those individual cases when sports really do open doors to society at large, it remains an enormous challenge to implement such gains on a broader collective basis. This is because it is normally very difficult to convert this kind of first-person experience into specific and more wide-ranging government policies.¹⁵²

It is also imperative to underscore that people generally do not engage in sports as a way to consciously promote social harmony, and though such participation may occasionally have this effect, this still makes sports a somewhat unreliable instrument for social integration. For all these reasons, most European scholars take a rather skeptical view of the integrative value of sports¹⁵³ and further agree that in many European countries both government officials and journalists tend to overestimate sports' capacity to facilitate greater integration.¹⁵⁴ So while playing sports may in certain situations be able to create a forum for social engineering, athletic activities cannot on their own bring about genuine change or sociopolitical reform in this area.¹⁵⁵

Looking specifically at the Swedish experience, Jesper Fundberg, the leading scholar on this topic, concludes that sports at best have a mixed record in regard to integration. On the positive side of the ledger, Fundberg notes that Swedish research has shown that participation in organized athletic activities can have a beneficial impact on language acquisition for younger immigrants. Sports can also provide a platform for recognizing the talents of individual immigrants, which is crucial since such validation can often be harder to obtain for people of non-Swedish ancestry in other parts of society, like in school or the workplace. Fundberg, additionally argues that sports are democratic in the sense that there are fewer formal obstacles to participation than in many other areas of everyday life. This is because in sports a person does not always need to have a full command of the language or access to wider social networks in order to thrive, as an individual's physical abilities are ordinarily the main prerequisite for success.¹⁵⁶

Fundberg further observes that participation in sports can help a person expand their social contacts to new groups and that it can create an arena in which people from different ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds can come together. However, like a lot of other European scholars,¹⁵⁷ Fundberg simultaneously establishes that these meetings are not always positive,¹⁵⁸ which is something that this book likewise stresses. For sports can frequently also become a site of conflict between competing social groups, at times becoming a flashpoint for simmering ethnic and racial tensions. Moreover, this focus on the body can have very negative consequences that solely act to ossify racial and ethnic stereotypes. In this way, sports may, if anything, actually be an impediment to the achievement of greater equality and racial justice.

A final and obvious problem with this positive view of the integrative function of sports is that this avenue is only open to those who actually participate in them, which the overwhelming majority of Sweden's new immigrants do not. What is more is that even on an individual basis, athletic achievement is a highly undependable vehicle for socioeconomic advancement. Out of the estimated 103,000 young men that play organized football in Sweden,¹⁵⁹ only a tiny percentage of them will ever be able to earn a living as professional footballers.

All in all, then, there is little evidence that the "integration through sports" paradigm has produced convincing results at any level of Swedish football, whether directly or indirectly by positive association. So though Swedish football has incontestably become more diverse in recent years, it has not yet generated sufficient "bridging capital" to surmount the country's current racial, ethnic, and cultural divisions—not even within the sport itself, never mind in society as a whole. Since this observation is essentially applicable to all of Europe, this begs the question as to why Swedish political and sporting elites still cling so tightly to the illusion that football (and to lesser degree also other sports) can bring about enhanced integration in society.

The first reason likely just has to do with the game's enormous domestic appeal. Sweden has one of the highest participation rates in organized football in the world, and

since it is a sport that so plainly engages a lot of males from immigrant backgrounds, the game seems like a logical starting point for this sort of social engineering. Implicitly these efforts therefore also illuminate anxieties about how to best integrate young immigrant men into Swedish mainstream society.

Historically in Sweden, there has furthermore been an exaggerated confidence in the state's ability to correct various social problems, and over the past hundred years, sports have more and more become transformed into instruments of state policy. As a consequence, sports have progressively lost their autonomy vis-à-vis the government, in effect becoming agents of the Swedish welfare state. More than other sports, football has been assigned a key role in the government's bid to promote social integration.¹⁶⁰ Originally these interventionist efforts were directed at the indigenous working class, but in the postwar era, they have increasingly been reoriented toward the country's new non-Nordic immigrant groups.

Again, this general approach is unquestionably also rooted in an overly simplified view of the causal relationship between sports and integration, which is nowhere near as straightforward as most Swedish political and sporting elites seem to think.¹⁶¹ Generally speaking, a great deal of denial still appears to surround these kinds of topics in contemporary Europe. For their part, the continent's footballing elites have failed to grasp how complex and deeply rooted racism is not only in the game but also in society as a whole. They basically continue to interpret racism principally as a matter of individual prejudice. Sepp Blatter's recent comments that racist incidents between players should simply be settled with a handshake after the match speaks to the alarming naïveté that international football authorities have traditionally approached this problem with.¹⁶²

This type of denial—or wishful thinking—can currently be found among Swedish sporting and political elites alike. However, it is also obvious that the clubs' approach to social issues have a strong (if often unspoken) economic dimension. Since all Swedish football clubs at the amateur and youth levels receive financial assistance from the government, the game's alleged contribution to furthering integration helps justify such financial assistance.¹⁶³

All Swedish sports solicit government funding on these grounds,¹⁶⁴ and throughout the entire postwar era, Swedish sporting authorities have been keen to emphasize their positive contribution to society and the inherent social value of sports overall.¹⁶⁵ This idea certainly remains an article of faith for Swedish football officials at all levels of the game.¹⁶⁶

Conversely, one might surmise that the government's investment in sports as a conduit for social integration is similarly rooted in its own economic calculations.¹⁶⁷ Specifically, the appeal of the "integration through football" paradigm lies in that athletic activities are a far more cost-efficient alternative than expensive education and job-training programs. Viewed from this perspective, sports in essence offer the promise of "integration on the cheap." It is also possible that their devotion to this paradigm simply reflects a perceived scarcity of other viable options, as the problem of integration offers no easy solutions.

Swedish and other Western European elites moreover fully appreciate the degree to which the continent's future prosperity is dependent on continued non-European immigration in order address the acute labor shortages created by the continent's rapidly aging population. Although such immigration is absolutely vital on both demographic and economic grounds, this continues to be an extremely sensitive political issue in most Western European countries, Sweden included.¹⁶⁸

Now football's ultimate political significance in all this ostensibly lies in its strong historical relationship to the indigenous working class, the segment of the European electorate that in the past few decades has been shown to be the most susceptible to xenophobic propaganda.¹⁶⁹ This also largely accounts for European political elites' concerted interest in stemming public displays of racism in elite football—the continent's most popular and high profile sport.¹⁷⁰

If we continue to look more broadly at Western Europe at a time when a growing section of the electorate has come to view non-European immigrants in a progressively negative light, football understandably becomes a welcome metaphor for a peaceful and well-functioning multicultural and multiracial society—for the sport is valued exactly because it offers a straightforward and easily digestible example of how people from different ethnic and racial groups can come together to work toward a common goal. Indeed, today's Zlatan-led national team seemingly provides a far more potent illustration of immigrants' positive contribution to society than any official government presentation ever could. The allure of this metaphor consequently lies in intrinsic and populist simplicity.

This likewise clarifies why the multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural compositions of many European national teams have become such vital illustrations of national unity. In the final analysis, the symbolic value of the presence of players such as Henrik Larsson and Zlatan Ibrahimović on the Swedish national team is rooted in the reality that one would be hard pressed to find many equivalent examples of people with non-Nordic origins in top positions within Swedish industry, finance, and government. So long as this continues to be the case, the sport's inflated reputation as a successful instrument for integration is sure to remain intact.

APPENDIX A

African Nationals in *Allsvenskan*, 1977–2010

African nationality and/or African place of birth

Name

Club and season in *Allsvenskan* (appearances/goals)

Position

Previous club/country prior to *Allsvenskan* / Subsequent club/country after *Allsvenskan*

Algeria

Samir Beloufa

2007–2008 Helsingborgs IF 15/1

Defender

K.V.C. Westerlo (Belgium First Division 2006) / Royal Olympic Club de Charleroi-Marchienne (Belgium Third Division 2010)

Angola

João Yamba Asha (alternatively Yamba Asha João)

2006 Östers IF 4/0

Defender

Atlético Sport Aviação (Angola First Division 2005) / Petro Atlético Luanda (Angola First Division 2007)

Paulo José Lopes de Figueiredo

2006 Östers IF 13/1

Midfielder

Varzim SC (Portugal Second Division 2005) / FC Ceahlău (Romania Second Division 2007)

Benin

Razak Omotoyossi

2007–2008 Helsingborgs IF 33/16

Forward

FC Sheriff Tiraspol (Moldova First Division 2007) / Al-Nassr FC (Saudi Arabia First Division 2008)

Cameroon

Eric Magloire Bassombeng
2008–2010 Örebro SK 35/5
Midfielder
Les Astres FC (Cameroon First Division 2007)

Joseph Elanga
2001–2005, 2010 Malmö FF 131/5
Defender
Apollon Limassol (Cyprus First Division 2000) / *Brøndby* IF (Denmark First Division 2005)
AC Horsens (Denmark First Division 2009 on loan from *Brøndby* IF)

Patrice Kwedi
2004 IFK Göteborg 3/0
Defender
NK Pomorac Kostrena (Croatia First Division 2003) / AGF Aarhus (Denmark First Division 2005)

Bertin Samuel Zé Ndille
2008–2010 Örebro SK 17/0
Defender
Canon Sportif de Yaoundé (Cameroon First Division 2007)

Joseph Nguijol
2005 Gefle IF 2/0
Midfielder
AV.S. Frontignan A.C. (France Third Division 2004) / Carlstad United (Sweden Second Division 2006)

Cape Verde

Mateus Lopes
2005 Assyriska FF 4/0
Forward
Portimonense S.C. (Portugal Second Division 2005) / Petro Atlético Luanda (Angola First Division 2006)

Chad

Azrack Mahamat
2009 Halmstads BK 8/1 (Loan from RCD Espanyol)
Midfielder
RCD Espanyol (Spain First Division 2008) / RCD Espanyol (Spain First Division 2009)

Democratic Republic of Congo

Yannick Ngabu Bapupa

2002–2004 Djurgårdens IF 42/3

2006–2009 Gefle IF 92/12

2010 Kalmar FF 0/0

Midfielder

Kinshasa City FC (DRC Second Division 2001) / Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2005)

Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2005) / Out of football

Richard Ntomba Ekunde

2002–2004 Djurgårdens IF 0/0

Loan to Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2003)

2006–2010 GAIS 78/0

Defender

Kinshasa City FC (DRC Second Division 2001) / Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2005)

Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2005)

René Muzola Makondele

2002–2004 Djurgårdens IF 44/5 (Loan Gefle IF 2005)

2005–2007 Gefle IF 61/12

2007–2010 Helsingborgs IF 63/18

2010– BK Häcken 12/1

Midfielder

Kinshasa City FC (DRC Second Division 2001)

Blaise Mbemba

2002–2003 Djurgårdens IF 0/0

Loan to Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2003)

Defender

Kinshasa City FC (DRC Second Division 2001) / Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2004)

Egypt

Haytham Farouk

1997–1998 Helsingborgs IF 4/0

Defender

Feyenoord (Netherlands First Division 1996) / K.V. Oostende (Belgium First Division 1998)

Gambia

Pa Musa Fofana

1997 Hammarby IF 8/0

Forward

Reymersholme IK (Sweden Fourth Division 1996) / Reymersholme IK (Sweden Fourth Division 1998)

Dodo Loum
 1996–1997 Helsingborgs IF 0/0
 Defender
 Gambia (Club unknown) / Högaborgs BK (Sweden Fourth Division 1998)

Aziz Corr Nyang
 2002–2004 Djurgårdens IF 7/0
 Forward
 IFK Lidköping (Sweden Third Division 2001) / Åtvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2004)

Pa Dembo Touray
 2000– Djurgårdens IF 165/1
 Loan to Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2001–2002)
 Loan to Vålrenga IF (Norway First Division 2003)
 Goalkeeper
 Real de Banjul (Gambia First Division 1999)

Ghana

Joachim Yaw Acheampong
 1994–1995 IFK Norrköping 22/1
 Midfielder
 Goldfields Obuasi (Ghana First Division 1993) / Real Sociedad (Spain First Division 1995)

Abdul Ali Mumuni
 1996 Umeå FC 0/0
 Forward
 Heart of Oaks Accra (Ghana First Division 1995) / 1997 Umeå FC (Sweden Second Division)

Ibrahim Mahama Atiku
 2005 Assyriska FF 21/1
 Midfielder
 Friska Viljor FC (Sweden Second Division 2004) / Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2006)

Reuben Ayarna
 2008– GAIS 37/0
 Midfielder
 Boston College (USA NCAA 2007)

Derek Boateng
 2003–2004, 2006 AIK 33/4
 Midfielder
 OFI Crete (Cyprus First Division 2002) / AIK (Sweden Second Division 2005)
 AIK (Sweden Second Division 2005) / Beitar Jerusalem (Israel First Division 2006)

Yussif Chibsah
 2008– Gefle IF 78/5
 Midfielder
 Hapoel Nazrat-Ilit (Israel Second Division 2007)

Afo Dodoo
 2002–2003 Landskrona BoIS 6/0
 Defender
 Landskrona BoIS (Sweden Second Division 2001) / Out of football 2004

Richard Kingson
 2007 Hammarby IF 11/0 (Loan from Ankara Spor A.Ş. 2007)
 Goalkeeper
 Ankara Spor A.Ş. (Turkey First Division 2007) / Birmingham City (England First Division)

Michael Mensah
 2007–2008 Trelleborgs FF 42/1
 Forward
 Rakuunat (Finland Second Division 2006) / Syrianska FC (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Issa Mohammed
 2002 IFK Norrköping 11/1
 Forward
 Sekondi Hasaacas F.C. (Ghana First Division 2001) / No club contract 2003

Yaw Preko
 2004–2005 Halmstads BK 49/11
 Forward
 Gaziantepspor (Turkey First Division 2003) / Ettifaq Football Club (Saudi Arabia First Division 2006)

Kwame Quansah
 2003–2004 AIK 18/2 (loan from AJAX Amsterdam)
 Midfielder
 K. Beerschot Antwerpen (Belgium First Division 2002) / Heracles Almelo (Netherlands Second Division 2004)

Shamo Quaye
 1996 Umeå FC 20/3
 Midfielder
 Heart of Oaks Accra (Ghana First Division 1995) / Deceased 1997

Charles Sampson
 2005 Assyriska FF 23/0
 Midfielder

Kalamata FC (Greece Second Division) / Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2006)

Emmanuel Tetteh
1997–1999 IFK Göteborg 49/15

Forward

Polonia Warszawa (Poland Second Division 1996) / Vanspor AŞ (Turkey First Division 1999)

Majeed Waris
2010– BK Häcken 10/0

Forward

Hartpury College (United Kingdom)

Guinea-Bissau

Adelino Augusto Lopes

2005 Assyriska FF 3/0

Midfielder

Portimonense SC (Portugal Second Division 2005) / PFC Chernomorets Varna (Bulgaria First Division 2006)

Ivory Coast

Raoul Kouakou

2005–2007 Malmö FF 6/1

Loan to Viborg FF (Denmark First Division 2006–2007)

Defender

Sogndal Fotball (Norway Second Division 2004) / Sandefjord Fotball (Norway First Division 2007)

Kenya

McDonald Mariga

2006–2008 Helsingborgs IF 37/6

Loan to Parma (Italy First Division 2007–2008)

Midfielder

Enköpings SK (Sweden Third Division 2005) / Parma (Italy Second Division 2008–2009)

Bonaventure “Boniek” Maruti

2001–2003 Örebro SK 35/10

Forward

Michigan Bucks (USL Premier Development League 2000) / No club contract 2004

Robert Mambo Mumba

2004 Örebro SK 12/1

2006 BK Häcken 15/4

2008 GIF Sundsvall 24/6

Midfielder / Central defender

K.A.A. Gent (Belgium First Division 2004) / Viking Stavanger (Norway First Division 2005)

Viking Stavanger (Norway First Division 2006) / BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2007)

BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2007) / GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Patrick Osiako

2010 Mjällby AIF 27/0

Midfielder

Mjällby AIF (Sweden Second Division 2007–2009)

Paul Mbuya Oyuga

2001–2003 Örebro SK 53/14

Forward

Connecticut Wolfs (USA USL-1 2000) / Byrne FK (Norway Second Division 2005)

Liberia

Jimmy Dixon

2005–2006 BK Häcken 45/0

2007–2009 Malmö FF 53/1

Central Defender

BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2004) / Manisaspor (Turkey First Division 2009)

Dulee Johnson

2001, 2005 BK Häcken 33/2

2006–2008, 2009–2010 AIK 99/6

Midfielder

Floda BoIF (Sweden Fourth Division 2000) / BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2002)

BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2004) / Maccabi Tel Aviv (Israel First Division 2008)

Maccabi Tel Aviv (Israel First Division 2009) / Panaitolikós Agrínio (Greece Second Division 2011)

Amadiya Rennie

2009–2010 IF Elfsborg 2/0

Forward

Mighty Barolle (Liberia First Division 2008) / Loan to GAIS (Sweden First Division 2011)

Dioh Williams

2005–2006 BK Häcken 50/12

Forward

BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2004) / BK Häcken (Sweden Second Division 2004)

Malawi

Russell Mwafulirwa

2008 IFK Norrköping 15/3

Forward

Ajax Cape Town (South Africa First Division 2007) / IFK Norrköping (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Mali

Adama Tamboura

2006–2009 Helsingborgs IF 65/0

Defender

Djoliba AC Bamako (Mali First Division 2006) / FC Metz (France Second Division 2010)

Morocco

Driss El Asmar

2001–2002 Malmö FF 0/0

2003 Enköpings SK 4/0 (Loan from Malmö FF)

Goalkeeper

Degerfors IF (Sweden Third Division 2001) / Raja Casablanca (Morocco First Division 2004)

Moestafa El Kabir

2010 Mjällby AIF 24/10

Forward

Nijmegen Eendracht Combinatie (Netherlands First Division 2010) / Loan to Cagliari Calcio (Italy First Division 2011)

Yazid Kaissi

2005–2006 BK Häcken 21/0

Midfielder

Panionios GSS (Greece First Division 2005) / Loan to Umm-Salal SC (Qatar First Division 2007)

Nigeria

Michael Adeyinka Adedeji (alternatively Yinka Adedeji)

2005 GIF Sundsvall 1/0

Defender/Midfielder

AS Racines (Nigeria Second Division 2004) / Shooting Stars Football Club (Nigeria Second Division 2006)

Yakubu Alfa

2009 Helsingborgs IF 2/0

Midfielder/Forward

Niger Tornadoes F.C. (Nigeria First Division 2008) / K. Beerschot AC (Belgium First Division 2009)

Kevin Onyekachi Amuneke

2004–2005 Landskrona BoIS 36/7

2008 IFK Norrköping 27/6

Forward

FC Porto (Portugal Football Academy 2003) / Landskrona BoIS (Sweden Second Division 2006)

CSKA Sofia (Bulgaria First Division 2007) / FC Timișoara (Rumania First Division 2009)

Kingsley Amunke

2004–2005 Landskrona BoIS 11/0

Midfielder

Grupo Desportivo de Mangualde (Portugal Second Division 2003–2004) / Landskrona BoIS (Sweden Second Division 2006)

Samuel Tayo Ayorinde

2002–2003 AIK 12/2

Forward

Stalybridge Celtic (UK Seventh Division 2002) / Shenyang Ginde (China First Division 2004)

Dominic Chatto

2009– BK Häcken 45/1

Midfielder

FC Inter Åbo (Finland First Division 2008)

John Chibuike

2009– BK Häcken 49/9

Defender/Midfielder

Enugu Rangers (Nigeria First Division 2008)

Justice Christopher

2004 Trelleborgs FF 13/0

2004 IFK Göteborg 0/0 (Loan from Trelleborgs FF)

Midfielder

Levski Sofia (Bulgaria First Division 2003) / Alania Vladikavkaz (Russia First Division 2005)

Abiola Dauda

2008– Kalmar FF 78/17

Forward

Sölvesborgs IF (Sweden Third Division 2007)

Etuwe Prince Eboagwu

2010– Åtvidabergs FF 17/3

Midfielder

Dong Tam Long An FC (Vietnam First Division 2008)

Prince Ikpe Ekong

2006–2008 GAIS 46/1

2008– Djurgårdens IF 31/1

Midfielder

Xiamen Lanshi (China First Division 2005)

Bala Ahmed Garba

2003 GIF Sundsvall 26/5

Forward

FK Haugesund (Norway First Division 2003) / IK Start (Norway First Division 2004)

Kennedy Igboanike

2007–2010 Djurgårdens IF 36/11

Loan to Vasalunds IF (Sweden Second Division 2008–2009)

Forward

Dynamo Football Academy, Nigeria (2006)

Peter Ijeh

2001–2003 Malmö FF 40/34

2004–2005 IFK Göteborg 36/13

Forward

Julius Berger FC (Nigeria First Division 2001) / FC Copenhagen (Denmark First Division 2006)

Monday James

2009 Hammarby IF 8/0

Defender

Bayelsa United FC (Nigeria First Division 2008) / Hammarby IF (Sweden Second Division 2010)

Pascal Naftali Kondaponi

2008 Ljungskile SK 17/2

Forward

Clube Desportivo das Aves (Portugal Second Division 2007) / Qingdao Jonoon F.C. (China First Division 2009)

Garba Lawal

2004 IF Elfsborg 12/0

Midfielder

Levski Sofia (Bulgaria First Division 2003) / CD Santa Clara (Portugal Second Division 2005)

Michael (“Mike”) Edirin Obiku

1994 Helsingborgs IF 14/9 (Loan from Feyenoord Rotterdam)

Forward

Feyenoord Rotterdam (Netherlands First Division 1994) / Feyenoord Rotterdam (Netherlands First Division 1995)

Edward Ofere

2005–2010 Malmö FF 76/24

Forward

Enugu Rangers (Nigeria First Division 2004) / Unione Sportiva Lecce (Italy First Division 2011)

Akombo Ukeyima

2008 GIF Sundsvall 1/0

Loan to IFK Mariehamn (Finland First Division 2008)

Forward

GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2007) / GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Rwanda

BoBo Bola

2005 Landskrona BoIS 7/1

Forward

APR FC (Rwanda First Division 2004) / Landskrona BoIS (Sweden Second Division 2006)

Olivier Karekezi

2005–2007 Helsingborgs IF 60/18

Forward

APR FC (Rwanda First Division 2004) / Ham-Kam (Norway Second Division 2008)

Senegal

Mamadou Diallo

2003 IFK Göteborg 13/3

Forward

Al-Ahli Jidda (Saudi Arabia First Division 2003) / Pahang FA (Malaysia First Division 2004)

Sierra Leone

Mahmadu Alphajor Bah

2005 Halmstads BK 9/0

Defender

Zhèjīāng Lùchéng (China Second Division 2004) / Al-Qadisiyah al-Khobar (Saudi Arabia First Division 2005)

Gbassay Bangura

1997 Degerfors IF 24/3

1998 IF Elfsborg 7/1

Defender/Midfielder

Café Opera (Sweden Third Division 1996) / Mariedals IK (Sweden Fourth Division)

Mohamed Bangura

2010– AIK 13/6

Forward

IFK Värnamo (Sweden Third Division 2010)

Samuel Barlay

2004–2007 Malmö FF 4/0

Loan to IFK Mariehamn (Finland First Division 2006)

Loan to Örgryte IS (Sweden Second Division 2007)

Midfielder

East End Lions F.C. (Sierra Leone First Division 2003) / IFK Mariehamn (Finland First Division 2008)

Aluspah Brewah

2004 Hammarby IF 7/1

Forward

RSC Charleroi (Belgium First Division 2003) / Fortaleza EC (Brazil Second Division 2004)

Kemokai Kallon

1997 Ljungskile SK 1/0

Loan to Norrby IF (Sweden Third Division 1997)

Defender

AS Kaloum Star (Guinea First Division 1996) / Safa Beirut SC (Lebanon First Division 1999)

Brima Koroma

2003 Enköpings SK 14/0

2005–2006 Kalmar FF 21/1

Forward

Essinge SK (Sweden Sixth Division 2002) / Botafogo Futebol Clube (Brazil Campeonato Paulista—Série B on loan from Enköpings SK 2004)

Enköpings SK (Sweden Second Division 2004) / Valsta Syrianska IK (Sweden Third Division 2007)

Ibrahim (“Marcel”) Koroma

2010–Trelleborgs FF 11/1

Defender/Midfielder

Motala AIF (Sweden Third Division 2009)

John Sama

1997 Degerfors IF 5/0

Midfielder

Visby IF (Sweden Third Division 1996) / Club unknown (Out of football?)

Kabba Samura

2000–2003 IFK Göteborg 16/3

Loan to Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2003)

2005 Assyriska FF 22/3

Forward

IFK Ölme (Sweden Fourth Division 1999) / Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2004) / OFI Crete (Greece First Division 2006)

Hassan Mila Sesay
 2009 Örebro 0/0
 Midfielder
 KuPS Kuopio (Finland First Division 2008) / Viikingit Helsinki (Finland Second Division 2010)

Sheriff Suma
 2007–2008 GAIS 14/0
 Loan to FK Haugesund (Norway Second Division 2008)
 Forward
 Årvidabergs FF (Sweden Second Division 2006) / Ermís Aradíppou (Cyprus First Division 2009)

Somalia

Yunus Ismail
 2007–2009 Örebro SK 0/0
 Forward
 IK Franke (Sweden Fourth Division 2006) / Out of football 2010

South Africa

Stephen Armstrong
 2000 Västra Frölunda 12/1
 Forward
 Mid-Michigan Bucks (USA USL Premier Development League 1999) / Watford (England Second Division 2000–2001)

Lance Davids
 2006–2008 Djurgårdens IF 64/6
 Defender/Midfielder
 1860 Munich (German First Division 2006) / SuperSport United FC (South Africa First Division 2009)

Neathan Gibson
 1997 IFK Norrköping 12/3
 Forward
 Sarawak FA (Malaysia First Division 1996) / Albriex Niigata (First Division Japan 1997)

May Mahlangu
 2009– Helsingborgs IF 27/3
 Midfielder/Forward
 IFK Hässleholm (Sweden Third Division 2009)/

Thando Mngomeni
 2004–2006 Helsingborgs IF 29/3
 Loan to Umtata Bush Bucks (South Africa First Division 2005–2006)
 Midfielder/Forward
 SuperSport United FC (South Africa First Division 2003) / Santos Cape Town (South Africa First Division 2007)

Nkosinathi “Toni” Nhleko

2006–2007 Hammarby IF 12/0

Loan to Sandefjord Fotball (Norway First Division 2007)

Forward

Viking Stavanger (Norway First Division 2005) / Jomo Cosmos (South Africa First Division 2008)

Siyabonga Nomvethé

2005 Djurgårdens IF 5/1 (On loan from Udinese Italy First Division 2005)

Forward

Udinese (Italy First Division 2005) / Orlando Pirates (South Africa First Division 2006)

Nathan Paulse

2008–2009 Hammarby IF 32/2

Forward

Ajax Cape Town (South Africa First Division 2007–2008) / Ajax Cape Town (South Africa First Division 2009–2010 on loan from Hammarby IF)

Tanzania

Kali Ongala

2008 GIF Sundsvall 18/0

Midfielder

GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2007) / GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Haruna Moshi Shabani

2010 Gefle IF 5/0

Midfielder/Forward

Simba SC (Tanzania First Division 2009) / Simba S.C. (Tanzania First Division 2010)

Togo

Abdel Seidou

2000 Örebro SK 3/0

Forward

Vretstorps IF (Sweden Fourth Division 1999) / Degerfors IF (Sweden Second Division 2001)

Tunisia

Melki Amri

1977 Hammarby IF 3/0

Defender

Étolie Sportive du Sahel (Tunisia First Division 1976) / Club unknown (Out of football?)

Samir Bakaou

1987 Västra Frölunda IF 13/0

1988–1990 GAIS 61/13

Midfielder

GAIS (Sweden Second Division 1986) / Out of football 1991

Uganda

Michael (Mike) Sserumaga (Alternatively Michael Sserumagga)

2007–2008 Helsingborgs IF 0/0

Forward

Police FC (Uganda First Division 2007) / Uganda Revenue Authority SC (Uganda First Division 2009)

Abubaker Tabula

2008 GIF Sundsvall 5/0

Defender

GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2007) / No club contract 2009

Zambia

Isaac Chansa

2007–2009 Helsingborgs IF 40/3

Midfielder

Orlando Pirates (South Africa First Division 2007) / Orlando Pirates (South Africa First Division 2010)

Rodgers Kola

2009– Helsingborg 0/0

Loan to Golden Arrows (South Africa First Division 2009)

Loan to Hapoel Bnei Lod F.C. (Israel Second Division 2009–2010)

Loan to Hapoel Ironi Rishon LeZion F.C. (Israel First Division 2010–2011)

Forward

Zanaco F.C. (Zambia First Division 2008)

Clifford Mulenga

2005–2006 Örgryte IS 11/0 (Loan from University of Pretoria F.C.)

Forward

University of Pretoria F.C. (South Africa Second Division 2005) / University of Pretoria F.C. (South Africa Second Division 2007)

Boyd Mwila

2003–2006 Örgryte IS 63/14

2009– Djurgårdens IF 19/2

Loan to FC Trollhättan (Sweden Third Division 2010)

Forward

Chiparamba Great Eagles Football Academy (Lusaka Zambia 2002)

Edwin Phiri

2002–2005 Örgryte IS 41/1

2008 Ljungskile SK 21/0

Defender

Chiparamba Great Eagles Football Academy (Lusaka Zambia 2001)
Ljungskile SK (Sweden Second Division 2007) / Ljungskile SK (Sweden Second
Division 2009)

Dominic Yobe
2004–2007 Örgryte IS 34/0
Loan to AC Oulu (Finland Second Division 2007)
Midfielder

Chiparamba Great Eagles Football Academy (Lusaka Zambia, 2003) / AC Oulu
(Finland Second Division 2008)

Statistics through 2010 season (*Allsvenskan* league games only)

Sources: “Afrikanska spelare i allsvenskan” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 8 June 2010;
<http://www.svenskfotboll.se/allsvenskan>; <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se>; <http://www.national-football-teams.com>; <http://www.footballdatabase.eu>; <http://www.transfermarkt.co.uk>; <http://www.eliteprospects.com>; <http://www.eurosport.se/fotboll>

APPENDIX B

African-Born Swedish Nationals in *Allsvenskan*, 1991–2010

African nationality and/or African place of birth

Name

Club and season in *Allsvenskan* (appearances/goals)

Position

Previous club prior to *Allsvenskan* / Subsequent club/country after *Allsvenskan*

Algeria/Guinea-Bissau

José Monteiro (de Macedo)

2006–2009 Hammarby IF 73/1

Central/Right defender

Hammarby Talang FF (Sweden Third Division 2006) / Hammarby IF (Sweden Second Division 2010)

Benin

Yosif Ayuba

2009– Djurgårdens IF 15/1

Defender

Vasalunds IF (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Democratic Republic of the Congo

Kangana Ndiwa (alternatively Lord Kangana Ndiwa)

2002–2003 Djurgårdens IF 0/0

Loan Värtans IK (Sweden Fourth Division 2002–2003)

Defender

Djurgårdens IF (Youth) / Bolton Wanderers (England First Division 2004)

Pagguy Zunda

2000–2002 Djurgårdens IF 0/0

Loan to 2001 Värtans IF (Sweden Third Division 2001)

Loan to Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2002)

Forward

Djurgårdens IF (Youth) / Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2003)

Ethiopia

Benjamin Kibebe

1999–2004 AIK 80/2

Defender

Hammarby IF (Youth) / Tromsø IL (Norway First Division 2005)

Gambia

Kebba Ceesay

2007– Djurgårdens IF 64/1

Defender

IK Brage (Swedish Third Division 2006)

Njogu Demba-Nyrén

2000–2001 BK Häcken 11/1

Forward

Falu BS (Sweden Third Division 1999) / P.A.S. Giannina (Greece Second Division 2002)

Saihou Jagne

2008–2010 AIK 39/7

Loan GIF Sundsvall (Sweden Second Division 2010)

Forward

Väsby United (Sweden Second Division 2008) / IF Brommapojkarna (Sweden Second Division 2011)

Mohamed Jallow-Mbye (alternatively Mohamed Mbye)

2008 Kalmar FF 1/0

Defender

Stade Rennais FC B-team (France 2007) / Assyriska FF (Sweden Second Division 2009)

Amadou Jawo

2008–2009 Gefle IF 41/10

2009– Elfsborgs IF 30/3

Forward

Vallentuna BK (Sweden Third Division 2007)

Omar Jawo

2009–2010 Gefle IF 49/0

Defender

Väsby United (Sweden Second Division 2008) / Syrianska FC (Sweden First Division 2011)

Ghana

Jones Kusi-Asare

1999, 2001 Djurgårdens IF 15/3

2003–2004 Landskrona BoIS 33/7

2005–2008 Djurgårdens IF 93/28

Forward

Vasalund/Essinge IF (Sweden Third Division 1998) / Djurgårdens IF (Sweden Second Division 2000)

Djurgårdens IF (Sweden Second Division 2000) / Grazer AK (Austria First Division 2002–2003)

Denizlispor (Turkey First Division 2003) / Esberg fB (Denmark First Division 2009)

Mike Owuso

2001 Örgryte IS 24/0

2004 Trelleborgs FF 2004 13/0

Defender

Örgryte IS (Sweden First Division 2000) / NEC Nijmegen (Netherlands First Division 2002)

NEC Nijmegen (Netherlands First Division 2003) / Loan to Nykøbing FA (Denmark Second Division 2005)

John Pelu

2001–2004 Helsingborgs IF 22/1

2006 Östers IF 7/0

Forward

Helsingborgs IF (Youth 2000) / Östers IF (Sweden Second Division 2005) / Kongsviger IL (Norway Second Division 2007)

Liberia

Samuel Wowoah

1999 Djurgårdens IF 16/3

2001–2002 Halmstads BK 28/2

2002–2004 Djurgårdens IF 19/4

Loan Stabæk IF (Norway First Division 2004)

2005–2006 IFK Göteborg 40/5

2008– Örebro SK 87/4

Defender/Midfielder

Motala AIF (Sweden Fourth Division 1999) / Djurgårdens IF (Sweden Second Division 2000)

Djurgårdens IF (Sweden Second Division 2000) / Enosis Neon Paralimni (Cyprus First Division 2007)

Enosis Neon Paralimni (Cyprus First Division 2007)

Togo

Pascal Simpson

1991–1997 AIK 141/43

2002 Halmstads BK 11/3 (Loan from FC Köpenhamn)

Forward

IF Brommapojkarna (youth 1990) / *Vålerenga IF* (Norway First Division 1998)

FC Köpenhamn (Denmark First Division 2000) / FC Köpenhamn (Denmark First Division 2003)

Statistics through 2010 season (*Allsvenskan* league games only)

Sources: *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010); <http://www.svenskfotboll.se/allsvenskan>; <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se>; <http://www.national-football-teams.com>; www.eurosport.se/fotboll

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Ian Hawkey, *Feet of the Chameleon: The Story of African Football* (London: Portico, 2009) 10.
2. See Appendix A. None of the 109 players listed in Appendix A were Swedish nationals at the time that they originally arrived in *Allsvenskan*. African-born footballers that were raised and played organized youth football in Sweden before entering *Allsvenskan* are, in contrast, treated as a separate entity. This second group appears in Appendix B.
3. Jonas Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010* (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2010) 186. See also Riksidrottsförbundet, “Integrationsstatningar ger resultat” 15 Aug. 2009 <http://www.rf.se> accessed 10/5/2010. Between 1999 and 2009, the number of players with immigrant origins in *Allsvenskan* more than doubled, rising from 22 to 51.
4. The Nordic countries are composed of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland. So people with “non-Nordic origins” refers to people that have family roots outside of this particular region, which is known as *Norden*.
5. Carl Rommel, “Playing with Difference: Football as a Performative Space for Division among Suryoye Migrants in Sweden” *Soccer & Society* 12 (6; 2011): 851–52.
6. Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensman, *Gaming of the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010) 2–3, 30–32, 267–68; Ben Kerste, “KSK Beveren: Belgiens ‘neue Diamanten,’” in Karin Guggeis (ed.), *Fussball, Ein Spiel—Viele Welten* (Munich: Arnoldsche, 2006) 235–36; Marc Mariotini, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in France: The Status of ‘Foreigners’ in Amateur Football—A Case-Study of Marseille,” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Berlin: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 135, 138.
7. José Alberto Diaz, “Invandrarnas integration—nägra teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkter,” in Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, *Vägar in i Sverige. Bilaga till invandrarpolitiska kommitténs slutbetänkande* (Stockholm: SOU 1996 55) 72.
8. William Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945 to the Present* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002) 424–34; Margareta Popoola, *Integration. En Samtidspeglning* (Stockholm: Svenska Kommunförbundet, 2002) 9–16, 71–73.
9. Geoff Hare, *Football in France: A Cultural History* (New York: Berg, 2003) 134; Sine Agergaard and Jan Kahr Sorensen, “The Dream of Social Mobility: Ethnic Minority Players in Danish Football Clubs,” in Kausik Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer: A Global Exploration* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 70–71.
10. European Commission, “The Citizens of the European Union and Sport. Special Eurobarometer 213” 2004, 23–25. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_213_report_en.pdf accessed 2/2/2011. According to this poll, 73 percent of the

- respondents endorsed the statement that “sports help to integrate immigrants by promoting dialogue between different cultures.” Similarly, a full 64 percent agreed that “one can fight any type of discrimination through sport.”
11. Jeroen Vermeulen and Paul Verweel, “Participation in Sport: Bonding and Bridging as Identity Work,” in Ramón Spaaij (ed.), *The Social Impact of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 98–111; Bart Vanreusel, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 58–59, 75.
 12. “Foreword” by Morten Kjaerum in European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010 http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 13. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 123–28, 141–42, 145–77. For a specific illustration, see UEFA President Michel Platini as cited in European Commission press release, “Celebration Match: 50 Years in Europe and 50 Years of Europe” 12 March 2007 <http://ec.europa.eu> accessed 2/1/2011.
 14. Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (II): Challenging Racism and Xenophobia,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 110; Mette Andersson, “Multikulturelle representanter mellom nasjonal og global toppidrett” 12 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 1/1/2010. For a specific illustration, see Tony Cascarino, “Dressing-Room Banter from My Time at the Bridge Would No Longer Be Acceptable” *The Times* 26 Oct. 2011. Cascarino played professional football in England and France from 1981 to 2000, at which time he also represented Ireland internationally.
 15. For a specific illustration, see post by “Anders” (reader comments) 2 Nov. 2009, “Allsvenskan: Mutumba and trotjårnarna gav fotbollen en seger” <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 6/2/2011. “Anders” postulates that IFK Göteborg would benefit from having more players of color, as this would curb racism among the club’s fans.
 16. Olle Svening, “Mirkaklet Malmö” *Aftonbladet* 24 April 2001; Ola Billiger, “Idrottens fostrande roll viktigare än på länge” *Svenska Dagbladet* 20 Sept. 2010; Robert Laul, “Våldet kan motverkas” *Aftonbladet* 31 May 2013.
 17. For a specific illustration, see Mats Olsson, “Han sköt oss” *Expressen* 14 Oct. 1993. See also Mohamed Ahmed, “Ut med engelsmän, in med afrikaner” 26 Feb. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 1/30/2011.
 18. Björn Stångberg, “Afrikanska fotbollsspelare i årets allsvenskan” *Fokus Afrika* 1(2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010; “Yunus Ismail,” “Staffans Blogg: En Blogg För Den Politiska Vänsterliberala Traditionen” 13 May 2009 <http://frisinnad.blogspot.com> accessed 5/30/2012.
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 21. Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi, *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006) 35–37. See also “Sweden Sticks to Multiculturalism” 15 Sept.

- 2006 <http://news.bbc.co.uk> accessed 3/10/2012, and “Sweden Top for Welcoming Migrants” 15 Oct. 2010 <http://news.bbc.co.uk> accessed 2/22/2012.
22. “Främlingsfientlighet i Sverige” 2010 <http://www.migrationsinfo.se> accessed 10/20/2010; European Commission, “Majorities’ Attitudes toward Minorities in European Union Member States, Results from the Standard Eurobarometers 1997–2000–2003,” report 2 for European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) 2003, v–vii. http://igiturarchive.library.uu.nl/fss/.../coenders_03_majority_report2.pdf accessed 2/1/2011.
 23. In 1960, less than 5 percent of the country’s population was foreign born, but by 2000, this figure had already risen to 14.5 percent. “Sverige” 2010 <http://www.migrationsinfo.se> accessed 10/20/2010.
 24. Statistiska Centralbyrån, “Befolkningen i Danderyd lever längst” 17 March 2011 http://www.scb.se/Pages/PressRelease____310406.aspx accessed 3/12/12. In 2010, 19.1 percent of the country’s residents had at least one foreign-born parent, which is also the criteria used by the Swedish government to determine immigration statistics.
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 28. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, “Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture” *The British Journal of Sociology* 50 (3; 1999): 427–28.
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 30. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Idrotten i siffror 2010* 2010, 3–4. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_16508/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 11/11/2011. According to international research on this topic, Sweden actually has one of the highest percentages of organized football players in the entire world and also one of the highest rates of public viewership of football on television. Simon Kuper and Stefan Szymanski, *Soccernomics* (New York: Nation Books, 2009) 183, 197.
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 32. Rocco De Biasi and Pierre Lanfranchi, “The Importance of Difference: Football Identities in Italy,” in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football* (New York: Berg, 1997) 89; Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 19–41.
 33. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1993) 139.
 34. Hare, *Football in France*, 120; Markovits and Rensman, *Gaming of the World*, 71–73.
 35. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 11, 52–53. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 36. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 97–108, 124–76, 242–44; Ulrich Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!: The Story of German Football* (London: WSC Books, 2003) 275–76.

37. Billy Ehn, Jonas Frykman, and Orvar Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1993) 174–80, 207, 214–34; Jesper Fundberg, *Möten på fotbollsplan. En studie av den mångkulturella idrotten* (Stockholm: Mångkulturellt Centrum, 1996) 30.
38. Jesper Högström, *Blågult. Fotbollslandslaget genom 100 år* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2008) 170.
39. Joseph Maguire and Bob Pearton, “Global Sport and the Migration Patterns of France ’98 World Cup Finals Players: Some Preliminary Observations,” in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 177; Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 20.
40. Ramón Spaaij, “The Social Impact of Sport: Diversities, Complexities and Contexts,” in Spaaij (ed.), *The Social Impact of Sport*, 3; Richard Giulianotti, “Human Rights, Globalization and Sentimental Education: The Case of Sport,” in Richard Giulianotti and David McArdle (eds.), *Sport, Civil Liberties and Human Rights* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 63.
41. Arne Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott* (Stockholm: Tidens Förlag, 1983) 85, 107–9; Ehn, Frykman, and Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige*, 215–16.
42. Tomas Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” in Göran Rydstad and Svante Lundberg (eds.), *Att möta främlingar* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 2000) 141–42, 164–65.
43. Fundberg, *Möten på fotbollsplan*, 32. See also Jesper Fundberg, “Vi vs Dom: Idrottens förmåga och problem med integration” 26 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 2/2/2013. In this article, Fundberg lists a handful of reservations concerning the integrative potential of sports.
44. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 2003, 3. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010; Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nollägesanalys* 2010, 4. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 2/2/2012. Fundberg wrote both of these reports, and they are also the two most in-depth Swedish studies on this topic.
45. Katarina Lindberg and Anita Ekstrand, “Kan idrotten vara en integrationsfaktor för vuxna invandrare?” (Lund University, Kandidatuppsats, Dept. of Sociology, 2005) <http://www.lu.se> accessed 9/9/2010; Andres Jorquera, “Fotboll och Integration: En studie om tre invandrarungdomars berättelser” (Karlstads University, C-Uppsats, Dept. of Sociology, 2008); Zejko Vidakovic, “‘De hoppar och skuttar när vi vinner!’: En kvalitativ studie om integration genom idrott” (University of Gothenburg, C-Uppsats, Dept. of Social Work, 2008). Lindberg and Ekstrand’s study, for instance, is based on interviews with only four respondents, whereas Jorquera’s is based on three, and Vidakovic’s on five respondents, respectively. This is not meant to denigrate the findings of this research; rather the intent here is solely to point out that these studies are based on data from a very small number of respondents, which raises questions about their overall representativeness.
46. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Vilka är idrottens valda maktbavare?—Om rekrytering till styrelser inom svensk idrott* 2009, 6. <http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx> accessed 11/11/2011. Like the other two major studies on this topic, Jesper Fundberg also authored this one.
47. “Idrottsrörelse utan mångfald” *Svenska Dagbladet* 28 May 2006; “Invandrare får inte ta plats” 22 Aug. 2008 <http://www.fokus.se> accessed 2/28/2012.
48. When this book refers to people of African descent, ancestry, or heritage, it encompasses the African Diaspora in its entirety, and it includes everyone from people that were born and raised in Africa to persons that have never set foot on the African

- continent. What they have in common with each other in Sweden is that they all are perceived to be “black” (or at least biracial).
49. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, “The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Glocalization of the ‘Serious Life’” *British Journal of Sociology* 55 (4; 2004): 545–68; James Rosenau, “Governance in a Global Order,” in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002) 70.
 50. Lars Richt, Swedish Football Federation, as cited in Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nulägesanalys* 4 (2010): 23. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.asp accessed 2/2/2012. See also “Africans star in Sweden” 31 March 2004 <http://www.news.bbc-co.uk> accessed 4/26/2011.
 51. “Forboll och politik i ett globalt växelspel” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 4 April 2006; “Och vad hände sedan med . . . ? Del 1” 25 Feb. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/19/2011.
 52. “Djurgården—världens lag” *Expressen* 9 Feb. 2007; “Reubens uppdrag för Ghana” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2012.
 53. “Afrikanskt rekord i Allsvenskan 2012” *Offside* 2 (2012): 10.
 54. Raffaele Poli, “Football Players Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans’ Mobility,” in Jonathan Magee et al. (eds.), *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances* (Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport, 2005) 218.
 55. Eric S. Einhorn and John Logue, “Scandinavia and Globalization” *Scandinavian Studies* 74 (4; 2004): 502–4, 530–32.
 56. Jonathan Magee and John Sugden, “‘The World at Their Feet’: Professional Football and International Labor Migration” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26 (2002): 428.
 57. Paul Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa: African Football Labor Migration to Europe,” in James A. Mangan (ed.), *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) 234–35.
 58. Joseph Maguire and Bob Pearton, “Global Sport and the Migration Patterns of France ’98 World Cup Finals Players: Some Preliminary Observations,” in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 181–86.
 59. Raffaele Poli, “Africans’ Status in the European Football Players’ Labor Market” *Soccer & Society* 7 (2–3; 2006): 289. Historically these same tendencies have shaped the internal European football market as well. Patrick McGovern, “Globalization or Internationalization? Foreign Footballers in the English League, 1945–95” *Sociology* 36 (2002): 28–41.
 60. Twelve out of the 109 African football imports that were signed by *Allsvenskan* clubs between 1977 and 2010 came from Sierra Leone. See Appendix A.
 61. “You must win!” *Offside* 5 (2011): 42–74; “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside* 2 (2012): 90.
 62. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 79, 102–3; Paul Darby, “African Football Labour Migration to Portugal: Colonial and Neo-Colonial Resource” *Soccer & Society* 8 (4; 2007): 495–96.
 63. Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 236–39.
 64. Richard J. Reid, *A History of Modern Africa 1800 to the Present*, 2nd edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012) 304–10, 359. It might be further added that similar patterns are discernable in other African sports, such as track and field. John Bale and Joe Sang, “Out of Africa: The ‘Development’ of Kenyan Athletics, Talent Migration and the Global Sports System,” in John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 214–17.

65. Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 184–85; Michiko Hase, “Race in Soccer as a Global Sport,” in John Bloom and Michael N. Willard (eds.), *Sport Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) 304.
66. Ian Hawkey, *Feet of the Chameleon: The Story of African Football* (London: Portico, 2009) 40–54.
67. “Nu måste bollen rulla svenskarnas afrikanska väg” *Expressen* 2 April 2010.
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69. For a specific illustration, see Patrick Mörk as cited in “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside* 2 (2012): 83.
70. Björn Wesström, Head Scout AIK, as cited in “Afrikanskt rekord i Allsvenskan 2012” *Offside* 2 (2012): 10.
71. “Kritiserad hemma—profet i Afrika” *Sydsvenskan* 3 March 2005; “Jag vet inte var mina vänner är” *Aftonbladet* 12 June 2006.
72. Udo Merkel et al., “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Germany: 50 Years Later—Here We Go Again?,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 153–55.
73. Issa Hayatou, the president of the Confederation of African Football (CAF), as cited by Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe” *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 10 (2007): 444–45.
74. Sepp Blatter as cited in “Soccer’s Greedy Neo-Colonialists” *Financial Times* 17 Dec. 2003.
75. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 79, 118–19; Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 235.
76. Poli, “Africans’ Status in the European Football Players’ Labor Market,” 289–90; Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 228–33. For a specific illustration, see the head coach of the Gambian national team, John Jeboh Sherrington, as cited in “Afrikansk fotboll: Attraktiv och Annorlunda” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 26 May 2007.
77. Razak Omotoyossi as cited in “Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008; Ibrahim Tahini as cited in “Sierra Leone Star Ibrahim Tahini Explains Why Expatriate Coaches Fail in Africa” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 11/9/2011.
78. BoBo Bola as cited in “Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005. African players in Finland testify to same thing. See, for instance, Amos Ekhalie as cited in “Landslagsspelarna jobbar på Åland” *Ålandstidningen* 30 July 2010.
79. For a specific illustration, see Kangana Ndiwa as cited in “DR Congo Needs More Pros” 27 June 2004 <http://www.bbc.co.uk> accessed 7/14/2011.
80. “L-O Mattson blir Banguras nya tränare” 26 Jan. 2010 <http://www.eurosport.se> accessed 4/20/2011; “You must win!” *Offside* 5 (2011): 42–74.
81. “Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007; “Gambia: Scorpions—If Wish to Be” 11 July 2011 <http://www.allafrica.com> accessed 7/14/2011. In 1999–2000, Tore Lennartsson oversaw “the Scorpions.”
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92. “Målet: Sverige” *Aftonbladet* 5 Jan. 2009.
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96. “Sören Åkeby jagar SM-guld på safari” *Aftonbladet* 7 Jan. 2006.
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103. Christian Catomeris, *Det ohyggliga arvet. Sverige och främlingen genom tiderna* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 2004) 58–61.
104. Luyinda Ssemakula, *Afrikansk och svensk kultur i möte* (Västerås: Malpo Books, 1998) 89–91.
105. Raffaele Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographical and Cultural Aspects” *Africa Spectrum* 41 (3; 2006): 411; Reid, *A History of Modern Africa 1800 to the Present*, 341–43, 355.

106. Viktorija Kalonaitytė et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige: Upplevelser av diskriminering och rasism bland ungdomar med afrikansk bakgrund i Sverige* (Stockholm: Ombudsmannen Mot Etnisk Diskriminering, 2008) 41–42; Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige* (Stockholm: Statens Invandrarverk, 1983) 22.
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109. For a specific example, see Johan Erikson, assistant coach Thanda Academy (and son of the former England National Coach, Sven-Göran Eriksson), as cited in “Målet: Sverige” *Aftonbladet* 5 Jan. 2009. In this interview, Erikson does little to hide his contempt for the religious beliefs and practices of the academy’s local African players. Among other things, Erikson says “they don’t believe in science in this country [South Africa].”
110. Christian Bawa Yamba, “En Afrikans Möte Med Sverige,” in Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige*, 26–27, 50–51; Ssemakula, *Afrikansk och svensk kultur i möte*, xi, 13–15.
111. Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 9, 44.
112. Kalonaitytė et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige*, 35.
113. For specific illustrations, see Björn Andersson, Kalmar FF, as cited in “De förbjuder skräcktuttan” *Aftonbladet* 19 June 2010, and Lars Lagerbäck as cited in “Intervju: Lars Lagerbäck” 11 Nov. 2010 <http://www.matchdax.se> accessed 6/28/2011.
114. The idea that “Africans” and “Swedes” are fundamentally distinct from each other also habitually appears in Swedish sports reporting. For two specific examples, see “Peter Ijeh är ingen Svenssonlirare” *Dagens Nyheter* 10 Aug 2002, and “De dödade min styvmor med voodoo” *Aftonbladet* 8 Aug. 2010.
115. For a specific illustration, see Lennart Johansson as cited in “Svenska fotbollsbasen talar ut om VM-grälet i Afrika” *Aftonbladet* 14 Nov. 1996.
116. “Victoria Kawesa och Viktorija Kalonaityte: Fotbollsgroderna är förtäckt rasism” *Expressen* 21 June 2010. See also Catomeris, *Det ohyggliga arvet*, 63, 66–67.
117. Helena Tolvhed, *Nationen på spel: Kropp, kön och svenskhet i populärpressens representationer av olympiska spel 1948–1972* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget h:ström, 2008) 239–51, 280–85, 294–98.
118. Neil Farrington et al., *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2012) 23–31; Daniel Burdsey, *British Asians and Football: Culture, Identity and Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 142.
119. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 6; McCarthy, Jones, and Potrac, “Constructing Images and Interpreting Realities,” 219.
120. Henriksson and Gibson, *Svart i Sverige*, 58–67, 72–83.
121. *ABC sportartiklars katalog* (Sommar 1941): 2. Courtesy of Torbjörn Andersson.
122. Kitimbwa Sabuni, “Svenskheten och afrosvenskheten,” in Kolade Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansvenska röster: En antologi om afrikansvenskarnas situation i, och tankar om, Sverige* (Stockholm: Notis, 2009) 30–31.
123. Leif Magnusson, Botkyrka Multicultural Center, as cited in “Försvarare av det politiskt korrekta” *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 July 2005. See also Catomeris, *Det ohyggliga arvet*, 67–68.

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125. Raymond F. Betts, *Decolonization*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2004) 78–87; Sampson, *Race and Empire*, 99–108.
126. Irene Molina and Paulina de los Reyes, “Kalla mörket natt! Kön, klass och ras/etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige,” in Paulina de los Reyes et al. (eds.), *Maktens (o)lika förkländnader: Kön, klass and etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2002) 285–317; Katarina Mattsson and Mekonnen Tesfabuney, “Rasism i vardagen,” in Ingemar Lindberg (ed.), *Det slutna folkhemmet. Om etniska klyftor och blågul självbild* (Stockholm: Agora, 2002) 32.
127. Jonathan Ngeh, *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation: African Migrants in Sweden* (Umeå: Umeå University Dept. of Sociology, 2011) 165. See also Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes: One Man’s Odyssey into the Heart of Darkness and the Origins of European Genocide* (New York: New Press, 2006) 14–20, 133–35.
128. Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 265–67.
129. Maja Hagerman, *Det rena landet. Om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2006); Maija Runcis, *Steriliseringar i folkhemmet* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 1998).
130. Tobias Hübinette et al., “Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige. Inledning,” in Tobias Hübinette et al. (eds.), *Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige* (Botkyrka: Mångkulturellt Centrum, 2012) 30–33; Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 167–69, 172–73.
131. Pred, *Even in Sweden*, 186–223, 263–87.
132. Tore Björge, “Terrorist Violence toward Immigrants and Refugees in Scandinavia: Patterns and Motives,” in Tore Björge and Rob Witte (eds.), *Racist Violence in Europe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993) 29–31.
133. Ausonius became known as “the laser man” because during the first several shootings he used a rifle with a laser sight on it. Gellert Tamas, *Lasermannen. En berättelse om Sverige* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 2002).
134. “Lasermannen sköt hans far” *Aftonbladet* 9 Dec. 2006. See also Imad Zatara at National Football Teams <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=10199> accessed 6/6/2013.
135. European Commission, “Racist Violence in 15 EU Member States: A Comparative Overview of Findings from the RAXEN NFP Reports 2001–2004” 1 April 2005 <http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/CS-RV-main.pdf> accessed 2/1/2011.
136. Heléne Lööv, “The Cult of Violence: The Swedish Racist Counterculture,” in Björge and Witte (eds.), *Racist Violence in Europe*, 62–80; Mikael Ekman and Daniel Poohl, *Ur Skuggan. En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2010) 74–89, 143–68.
137. Jens Rydgren, *From Tax Populism to Ethnic Nationalism: Radical Right-Wing Populism in Sweden* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006) 30–34.
138. “Swedish Anti-Immigration Party Claims Seats” *New York Times* 19 Sept. 2010.
139. Stieg Larsson and Mikael Ekman, *Sverigedemokraterna* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 2001) 125–81, 204–323.
140. “Swedish Far-Right Leader: Success Due to Immigration Backlash” 21 Sept. 2010 <http://www.cnn.com> accessed 9/21/2010. See also “Våra åsikter” undated <http://www.sverigedemokraterna.se> accessed 12/12/2012. According to the Swedish Democrats’ own website, it is a “Swedish-friendly” party that wants to see immigration curtailed. The party also rejects multiculturalism and instead calls for complete assimilation.

141. Harald F. Moore, "Immigration in Denmark and Norway: Protecting Culture or Protecting Rights?" *Scandinavian Studies* 82 (3; 2010): 357–60; MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000*, 190–204.
142. Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En Svensk Kulturhistoria*, 3rd edition (Stockholm: Dialogs, 2005) 403; MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000*, 168–72, 190, 193–97. See also Robert Miles, *Racism after "Race" Relations* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 2–3.
143. Mattsson and Tesfabuney, "Rasism i vardagen," 32.
144. "Grov rasism på SD-politikerns blogg" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 3 Sept. 2010. One can name numerous other similar illustrations: see, for instance, the Swedish Democratic parliamentary representative Markus Wiechel's derogatory comments about Africans as cited in "Markus Wiechel, SD, beskriver svarta afrikaner som 'aphelveten'" *Expressen* 26 April 2013.
145. Leif Sjöqvist, youth football coach, as cited in "Mina fotbollsskillar tror att de blir utvisade om SD kommer in i riksdagen" 15 Sept. 2010 <http://www.svtdebatt.se> accessed 2/7/2011. See also Swedish international Behrang Safari as cited in "Förvånad att se SD i riksdagen" *Aftonbladet* 10 Oct. 2010.
146. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 32. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
147. Heléne Löow, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980–1997* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 1998) 359.
148. Ekman and Poohl, *Ur Skuggan. En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna*, 244–74.
149. Åkesson as cited in "Anti-Immigrant Party Rises in Sweden" *New York Times* 13 Sept. 2010; Åkesson as cited in "Muslimerna är vårt största utländska hot" *Aftonbladet* 19 Oct. 2010.
150. Richard Jomshof, Swedish Democrat, as cited in "SD-toppen jämför islam med nazism" *Aftonbladet* 22 Nov. 2012.
151. "Stort hat mot muslimer ökar rasismen i Sverige" *Dagens Nyheter* 25 Oct. 2005; "Hatbrott vanliga mot muslimer" *Dagens Nyheter* 1 Oct. 2012. See also Arvsfonden, *Islam och muslimer i Sverige* 2010, 11–14. <http://www.arvsfonden.se> accessed 3/4/2012.
152. For specific illustrations, see post by "Fulfitan," 21 July 2006 "Kulturberikad fotboll! 'Mohammedan SC' slår ner domare och hotar spelare i Gothia Cup" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 10/3/2010, and post by "Anonymous" (reader comments), 2 July 2008 "Patetiska Jävla Nollor" <http://imittsverige2.wordpress.com> accessed 2/1/2011.
153. Burdsey, *British Asians and Football*, 55–59.
154. "Judiska fotbollsspelare attackerade" *Dagens Nyheter* 17 June 2004. See also Integrationsverket, *Rasism och främlingsfientlighet. Rapporter och delstudier om rasism och främlingsfientlighet i Sverige 2004* (Norrköping: Integrationsverkets Rapportserie, 2005) 246.
155. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 30–32, 36–37. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010. For a specific Swedish illustration, see "Sparkades Medvetlös: Fotbollsdomaren Said brutalt misshandlad: 'Du är en slav'" *Aftonbladet* 16 Sept. 2007.
156. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 30, 36–37. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.

157. Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 30–47.
158. Jacco van Sterkenburg, Jan Janssens, and Bas Rijnen (eds.), *Football and Racism: An Inventory of the Problems and Solutions in Eight West European Countries in the Framework of the Stand Up Speak Up Campaign* (Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media, 2005) 135; Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 53–76.
159. Carl-Gustaf Scott, “Forboll, rasism och högerextremism i det svenska samhället,” in Anders Ivarsson Westerberg et al. (eds.), *Det långa 1990-talet. En bok om när Sverige förändrades* (Umeå: Borea Förlag 2014) 425–43; Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En Svensk Kulturhistoria*, 3rd edition (Stockholm: Dialogs, 2005) 7, 325–47, 365–86.
160. Yamba, “En Afrikans Möte Med Sverige,” 36–37; Henriksson and Gibson, *Svart i Sverige*, 68–69, 92–97.
161. Catomeris, *Det ohyggliga arvet*, 59, 67–71.
162. That having been said, hostility toward people of African heritage appears to be growing as the number of African immigrants continues to rise in the twenty-first century. “Slagen för sin hudfärg” *Metro* 7 Oct. 2013.
163. Christos Kassimeris, “Deutschland über Alles: Discrimination in German Football,” in Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer*, 63; Merkel et al., “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Germany,” 156.
164. Anthony King, *The European Ritual: Football in the New Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 225–29; Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 2; Markovits and Rensman, *Gaming of the World*, 265.
165. Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001) 156–58.
166. Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 129–32; King, *The European Ritual*, 231, 235–37.
167. Integrationsverket, *Rasism och främlingsfientlighet i Sverige. Antisemitism, antiziganism och islamofobi 2006* (Norrköping: Integrationsverkets Rapportserie, 2007) 17–144.
168. One such exception, however, was when AIK faced Hapoel Tel Aviv in the UEFA cup in October 2007. On that occasion, several explicitly anti-Semitic chants were apparently heard from a small group of AIK supporters. Post by “vonSlyna,” 30 Dec 2008 “Elaka ramsor! (?)” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012. See also Robert Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack* (Göteborg: Bakaou Production AB, 2012) 88, 137.
169. Alberto Testa and Gary Armstrong, *Football, Fascism and Fandom: The Ultras of Italian Football* (London: A & C Black, 2010) 153–70; Viktor Karady and Miklós Hadas, “Soccer and Anti-Semitism in Hungary,” in Michael Brenner and Gideon Reuveni (eds.), *Emancipation through Muscles: Jews and Sports in Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006) 213–34.
170. Svanberg and Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring*, 379–82.
171. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 10, 35. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
172. Richie Moran, “Racism in Football: A Victim's Perspective,” in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 191–99; “Alleging Racism, Soccer Star Seeks Moral Compensation” *New York Times* 14 June 2009.
173. For a specific illustration, see the quote from the unidentified African footballer cited in Gyöngyi Szabó Földesi, “Football, Racism, and Xenophobia in Hungary: Racist and Xenophobic Behavior of Football Spectators,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism*

- and *Xenophobia in European Football*, 178. See also Christos Kassimeris, "Fascism, Separatism and the Ultras: Discrimination in Italian Football" *Soccer & Society* 12 (5; 2011): 684, and Hare, *Football in France*, 127.
174. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 35–36. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 175. Victoria Kawesa and Viktorija Kalonaityte, "Förebyggandet av etnisk diskriminering, rasism och utanförskap inom idrott i Sverige" (Stockholm: Centrum Mot Racism, 2011) 5–7. <http://centrummotrasism.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/sport-slutgiltig.pdf> accessed 3/3/2012.
 176. "Tingsrätten friar hockeypappa som ropade 'djävla neger'" *Dagens Nyheter* 10 Oct. 2005; "EM-stjärnan: 'Han frågade mig om jag hade glömt tvätta mig'" *Aftonbladet* 14 Dec. 2010.
 177. "Luleås sportchef anklagas för rasistiska glåpord" *Aftonbladet* 24 March 2011; "Han kallade mig för svartskalle" *Aftonbladet* 8 April 2011.
 178. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 10, 33. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 179. Markovits and Rensman, *Gaming of the World*, 217–51; King, *The European Ritual*, 231, 235–37.
 180. Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 53–76. For specific illustrations, see "Scourge of Racism in Our Game Never Really Went Away" *Yorkshire Post* 12 Jan. 2012; "Jozy Altidore Target of Racist Chants in Dutch Soccer" *USA Today* 30 Jan. 2013; and "Dortmund: Racism Is Unacceptable" 2013 <http://blogs.bettor.com> accessed 3/3/2013.
 181. For specific illustrations, see "Mångfaldsveckan: Torbjörn Björlund (v): 'Fotboll och mångfald'" 17 Oct. 2008 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 10/10/2010; posts by "Fredrik Forever Red and Blue" and "Sann HIF:are" (reader comments), 5 April 2011 "Fotboll och rasism" <http://www.hd.se/sport/blogg/sportbloggen> accessed 5 April 2011; and Martin Schori, "Rasismen tar allt mindre plats på läktarna" *Aftonbladet* 10 Oct. 2012.
 182. "Jimmie Åkesson: Blir nolltolerans mot rasism" *Expressen* 12 Oct. 2012. See also "Sverigedemokraterna är INTE rasister" 22 Sept. 2010 <http://www.facebook.com> accessed 3/3/2012.
 183. Habel, "Whitness Swedish Style," in Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansksvenska röster*, 102–3, 110–11; Sabuni, "Svenskheten och afrosvenskheten," 34.
 184. "Invandrarfientligt parti lockar var fjärde svensk" *Dagens Nyheter* 31 May 2007.
 185. Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, *Det blågula glashuset—strukturell diskriminering i Sverige* (SOU 56 2005) 91, 93–109, 121–22. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108/al/46188> accessed 2/2/2012.
 186. Marcus Priftis, *Främling vad döljer du för mig? En bok om rasism* (Stockholm: Leopard Förlag, 2012) 15–19.
 187. Berit Wigerfelt and Anders S. Wigerfelt, *Rasismens Ytringar: Exemplet Klippan* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2001) 233; Mattsson and Tesfabuney, "Rasism i vardagen," 31–32.
 188. Löow, "The Cult of Violence," 62–65. For a recent example, see "Sweden Alarmed by Series of 'Racist' Shootings" 28 Oct. 2010 <http://www.bbc.co.uk> accessed 10/30/2010, and "Peter Mangs såg upp till Lasermannen" *Kvällsposten* 14 Dec. 2011.
 189. Pred, *Even in Sweden*, 186–223, 263–87.
 190. Vanreusel, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium," 64–65; Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet," 420–21.

191. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010 http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
192. Christos Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football: Fair Play for All* (New York: Lexington Books, 2009) 189; Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, "Accidental Racists," 174–75.

Chapter 2

1. John Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality," in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) 234–35.
2. Ian Hawkey, *Feet of the Chameleon: The Story of African Football* (London: Portico, 2009) 10.
3. Steve Bloomfield, *Africa United: Soccer, Passion, Politics and the First World Cup in Africa* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010) 10–15. Led by Roger Milla, Cameroon reached the quarterfinals in the 1990 World Cup. The growing strength of African football was subsequently confirmed by the robust showing of African teams in the Olympics, as well as the Under-17 and Under-20 World Championships during the rest of the 1990s and 2000s. Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2010) 76–78, 94–95.
4. During the 2005/2006 season, African footballers represented 3.2 percent of the players in *La Liga*, 7.8 percent in the *Bundesliga*, 10.6 percent in the EPL, and 11.2 percent in *Serie A*. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 78–79.
5. Raffaele Poli's examination of UEFA statistics shows that by the 2002/2003 season, Africans already made up 19.6 percent of all foreign-born players in Europe's 78 professional and semiprofessional football leagues and African footballers could be found virtually everywhere in Europe. Raffaele Poli, "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labor Market" *Soccer & Society* 7 (2–3; 2006): 283–84.
6. Bloomfield, *Africa United*, 8.
7. Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 167.
8. David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006) 877–78, 881–84; Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 15, 91, 96–100.
9. Hawkey, *Feet of the Chameleon*, 11. According to Hawkey, outside of the top-tier clubs in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, and South Africa, there are very few places in Africa where players can make a decent living playing football, but even the salaries in these four African leagues pale in comparison to those in most European ones. Still, a top paid player can normally command a higher salary in Egypt than he would in one of the lower paying European leagues, like the Finnish league, for example.
10. In the words of Lanfranchi and Taylor, "the enduring problem for African football is that the organizational weakness and fragility of the professional sporting economy at home has precluded any alternative to the emigration of the best performers." Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 167.
11. Raffaele Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographic and Cultural Aspects" *Africa Spectrum* 41 (3; 2006): 404.
12. Paul Darby, "African Football Labour Migration to Portugal: Colonial and Neo-Colonial Resource" *Soccer & Society* 8 (4; 2007): 495–96.

13. Bloomfield, *Africa United*, 8–9, 15.
14. Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 407–8, 410–11.
15. Michiko Hase, “Race in Soccer as a Global Sport,” in John Bloom and Michael N. Willard (eds.), *Sport Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) 306–7; Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 239–41.
16. Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 239. Steven Bloomfield, for instance, retells a disheartening story about Mustapha from the Ivory Coast, who was defrauded by his agent while on route to a trial in Greece. In the end, Mustapha was left stranded and broke in Morocco. Bloomfield, *Africa United*, 207–8.
17. Paul Darby, Gerald Akindes and Matthew Kirwin, “Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31 (2; 2007): 148–56.
18. Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004) 141–66.
19. Paul Darby and Eirik Solberg, “Differing Trajectories: Football Development and Patterns of Player Migration in South Africa and Ghana,” in Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (eds.), *Football, Apartheid and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 125; Raffaele Poli, “Footballer Players Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans’ Mobility,” in Jonathan Magee et al. (eds.), *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances* (Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport, 2005) 229.
20. “European football under the spotlight” 15 June 2007 <http://www.europarl.europa.eu> accessed 1/25/2011.
21. Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe” *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 10 (2007): 450–51; Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 240. In 2001, FIFA made it illegal to sign players under the age of 18. This ruling was explicitly made with African footballers in mind.
22. Hase, “Race in Soccer as a Global Sport,” 306–7. For a specific illustration, see Antonio Matarrese, president of the Italian Football Federation, as cited by Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 83.
23. Collin King is the main exception to this consensus, as he stresses the historical continuities between the contemporary trade in African footballers and the earlier trans-Atlantic slave trade. Colin King, “Is Football the New African Slave Trade?,” in Daniel Burdsey (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Football* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 36–49.
24. Paul Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa: African Football Labor Migration to Europe,” in James A. Mangan (ed.), *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) 228; Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 407–8, 410–11.
25. Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 79–80; Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 227.
26. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 168–69.
27. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, 5th edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 370–78; Fredrick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past and the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 104–5.
28. Philip D. Curtain, *Why People Move: Migration in African History* (Waco, TX: Markham Press Fund, 1995) 41–44; Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 100.
29. Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 405–7.
30. Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 114; Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 221–22.
31. Phil Vasili, *The First Black Footballer: Arthur Wharton 1865–1930* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

32. Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 34–35.
33. Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 80–81; Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 170–71.
34. Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 395.
35. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 170.
36. Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 82, 86, 90.
37. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 33–39.
38. Darby, “African Football Labour Migration to Portugal,” 495–509.
39. Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 81–83, 86–89. This approach was, in contrast, rejected by Great Britain, which instead preferred a policy of association (as opposed to assimilation) vis-à-vis its colonial subjects. As a result, Great Britain severely restricted black African immigration. For this same reason, British football clubs were also noticeably slow to recruit black Africans. Indeed, prior to the end of the Cold War, the most common African players in English and Scottish leagues were white Rhodesians and South Africans. That having been said, a handful of black South Africans and Nigerians (as well as a number of Egyptians) did play professionally in the United Kingdom prior to 1989–1990. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 169–82; Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line*, 100.
40. Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 230. In 1965, the Confederation of African Football (CAF) decided that each national team could only have two foreign-based players on their squads.
41. Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 397; Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 184. The Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) is the sport’s highest governing body.
42. Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 221–23.
43. Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 232; Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 93, 99.
44. Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 402–3, 409–10.
45. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 184–85.
46. Hase, “Race in Soccer as a Global Sport,” 304.
47. Darby, “Out of Africa,” 443–47; Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 880–82.
48. Poli, “Africans’ Status in the European Football Players’ Labor Market,” 284–86.
49. “UEFA coefficient” <http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/UEFA> accessed 9/5/2010. For some further perspective, in 2010, the Swedish national men’s team was, in contrast, ranked twelfth in Europe.
50. To provide a quick point of reference, the former Djurgården player Patrick Amoah states that his base salary in *Allsvenskan* was lower than what he made in the Spanish Fourth Division. Amoah as cited in “Utvandrarne” *Offside 2* (2008) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 13 November 2010.
51. “Så mycket tjänar stjärnorna” *Aftonbladet* 28 Nov. 2002.
52. In 2001 and 2002, the US dollar reached an all-time high against the Swedish Crown (USD/SEK 1/10) <http://www.x-rates.com/d/SEK/USD/hist2001.html> accessed 1/22/2011.
53. “Krönika: Fotbollsartister” 20 Aug. 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com/fotboll/18671> accessed 12 March 2011; “Spelarflykten bara fortsätter” *Aftonbladet* 26 July 2008.
54. Appendix A contains a list of 109 African nationals that were signed by clubs in the Swedish top division between 1977 and 2010. None of these players were Swedish nationals when they first entered *Allsvenskan*. While a handful of these footballers were actually either born and/or raised in Europe (and also had dual citizenship with a European state), what they all have in common, with two exceptions, is that they all

- came to Sweden either in their late teens or as adults with the explicit intent of playing professional football. (Abdel Seidou from Togo and Yunus Ismail from Somalia are the two exceptions, and their individual cases will be discussed at greater length in Chapters 5 and 7.) In addition to the 109 players on this list, another (smaller) group of 16 African-born footballers are presented in Appendix B. The difference between these two groups is that the latter group first arrived in Sweden either as children or in their early teenage years and usually came for either family or political reasons. Most importantly, in contrast to the first group, the 16 players listed in Appendix B only began to play organized football *after* their arrival in Sweden. All these players moreover are naturalized Swedish citizens, though some of them have also retained dual citizenship with their African countries of birth.
55. "Utländska spelare i Sverige" 2007 <http://www.ifknorrkping.se/Nyheter.aspx?a=397940&p=5&q=statistik> accessed 10/10/2010. In 2007, for instance, 20 African footballers were on the rosters of teams in *Allsvenskan*, while another 13 Africans played for clubs in the Swedish Second Division, *Superettan*.
 56. Nigerian Abiola Dauda is one such example. Dauda first played for the Division Three club Sölvesborgs GIF before being signed to Kalmar FF in 2008. "Drömmen är att spela i allsvenskan" *Expressen* 2 Oct. 2007.
 57. Larmin Ousman at National Football Teams <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=13186> accessed 6/30/2011.
 58. "Charles Anderson," "Östers IF Spelarpresentation 2010" 2010 <http://herr.osterforboll.com> accessed 3/14/2011.
 59. "Blaise Mbemba," <http://svenskfotboll.se/superettan/person/?playerid=3663&db=2009&flid=25581> accessed 3/5/2011.
 60. "Abderrahman Kabous," <http://www.footballdatabase.eu/football.joueurs.abderrahman.kabous.23078.en.html> accessed 6/4/2011.
 61. "Jamal Mohammed," <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=23752> accessed 3/14/2011.
 62. This is by no means a complete catalogue of all the African imports that had played in one of the lower Swedish divisions as of 2010. While the experience of some of these players will also be examined in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, a systematic scholarly overview of this group as a whole still needs to be conducted.
 63. "Mohamed Kallon: Biography," <http://www.mohamed-kallon.com/biography.html> accessed 7/14/2011. Mohamed's older brother, Kemokai Kallon, however, would briefly play in *Allsvenskan* for Ljungskile SK in 1997. "Kemokai Kallon," <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=17201> accessed 7/14/2011.
 64. For example, in England, France, and Germany, African football imports in the lower divisions greatly outnumber those in the top ones. Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 234–35.
 65. "Färgstarke Frederick trivs perfekt i Boden" *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 20 April 2006; "BoBo Bola klar för BBK" *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 15 Feb. 2007; "Bodens drömtrio" *Kuriren* 26 April 2008.
 66. "Afrikanska spelare i allsvenskan" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 8 June 2010.
 67. "Allsvenskan—en liga från världens alla hörn" *Aftonbladet* 2 Oct. 2004.
 68. "Hundra afrikaner i allsvenskan" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 9 Sept. 2010.
 69. Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players," 398. Poli's research shows that the number of African players doubled between 1995 and 2005 in 11 Western European leagues. Poli specifically looked at data from the top divisions in England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Italy, and Portugal.
 70. Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 232–34.
 71. See Appendix A.

72. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 98, 102; Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 398, 404.
73. “Importsvenskan” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2006. On April 13, 1974, Englishman Ronnie Powel became the first foreign national to play in *Allsvenskan* since the late 1920s. Prior to this point, however, a handful of foreigners had already played in the top Swedish division.
74. Thomas Glanell et al., *Svenska Fotbollsförbundets jubileumsbok 1904–2004* (Stockholm: Strömbergs Media Group, 2004) 364.
75. John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 283. From the late 1920s on, most European leagues restricted the number of foreign imports from one to three players per team.
76. Jonas Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010* (Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag, 2010) 136.
77. “De första importerna i allsvenska klubbarna” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2006. Early in his career, Teddy Sheringham would also play for Djurgårdens IF while on loan from Millwall, though at the time in 1985, Djurgården was not in *Allsvenskan* but only in the Second Division.
78. Torbjörn Andersson and Aage Radmann, “Football Fans in Scandinavia 1900–1997,” in Adam Brown (ed.), *Fanatics! Power, Identity and Fandom in Football* (New York: Routledge, 1998) 149. See also Tomas Peterson, *Den svengelska modellen. Svensk fotboll i omvandling under efterkrigstiden* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 1993). This general observation applies to football in all the five Nordic countries.
79. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 165, 168; Annika Eliasson, “Svensk fotbolls möte med globaliseringen” 12 Oct. 2004 <http://idrottsforum.org/artiklar> accessed 7/25/2010. Following the outbreak of the Yugoslavian Civil War in 1991, a number of excellent footballers, such as Red Star Belgrade and FK Partizan greats Duško Radinović and Vujadin Stanojković, made their way to Sweden. These two former Yugoslavian internationals eventually also ended their football careers in *Allsvenskan*.
80. Torbjörn Andersson and Aage Radmann, “Everything in Moderation: The Swedish Model,” in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football Cultures and Identities* (London: MacMillan Press, 1999) 76.
81. Geoff Pearson, “The Bosman Case, EU Law and the Transfer System” <http://www.liv.ac.uk/footballindustry/bosman.html> accessed 9/12/2010. See also Joseph Maguire and David Stead, “Border Crossings: Soccer Labour Migration and the European Union” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33 (1998): 61–72.
82. Lanfranchi and Taylor, however, simultaneously caution that the Bosman ruling did not create greater mobility so much as accelerate an already growing tendency toward increased player migration within the European and global football market. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 213–29.
83. Jonathan Magee and John Sugden, “‘The World at Their Feet’: Professional Football and International Labor Migration” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26 (2002): 424–25. In addition to the citizens of the 27 EU states, players from Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein are also not counted against the EU quota.
84. “Afrikanska fotbollsspelare i årets allsvenskan” *Fokus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010.
85. “Blir svensk—för att lämna Sverige” *Aftonbladet* 25 Jan. 2011. In this particular instance, the player in question failed to meet the Swedish citizenship requirements. See also “Kennedy fortsätter i allsvenskan: Han vill bli svensk medborgare” *Aftonbladet* 6 Nov. 2011.

86. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 86; Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 239.
87. "Ny jättemiss av förbundet" *Aftonbladet* 1 Dec. 2004; "Missen som kan sänka Öster" *Aftonbladet* 12 Sept. 2006; "Stjärnan spelade olagligt i Sverige" *Aftonbladet* 1 Oct. 2009.
88. By 2007, a handful of African football imports, such as Pa Dembo Touray, René Makondele, Yannick Bapupa, Richard Ekunde, Dulee Johnson, and Olivier Karekezi had already become "football Swedes," and some of them would later also become Swedish citizens. "Klubbarna tycker till om Cotonou-avtalet" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 21 March 2007.
89. "Helsingborg utmanar förbundets regelverk" *Aftonbladet* 20 March 2007; "Snart fritt fram för icke EU-spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 29 March 2007. At this point, Helsingborgs IF already had five African players on its roster and it was expecting two more Africans to join the team in the next few months. The club wanted to be able to play all its African players and calculated that the "Cotonou Agreement" would give it the right to do so.
90. The "Cotonou Agreement" was first signed in June 2000 but was subsequently revised in June 2005. European Commission, "Partnership Agreement ACP-EC" Sept. 2006 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/3_01/.../cotonou_2006_en.pdf accessed 10/12/2010. Nongovernment actors were also expected to play a role in this arrangement, and this is also where European football clubs came into the picture. Because by employing players from these 78 states, the clubs are theoretically also helping the economies of these countries. "Det här innebär nya möjligheter—och nya hot" *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2007.
91. "Förbundet hotar att kasta ut HIF" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 29 March 2007; "Lagrell nekar till Helsingborgs krav" *Svenska Dagbladet* 3 April 2007.
92. "Förbundet går på HIF:s linje i Cotonou-frågan" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 5 Sept. 2007; "Snart fritt fram för icke EU-spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 8 Dec. 2007. This agreement, however, did not necessarily give the citizens of these 78 countries the automatic right to immigrate to Sweden or any other EU country. Rather, it only made it easier for their visa applications to be sponsored by nongovernment organizations from within the Union.
93. "Spanska ligan anpassar sina regler" *Dagens Nyheter* 6 Oct. 2007.
94. Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players," 397.
95. In this context, it is of some interest that the Swedish UEFA President Lennart Johansson was one of the original driving forces behind the creation of these new guidelines. "Uefa will ha ny utlänningsregel" *Dagens Nyheter* 12 March 2004. See also Lennart Johansson, *I fotbollens tjänst* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2008) 151–54.
96. "Nu öppnas gränserna" *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2007; "Fritt fram för spelare utanför EU" *Dagens Nyheter* 8 Dec. 2007. See also Richard Parrish and Samuli Miettinen, *The Sporting Exception in European Union Law* (The Hague: Asser Press, 2008) 196–97. Under pressure from some of its European members, FIFA later adopted a similar formula regarding "homegrown" players. "Utlänningsbegränsning i fotboll" *Svenska Dagbladet* 30 May 2010.
97. "Allsvenskan fylls med talanger" *Dagens Nyheter* 27 Nov. 2009. According to Swedish legal experts, even these diluted restrictions were unlikely to withstand a legal challenge from the European Court of Justice. "Expertis dömer ut kvoteringsreglen" *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 Dec. 2007.
98. "Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna" *Offside* 2 (2012): 82.
99. In Sweden these rules also applied to *Damallsvenskan* (the top division in the Swedish women's league) and to *Superettan* (the Second Division in the men's league). These two are also considered professional leagues.

100. In 1995 previous EU agreements with Russia produced similar results to the “Cotonou Agreement,” opening the door to unrestricted sports immigration from Russia. “Fritt fram för ryssar i svenska klubbtag” *Dagens Nyheter* 12 April 1995. In this instance, the European Court of Justice ruled in favor of the Russian footballer Igor Simutenkov’s legal right to play professionally in Spain.
101. Yet with the establishment of the European Union in 1992, many Football Associations in Western Europe had already begun to anticipate that the Union’s new labor policies would challenge the strict quota systems limiting the number of foreign imports. Fiona Miller and Steve Redhead, “Do Markets Make Footballers Free?,” in John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 141–51.
102. Swedish player agent, Patrick Mörk, as cited in “Agenten: ‘Obegränsad potential i Afrika’” 9 May 2007 <http://www.fotboll.direkt.se> accessed 1/31/2011. Mörk adds that Swedish clubs should concentrate on recruiting in East Africa in particular because players from this region are cheaper to sign than ones from West Africa, where there is more competition from other European clubs.
103. Annika Eliasson, “Svensk fotbolls möte med globaliseringen” 12 Oct. 2004 <http://idrottsforum.org/artiklar> accessed 7/25/2010.
104. Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 688–96, 713–15; Maguire and Stead, “Border Crossings: Soccer Labour Migration and the European Union,” 66–71.
105. Stefan Alfedt, “Spelarflykten bara fortsätter” *Aftonbladet* 26 July 2008; Henrik Larsson as cited in “Dömer ut svensk fotbolls framtid” *Aftonbladet* 4 Oct. 2010; and Lars Lagerbäck as cited in “Intervju: Lars Lagerbäck” 11 Nov. 2010 <http://www.matchdax.se> accessed 6/28/2011. As of 2010, 24 Swedish nationals were playing professionally at the top level in Norway, 17 in Denmark, and another 17 in the Netherlands. In comparison, 29 Swedes could be found in all the other European leagues combined. (This latter group includes four Swedish footballers in Turkey.) “Svenska fotbollsproffs i Europas förstaligor” *Aftonbladet* 4 Oct. 2010. Here it must also be underscored that these figures do not include those foreign imports that have also left *Allsvenskan* for other European leagues.
106. The first Swedish footballers went abroad to play as early as the 1920s, but this migration did not attract a lot of public attention until the 1950s when some of the country’s biggest stars, such as Nils Liedholm and Nacka Skoglund, left for Italy. Still, the exodus from *Allsvenskan* cannot have reached a critical mass until the post-Bosman era.
107. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010).
108. “Gräset grönast utomlands” *Svenska Dagbladet* 22 Feb. 2005; “Fotboll: Stanna Hemma” *Expressen* 8 Feb. 2007. To date, Pär Zetterberg is probably the most well-known Swedish player to have chosen this route, but in the past decade, the number of young Swedes entering these academies has rapidly climbed.
109. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 169.
110. Of the 94 Swedish nationals that played professional football abroad in 2009, only 11 did so outside of Western Europe. Of these 11, 5 played in Turkey, 4 in Greece, 1 in Saudi Arabia, and 1 in the United States. “SvD har betygssatt utlandsproffsen” *Svenska Dagbladet* 22 Dec. 2009.
111. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 102; Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 404–5.
112. As late as 1999, there were still only two non-European players in the Swedish top division (Nigerian Emmanuel Tetteh and Brazilian Valter Thomas Jr.). But by 2004, this number had already risen to 34 players. “Invandrarboomen—så här många är de” *Aftonbladet* 24 April 2004.
113. “50 procent fler utlänningar i år” *Aftonbladet* 17 Aug. 2002.

114. "Allsvenskan—en liga från världens alla hörn" *Aftonbladet* 2 Oct. 2004. In 2004, there were 51 foreign footballers in *Allsvenskan*.
115. "En av tre är utländsk i allsvenskan" 28 March 2006 <http://mobil.svt.se/258360/1.565019> accessed 10/12/2010. According to *Svenska Dagbladet's* estimates, by the start of the 2006 season, approximately 420 foreign imports had played in *Allsvenskan*. "DIF mest internationellt" *Svenska Dagbladet* 3 April 2006.
116. "106 utländska spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 21 March 2008. These 106 players, in turn, represented 42 different nationalities.
117. Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players," 398.
118. "Allsvenskan—en liga från världens alla hörn" *Aftonbladet* 2 Oct. 2004; "106 utländska spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 21 March 2008.
119. "Nio utlännigar i ÖIS" 29 March 2004 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 10/14/2010; "DIF mest internationellt" *Svenska Dagbladet* 3 April 2006; "Brassekolonin i Kalmar kan få tillskott" 16 Oct. 2006 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 10/22/2011; "HIF värvar fler Afrikaner" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 20 March 2007; "Trivselfaktorn hög på Hisingen" *Expressen* 4 April 2011. These five teams have also become strongly linked with the recruitment of Brazilian and African players, in particular.
120. By the end of the 2010 season, only two Asian born and raised imports had played in the top Swedish division: Kazakh David Loria (Halmstads BK 2007) and Syrian Imad Chhadeh (IF Brommapojkarna 2007, 2009–2010).
121. The following Swedish players all have roots in either Turkey or the Near East: Louay Chanko (Syria), Sharbel Touma (Lebanon), Kennedy Bakircioglu (Turkey), Jilouan Hamad (Azerbaijan/Iraq), Arash Talebinejad (Iran), and Behrang Safari (Iran). This is by no means a complete list, but these are the most famous players in this category. In the Swedish context, being of Turkish origin often also refers to Kurds and Assyrians/Syriacs.
122. "List of Foreign Allsvenskan Players" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_foreign_Allsvenskan_players accessed 12/10/2010. See also the following list of foreign footballers in Sweden: "Expatriate Footballers in Sweden" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Expatriate_footballers_in_Sweden accessed 1/11/2011.
123. "Ibrahim Ba älskar fotboll" *Aftonbladet* 11 April 2005.
124. "Här är allsvenskans alla 84 utländska spelare" 3 Sept. 2009 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 10/14/2010.
125. "Svenska mästare i Rumänien" *Dagens Nyheter* 7 May 2008; "Mutumba lämnar AIK för Ungern" 28 June 2010 <http://www.aikfotboll.se> accessed 2/2/2011.
126. Annika Eliasson, "Svensk fotbolls möte med globaliseringen" 12 Oct. 2004 <http://idrottsforum.org/artiklar> accessed 7/25/2010. Icelandic players have the advantage of being considered EU players even though Iceland is not formally a member of the European Union. In 2007, for instance, there were 12 Icelandic players and 11 Finnish players in *Allsvenskan*. In comparison, there were only 7 Norwegians and 6 Danes in the league that year. "Utländska spelare i Sverige" 2007 <http://www.ifknorrkping.se> accessed 10/10/2010.
127. "Utländska spelare i Sverige" 2007 <http://www.ifknorrkping.se> accessed 10/10/2010. See also "Pojkarna från Brasilien" *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
128. "Lågbudgetspelare enda chansen för HIF" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 6 Nov. 2008; "AIK fortsätter att scouta i Afrika" *Aftonbladet* 19 May 2011.
129. Stefan Allbäck, director of football operations Örgryte IS, as cited in "Brassar och Svenskar—klubbarna handlar för fullt" *Aftonbladet* 7 Aug. 2002; "Juniortränare bakom Öis brassar" *Svenska Dagbladet* 1 April 2003.
130. Stefan Allbäck, director of football operations Örgryte IS, as cited in "Allsvenskan—en liga från världens alla hörn" *Aftonbladet* 10 Feb. 2004.

131. "Samarbete är framtiden" *Dagens Nyheter* 26 July 2002. Looking specifically at African players, Djurgårdens IF signed René Makondele, Yannick Bapupa, Blaise Mbemba, and Richard Ekunde from Kinshasa City FC, while Örgryte IS recruited Edwin Phiri, Clifford Mulenga, Dominic Yobe, and Boyd Mwila from Chiparamba Great Eagles. (Mwila eventually transferred from Örgryte IS to Djurgårdens IF.)
132. "Pojkarna från Brasilien" *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
133. "Ett brasilianskt allsvenskan?" 1 March 2010 <http://www.fotbollsorkalet.se/ett-brasilianskt-allsvenskan> accessed 10/15/2010.
134. "Satsa krutet på brassar" *Svenska Dagbladet* 9 Nov. 2008.
135. When Quirino (as he was known in Sweden) signed for Djurgårdens IF for 14 million Crowns in 2006, at the time, this was the most expensive signing in the history of the league. Yet only two years later, he was sold at a considerable loss after only having scored 11 goals in 53 games. "Förlust: 11 MILJ" *Aftonbladet* 21 Nov. 2008. See also "Quirino lämnar Djurgården" 21 Nov. 2008 <http://www.dif.se/sidor/nyheter> accessed 1/19/2011.
136. "Ett brasilianskt allsvenskan?" 1 March 2010 <http://www.fotbollsorkalet.se/ett-brasilianskt-allsvenskan> accessed 10/15/2010.
137. Bo Petersson as cited in "Ingen av brassarna har stjärnglansen" *Expressen* 28 April 2009. See also "Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna" *Offside* 2 (2012): 85.
138. "Värvar för att sälja vidare" *Aftonbladet* 5 Nov. 2007.
139. "Afrikansk fotboll: Attraktiv och Annorlunda" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 26 May 2007; "Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna" *Offside* 2 (2012): 85.
140. "De största övergångarna från allsvenskan" *Expressen* 6 Aug. 2007. In 2001, Malmö FF sold Afonso Alves to SC Heerenveen for 42 million Swedish Crowns. Six years later, in 2007, Kalmar FF sold Ari da Silva Ferrira to Almkaar for 40 million Crowns; and finally in 2006, Örgryte IS sold Ailton Alemedia to FC Copenhagen for 28 million Crowns. As of 2007, only one African player had made the top-ten money-transfer list in Sweden; in 2006, AIK sold Derek Boateng to Beitar Jerusalem for 24 million Crowns.
141. "Afrikanska fotbollsspelare i årets allsvenskan" *Focus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010. See also Bengt Madsen, chairman of Malmö FF, as cited in "Marknaden mättad på agenter" *Sydsvenskan* 23 May 2002; Putte Carlsson, a former top-ranking official with Djurgårdens IF, as cited in "Det nya landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 53.
142. Poli, "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labor Market," 284–89.
143. "Krisen i Europa—ett lyft för allsvenskan" *Aftonbladet* 24 Dec. 2002.
144. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 188.
145. "Värvar för att sälja vidare" *Aftonbladet* 5 Nov. 2007.
146. "Spartider i allsvenskan" *Svenska Dagbladet* 7 Feb. 2011. This point applies to the sale of indigenous Swedish players as well.
147. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 98.
148. "Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna" *Offside* 2 (2012): 82–83.
149. Helsingborgs IF, for instance, has such a relationship with EduSport Academy in Zambia: http://www.edusport.org.zm/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=38 accessed 5/21/2011. Between 2007 and 2010, Helsingborgs IF also had a similar connection to the Stars of Africa Academy in Johannesburg, South Africa. "Hello Africa: 'Ett projekt som kan förbättra HIF:s talangutveckling'" *Aftonbladet* 3 April 2007; "Akademin är historia—de egna ungdomarna framtiden" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 19 Feb. 2010.
150. Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin, "Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe," 150–51.

151. Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 238; Alegi, *African Socerscapes*, 114–18.
152. Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin, "Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe," 155.
153. "Det nya landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57; "Chiparamba Great Eagles" Nov. 2004 <http://www.varldskulturmuet.se> accessed 1/25/2011.
154. Conny Winge, "Skönheten i Afrika" 28 Dec. 2003 <http://www2.ois.se/fotboll> accessed 1/25/2011.
155. "Allsvenskan—en liga från världens alla hörn" *Aftonbladet* 2 Oct. 2004.
156. "Djurgården och de tre rike männen" *Offside* 3 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
157. "Putte och Bo i Kongo" 18 July 2000 <http://www.dif.se/sidor/nyheter> accessed 10/21/2010.
158. "Drömmen om ett proffsliv i Sverige" *Dagens Nyheter* 18 Oct. 2003.
159. "Det nya landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57.
160. A similar dynamic has often also been at work when collaborative relationships between Swedish and Brazilian clubs were initially set up. "Pojkarna från Brasilien" *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
161. "Jag vet inte var mina vänner är" *Aftonbladet* 12 June 2006. Among this group, John Sama and Gbassay Bangura would also play under Palmgren in *Allsvenskan* during 1997 for Degerfors IF.
162. "Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005. See also "Kritiserad hemma—profet i Afrika" *Sydsvenskan* 3 March 2005.
163. "Landslagsman Ijehs ersättare" *Aftonbladet* 17 July 2005; "Sydafrikansk landslagsman på väg till MFF" 10 Oct. 2008 <http://www.fotobolldirekt.se> accessed 4/20/2011.
164. Erik Almqvist, "Drömmen som slog slint," in Anders Bengtsson et al. (eds.) *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor* (n.l.): Offside Press AB, 2010) 278–300. See also "Häcken vill stänga Norrlandsfönstret" *Svenska Dagbladet* 30 Oct. 2003.
165. "Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007; Muhamed Bangura as cited in "Jag spelar för att nå de stora ligorna" *Expressen* 21 March 2011.
166. "Jag vet inte var mina vänner är" *Aftonbladet* 12 June 2006; Almqvist, "Drömmen som slog slint," 278–300.
167. "Häcken vill stänga Norrlandsfönstret" *Svenska Dagbladet* 30 Oct. 2003; "Trivselfaktorn hög på Hisingen" *Expressen* 4 April 2011.
168. Dominic Yobe was first scouted by Örgryte IS during the tournament in 2003, and a year later, he was under contract with the club. "Från Gothia Cup till Allsvenskan på ett år" *Aftonbladet* 15 July 2004. Like BK Häcken, Örgryte IS is also based in Gothenburg.
169. "Bästa vänner men inte i derby Edwin Phiri och Boyd Mwila ställs mot varandra i viktigt derby" *Bohusläningen* 18 May 2010; "Boyd Mwila" <http://www2.ois.se/fotboll/spelare.pho?id&sasong=2006> accessed 11/22/2010.
170. Poli, "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labor Market," 289.
171. "Djurgårdsprofilen bakom Gefles senaste värvning" *Aftonbladet* 21 March 2011; "AIK fortsätter att scouta i Afrika" *Aftonbladet* 19 May 2011.
172. "Hårt jobbande agenter bakom sportstjänorna" 14 May 2004 <http://www.fria.nu> accessed 2/24/2011; "Agenten: 'Obegränsad potential i Afrika'" 9 May 2007 <http://www.fotboll.direkt.se> accessed 1/31/2011. Mörk is credited with bringing stars, like Derek Boateng and McDonald Mariga, to Sweden.
173. Mörk as cited in "Värvar för att tjäna pengar" *Aftonbladet* 5 Nov. 2007.
174. Bengt Madsen, chairman Malmö FF, as cited in "Marknaden mättad på agenter" *Sydsvenskan* 23 May 2002; "Jan Mak hemma efter knutit kontakter i Afrika" <http://www.elfsborg.se> accessed 4/8/2010.

175. Mohamed Bangura, for instance, was first signed by the Division Three club IFK Värnamo before transferring to AIK halfway through the 2010 season. “Succén från Afrika” 3 May 2010 <http://www.matchplus.se> accessed 5/11/2011; “AIK värvar Mohamed Bangura” 21 July 2010 <http://www.aikfotboll.se> accessed 5/11/2011. See also NG Karlsson, scout IFK Timrå, as cited in “Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007.
176. Bengt Madsen, chairman of Malmö FF, as cited in “Marknaden mättad på agenter” *Sydsvenskan* 25 April 2005.
177. “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside* 2 (2012): 90–91. For a specific illustration, see “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
178. “Först MFF sedan Europa för Driss” *Sydsvenskan* 5 Oct. 2001.
179. Pa Dembo Touray, for instance, was first “discovered” by Christer Smitterberg, a former goalkeeper coach with Djurgårdens IF, while he was vacationing in Gambia. At the time, Touray was only 15 years old, but a few years later, Smitterberg helped bring Touray to Djurgården. Smitterberg has since become an agent. “Sista Sommaren” *Offside* 5 (2011) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
180. Sometimes these players first come to Sweden only on temporary loan from African clubs, rather than as outright transfers. “Malmö FF lånar Edward Ofere året ut” 1 Sept. 2005 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011; “Succén från Afrika” 3 May 2010 <http://www.matchplus.se> accessed 5/11/2011.
181. More specifically, 37 players were recruited directly to *Allsvenskan* from Africa, while another 25 African footballers got their original start in one of the lower Swedish divisions. See Appendix A.
182. BK Häcken, for example, originally placed Liberians Jimmy Dixon, Dulee Johnson, and Dioh Williams with Floda BoIF in Division Three in order to help them get acclimated to the Swedish game. “Häcken vill stänga Norrlandsfönstret” *Svenska Dagbladet* 30 Oct. 2003. Another example of this is South African May Mahlangu, who Helsingborgs IF first placed with the Third Division club, IFK Hässleholm, before bringing him up to *Allsvenskan* halfway through the 2009 season. “Mahlangu kan ersätta Landgren” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 9 July 2009.
183. Some 32 African players have come to *Allsvenskan* from Western Europe, which in this case also includes Turkey, Israel, and Greece. Another 6 players arrived from Eastern Europe, which includes Finland (but excludes Greece.) As for the 2 most common European departure points, 5 African players have come from the Portuguese Second Division and 4 players from the Belgian First Division. See Appendix A.
184. For 20 of these players, their transfers to *Allsvenskan* from other parts of Europe arguably represented a demotion professionally, whereas for 13 others, this move should probably be considered a promotion. (See notes 183, 185, and 186). That having been said, moving to a less prestigious league is not necessarily always bad for a player’s career, especially if this means more playing time and more international exposure for the player in question. In the long run, it might be better to be a starter in *Allsvenskan* than a reserve in the Danish or Norwegian league, even if this means a pay cut.
185. Five African imports arrived in *Allsvenskan* from First Division clubs in Finland, Moldova, and Cyprus and another four from Second Division teams in Finland, Norway, and Poland. (At the time, in 1999 and 2002, the top division in Cyprus was still lower ranked than *Allsvenskan*.) In addition to these nine players, another four footballers can be said to have traded up career-wise by coming to *Allsvenskan*. One of these players came from FC Porto’s youth academy, one from Division 7 in England, one from an English university, and one from the French Third Division. See Appendix A.
186. Excluding the players that came to Sweden on loan from more prestigious European leagues, 13 came from First Division clubs in Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany,

- Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Turkey; another 7 came from Second Division clubs in Greece, Israel, and Portugal. See Appendix A.
187. For a specific illustration, see Justice Christopher as cited in “Jakten på ett jobb i Trelleborg” *Expressen* 10 Feb. 2004.
 188. Halmstads BK, for instance, briefly had a cooperative relationship with RCD Espanyol, which explains the latter’s loan of the French-born Chadian striker Azrack Mahamat to Halmstad in 2009. Prior to this, Mahamat was a reserve for Espanyol, only occasionally appearing on the team’s B-squad. “Första spelaren från Espanyol” 24 July 2009 <http://www.hbk.se/extra/news> accessed 4/20/2011.
 189. “AIK lånar från Ajax” 2003 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 5/19/2011.
 190. “Vem är Siyabonga Nomvethé?” 1 Sept. 2005 <http://www.dif.se/sidor/nyheter> accessed 3/3/2011.
 191. “Richard Kingson” undated http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/world_cup_2010/groups_and_teams/team/ghana/richard_kingson accessed 6/22/2011.
 192. Only four players came to *Allsvenskan* via the United States, and another five arrived from either the Far East or the Middle East. (This estimate, however, does not include players who arrived from either Turkey or Israel.) See Appendix A.
 193. South African Stephen Armstrong played college soccer at Butler University before coming to *Allsvenskan* in 2000, while Kenyan Paul Oyuga arrived at Örebro SK from the USL Premier Developmental League a year later in 2001. The Senegalese striker Mamadou Diallo meanwhile came to IFK Göteborg in 2003 after playing for four years in Major League Soccer. <http://stephen-armstrong.co.tv> accessed 3/22/2011; “Paul Oyuga spelklar” 27 July 2001 <http://www.sportdirekt.se> accessed 7/15/2011. “Mamadou Diallo” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=14439> accessed 3/11/2011.
 194. “Aluspah Brewah skrev på” 27 July 2004 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/20/2011. While still formally the property of the Belgian First Division club RSC Charleroi, the Sierra Leonean forward Aluspah Brewah arrived at Hammarby IF in 2004 after a successful trial with *Clube de Regatas do Flamengo* in Brazil. Yet in the end, *Flamengo* apparently did not have sufficient funds to sign him, so he went to Sweden instead. But since he still belonged to RSC Charleroi, he has been counted here with the other players arriving from Belgium (as opposed to being counted as having come to Sweden from Brazil).
 195. In 2005, for instance, Sierra Leonean midfielder Mahmadu Alphajor Bah was recruited to Halmstads BK from Zhèjiāng Lùchéng in the Chinese Second Division. “Mahmadu Alphajor Bah” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=6063> accessed 7/5/2011.
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 199. “Hammarby-spelaren var första afrikan i allsvenskan” <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 9/3/2010.
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accessed 3/21/2011. This idea of the “exotic other” is a topic to which we will return later in the book.

Chapter 3

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90. Kalonaityté et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige*, 38.
91. “Thomas” as cited in Kalonaityté et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige*, 19.
92. Sami Gündör as cited in “Bollplaner i Rosengård” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 June 2006. Landskrona BoIS youth coach, Benny Berggren, tells a similar story about when his team meets ethnically Swedish teams from more rural areas. Berggren as cited in “Man är uppfostrad på olika sätt” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 29 Oct. 2004.
93. “Ali” as cited in Jorquera, “Fotboll och Integration,” 20, 23.
94. Younnus Abdu as cited in Gärding (ed.), *Afrosvensk i det nya Sverige*, 67–68.
95. Mattias Grosin and Urban Orzolek, “Heja Judarna!” *IK Makkabi 1933–2003* (Stockholm: Hitelförlaget, 2003) 22–43, 119–22.
96. Torbjörn Andersson, “Immigrant Teams in Sweden and the Case of Assyriska FF” *Soccer & Society* 10 (3–4; 2009): 400; Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 234–36.
97. “Nedräkning till finalen av African Challenge League” 29 July 2010 <http://www.urbanlife.se> accessed 8/4/2010. In this instance, “The Taifa Stars of Tanzania” faced off against “The Harambee Stars of Kenya” in the championship final in Stockholm. The Sports Association of Afro-Scandinavians sponsored the tournament. See also “Ett landslag mitt i Sanktan-staden” *Expressen* 23 June 2011.
98. Burdsey, “Forgotten Fields?,” 12–14.
99. Bengt Sevelius, “Invandrarna—en tillgång,” in Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 10; Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” 146.
100. Jeroen Vermeulen and Paul Verweel, “Participation in Sport: Bonding and Bridging as Identity Work,” in Ramón Spaaij (ed.), *The Social Impact of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 100–103; Udo Merkel et al., “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Germany: 50 Years Later—Here We Go Again?,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 160–61.

101. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 137.
102. Rittos Papadopoulos, Greek National Association, and Hüsümettin Utkutug, Turkish National Association, as cited in Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 35–36.
103. Vidakovic, “De hoppas och skuttar när vi vinner!” 22. See also Henok Goitom as cited in “Goitoms passion” 23 March–23 April 2013 *Aftonbladet Fotbollsbibeln*, 36–37.
104. Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 55–59. See also Nicko Kotsamboikidis as cited in “Idrott är en del av integration” 8 Oct. 2010 <http://www.integrationsbladet.se> accessed 8/4/2012.
105. Dirk Halm, “Turkish Immigrants in German Amateur Football,” in Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (eds.), *German Football: History, Culture, Society* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 73–83; Bart Vanreusel, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 72.
106. Markovits and Rensman, *Gaming of the World*, 250–51.
107. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 235.
108. Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 56–61.
109. Torbjörn Andersson, “Fotbollen i Södertälje” 2 Nov. 2005 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 10/10/2010. For a specific illustration, see “Syrianska anklagar VSK för rasism” *Expressen* 2 May 2007.
110. Vidakovic, “De hoppas och skuttar när vi vinner!” 14, 24; Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 74.
111. “Det sista steget—berättelsen om Assyriska” *Offside* 2 (2005) <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/10/2011.
112. Burdsey, “Forgotten Fields?” 9–10.
113. Rune Lidholm, “Riksidrottsförbundet och invandrariidrotten,” in Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott*, 18–19.
114. Fundberg, “Invandrare och Idrott,” 281, 291–92; Andersson, “Immigrant Teams in Sweden and the Case of Assyriska FF,” 399, 401–5.
115. Ehn, Frykman, and Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige*, 220–21.
116. Agergaard and Sorensen, “The Dream of Social Mobility,” 76; Halm, “Turkish Immigrants in German Amateur Football,” 83–86.
117. “Det sista steget—berättelsen om Assyriska” *Offside* 2 (2005) <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/10/2011.
118. Carl Rommel, “Playing with Difference: Football as a Performative Space for Division among Suryoye Migrants in Sweden” *Soccer & Society* 12 (6; 2011): 851–52.
119. For specific illustrations, see “Assyriska polisanmäler hotfulla meddelanden” *Dagens Nyheter* 12 Nov. 2004, and “‘Ser en ung kille som ligger livlös:’ Protesterade mot rasistiska ramsor—blev nedslagen” *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2011.
120. Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” 146.
121. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 236; Andersson, “Immigrant Teams in Sweden and the Case of Assyriska FF,” 405.
122. “Integrationsstatningar ger resultat” press release Riksidrottsförbundet 15 Aug. 2009 <http://www.rf.se> accessed 10/5/2010. Between 2000 and 2009, the number of players from immigrant backgrounds in *Allsvenskan* jumped from 22 to 51.
123. For two specific illustrations, see “Frölunda nöjd med straffet” *Dagens Nyheter* 18 Aug. 2005, and “Hasan blev kallad ‘svartskalle’ av Mjällbys tränare” 24 May 2010 <http://www.vskforum.com> accessed 2/3/2011.
124. To give the reader a comparative point of reference, in 2010, 1 in every 16 players in *Allsvenskan* was African born, while this was true for only less than 1 percent of the general population.
125. “Grönvita Hjältar. Milton Castellanos” undated <http://www.vskfotboll.nu> accessed 2/2/2012.
126. “Carlos Gustafsson” undated <http://www.sportklubben.net> accessed 2/2/2012.

127. Hasse Gänger (ed.), *Djurgårdens IF Fotboll 1899–2006* (Stockholm: Djurgårdens IF Fotboll, 2007) 186–87.
128. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010).
129. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). The years stated in parentheses indicate which year each player made their debut in the top Swedish division.
130. Stella Orakwue, *Pitch Invaders: The Modern Black Football Revolution* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998) 18.
131. Eddie Gustafsson and Pascal Simpson were the only two exceptions because Gustafsson was born in the United States and Simpson was born in Togo. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010).
132. Larsson as cited in “Henke: Idioter” *Aftonbladet* 8 Nov. 2005; Larsson as cited in “Från mobbad—till frälsare” *Aftonbladet* 14 June 2006.
133. Daniel Nannskog as cited in “Rasist-attack mot svensk stjärna” *Aftonbladet* 6 Nov. 2006; Henok Goitom as cited in “Han kräver respekt” *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 March 2009.
134. “Här går Dif-tränaren till attack” *Aftonbladet* 7 May 2001; “Elfsborgssupportrar anklagas för rasism” 24 Sept. 2008 <http://www.fotbollssverige.se> accessed 3/24/2011.
135. For a specific illustration, see “Edwin Phiri utsatt för hatattack” *Aftonbladet* 22 May 2005. See also Fredrik Quistbergh et al., “Lika inför bollen?” 2002 <http://www.quistbergh.se/view/26> accessed 1/2/2013.
136. “ÅFF anklagar Mjällbys lagkapten för rasism” 29 March 2011 <http://www.corren.se> accessed 4/14/2011. This type of incident is by no means new to the Swedish professional game. In 1995, for example, Thomas Ravelli famously racially abused Pascal Simpson during a game against IFK Göteborg. Simpson as cited in “1995.Reportage. Thomas.Ravelli.Rasistskandalen.Sportspegeln” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LdVr6ATzvY> accessed 2/2/2012.
137. “Manzila om påhoppet: Jag har aldrig varit med om något liknande” *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2004. The headline, which states “I have never experienced anything like this,” is a bit misleading in that Manzila makes clear that he has actually been subjected to racial abuse on several earlier occasions, though never from a coach in this way.
138. “Västerås sparkar Liston: Får gå efter rasistiska uttalanden” *Aftonbladet* 13 April 2004. At the start of the 1997 season, Söderberg had, for example, publicly bragged that VSK was an “Aryan team,” and only a few days later, he was reprimanded for calling an assistant referee a “jävla svartskalle” (“fucking blackhead”).
139. Sahlin as cited in “Kryp tillbaka till din håla, Liston!” *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2004.
140. For a specific illustration, see Samuel Wowoah as cited in “Rasistattack mot Blåvits stjärna” *Expressen* 1 Oct. 2006. See also Amadou Jawo as cited in “Amadou Jawo kallades ‘negerjävel!’” 10 Oct. 2012 <http://www.svergiesradio.se> accessed 10/17/2012.
141. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 168. See also Martin Dahlin as cited in “World Cup ’94: Dahlin Is Swedish Player First, Pioneer a Distant Second” *New York Times* 10 July 1994. The marked years only indicate when these players made their first appearance in the top Swedish division.
142. “GAIS är större än Al Qaida” 15 May 2007 <http://www.gardakvarnen.se> accessed 1/14/2011; post by “Gadden,” 2 May 2010 “Re: Djurgården-Gais 6/5 kl. 19:00” <http://www.jarnkaminerna.se> accessed 2/20/2011.
143. Lars-Rune “Bollen” Bohlin, “Bollen—en passande polis,” in Inrikesdepartementet, *Väldet och glädjen. En debattbok om huliganer och glada supportrar* (Stockholm: SISU Idrottsböcker, 1997) 34; Andreas Kjäll et al., *Vi som är från Göteborg åker aldrig hem med sorg* (Göteborg: Supporterklubben Änglarna, 2014) 120, 274.
144. “1988. Reportage. Rasism. Svensk. Fotboll. Sportnytt” Summer 1988 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPPmEym7y5A> accessed 2/2/2011. “Kunta Kinte” of course

- refers to the main protagonist of *Roots*, a 1977 television miniseries based on Alex Haley's novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. The miniseries, which examined the legacy of slavery in the United States, was also shown on Swedish television.
145. Post by "Odes," 10 Dec. 2005 "Elaka ramsor! (?)" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
 146. Margita Boström, "Idrotten på farlig väg," in Inrikesdepartementet, *Våldet och glädjen*, 73.
 147. Steve Garner, "The Uses of Whiteness: What Sociologists Working on Europe Can Draw from US Research on Whiteness" *Sociology* 40 (2006): 257–75.
 148. "500 AIK:are—Pascal Simpson" 2005 <http://www.aik.se/forbolls> accessed 10/10/2010; Post by "Adoremus," 5 Sept. 2009 "GAIS och 'mångkultur'" <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011. See also Simpson as cited in "Kultspelare Pascal Simpson" *Offside* 1 (2013): 129.
 149. "Åren med Djurgår'n i Sverige" 25 March 2007 <http://www.dfgsthlm.com> accessed 7/15/2008.
 150. Knezevic as cited in Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 168.
 151. Arnstberg, *Sverige och invandringen*, 19–21.
 152. Magnus Hagström, Peter Johansson, and Carl Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?* (Stockholm: Imperial Publishing, 2010) 86–87.
 153. Anna-Lena Lodenius and Per Wikström, *Vit makt och blågula drömmar. Rasism och nazism i dagens Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1997) 95–96; Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980–1997* (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 1998) 59–90, 248, 259–69, 367–81, 452–66.
 154. Patrick Mignon, "New Supporter Cultures and Identity in France: The Case of Paris Saint-Germain," in Richard Giulianotti and John Williams (eds.), *Game without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity* (London: Arena, 1994) 281–90; Carlo Podaliri and Carlo Balestri, "The Ultras, Racism and Football Culture in Italy," in Adam Brown (ed.), *Fanatics! Power, Identity, and Fandom in Football* (New York: Routledge, 1998) 92; Ulrich Hesse-Lichtenberger, *Tor!: The Story of German Football* (London: WSC Books, 2003) 204–5.
 155. "1988. Reportage. Rasism. Svensk. Fotboll. Sportnytt" Summer 1988 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPPmEym7y5A> accessed 2/2/2011.
 156. Hagström, Johansson, and Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?*, 87–89.
 157. Scott Fleming and Alan Tomlinson, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (I): Europe and Old England," in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 82–84.
 158. Hagström, Johansson, and Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?*, 26–27, 51.
 159. Robert Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack* (Göteborg: Bakaou Production AB, 2012) 164–66.
 160. Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 181.
 161. Carl-Gustaf Scott, "Djurgårdens Fina Grabbar: Local Identities, and the Cross-National Transfer of Spectator-Related Football Violence" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 45 (90; 2012): 221–44.
 162. Torbjörn Andersson, "Spela fotboll bondjävlar!" *Del 1* (Stockholm: Symposium, 2011) 168, 183.
 163. Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack*, 88, 137–43, 199; Kjäll et al., *Vi som är från Göteborg åker aldrig hem med sorg*, 120.
 164. "Tema Fotboll" *EXPO* 3–4 (2005) <http://www.expo.se> accessed 2/2/2011. See also Patrik Asplund, *Med hatet som drivkraft* (Stockholm: Hjalmarson & Högberg, 2000) 87, 162, 169.

165. Samir Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011. Bakaou states that it was probably good that he did not always understand what the opposing fans were yelling at him, especially when his team played clubs from Stockholm.
166. Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001) 156–58.
167. Torbjörn Andersson and Aage Radmann, *Från gentleman till huligan? Svensk fotbollskultur för och nu* (Stockholm: Bokförlag Symposium, 1998) 123, 126, 141.
168. Stefan Nyberg, “Vi slogs för AIK,” in Erling Bjurström (ed.), *Sporten eller livet. En antologi om huliganism, kroppsfixering och idrottsliga ideal* (Stockholm: Heatwave Förlag, 1996) 52–54. Nyberg, for example, describes an incident during a road trip to Gothenburg when several AIK supporters leapt out of the bus and assaulted a black man in an act of unprovoked violence. This was just one out of several such episodes.
169. “Nazisternas Första Maj” *Expressen* 2 May 1992; “Här hittar VAM nya medlemmar” *Expressen* 19 May 1995.
170. Per-Olof Sännås, *Black Army* (Södertälje: Ljungbergs Tryckeri, 1998) 122–24.
171. “1991 Reportage Norra Stå. Sportspegeln” 21 July 1991 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mt8xLx-pOaQ> accessed 5/12/2011.
172. Posts by “vonSlyna” and “P3RK3L3,” 9 Jan. 2010 “Elaka ramsor! (?)” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
173. Anthony King, *The European Ritual: Football in the New Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 231; van Sterkenburg, Janssens, and Rijnen (eds.), *Football and Racism*, 81.
174. “1991 Reportage Norra Stå. Sportspegeln” 21 July 1991 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mt8xLx-pOaQ> accessed 5/12/2011; post by “Doink crys fou,” 5 Sept. 2009 “GAIS och ‘mångkultur’” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011. According to “Doink crys fou,” during these years, a variety of far right publications were sold at Djurgården’s games.
175. Nick Lowles, “Far Out with the Far Right,” in Mark Perryman (ed.), *Hooligan Wars* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 2001) 108–21.
176. Boström, “Idrotten på farlig väg,” 74; Lodenius and Wikström, *Vit makt och blågula drömmar*, 102. See also Kjäll et al., *Vi som är från Göteborg åker aldrig hem med sorg*, 119–20.
177. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 168; Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack*, 138–43, 158–65, 239–40, 435.
178. John Garland and Michael Rowe, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (II): Challenging Racism and Xenophobia,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 108; Lowles, “Far Out with the Far Right,” 108–21.
179. Hagström, Johansson, and Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?* 87–88; Stefan Nyberg, “Vi slogs för AIK,” 52–54; Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack*, 165.
180. Löw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980–1997*, 246–49.
181. Hagström, Johansson, and Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?*, 162; Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 122, 194. See also Johan Alan, a Djurgården supporter of Syrian origins, as cited in “Tokig fanatism är inget att eftersträva” *Aftonbladet* 24 Sept. 2001, and Isobel Hadley-Kamptz, “Fotboll är framtiden” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 April 2002.
182. Torbjörn Andersson, “Fotbollen i Södertälje” 2 Nov. 2005 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 10/10/2010.
183. For a specific illustration, see “Invandrare verkar inte vilja stå i klacken” *Aftonbladet* 24 Sept. 2001.
184. AIK notably has a number of famous supporters with family roots from outside of Sweden. To this group, one can apparently count well-known artists and media

- personalities such as Dogge Doggelito, Adam Tensta, David Fjäll, and Camilla Hedenmark. “Kända AIK:are” 12 May 2010–13 June 2012 <http://www.aikforum.se> accessed 6/18/2012.
185. Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 115–16, 181–83, 188. According to Andersson, Landskrona BoIS could possibly also be added to the list of clubs that enjoy a relatively larger degree of support from people with immigrant backgrounds.
 186. “Di blåe är hela Malmös klubb” *Fria Tidningen* 8 April 2005 <http://www.fria.nu> accessed 2/3/2011. In relation to AIK, see, for instance, a post by “Gnagaren09,” “1988. Reportage. Rasism. Svensk. Fotboll. Sportnytt” undated <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPPmEym7y5A> accessed 2/2/2011, and a post by “Watson,” “Slutspurten i Allsvenskan!” 20 Oct. 2004 <http://www.sporthoj.com> accessed 4/2/2011. Both of these entries note that these days one can find far more people with immigrant backgrounds on AIK’s end than used to be the case because there is less racism now.
 187. See, for instance, Henrik Qvist, supporter police in Malmö, as cited in “Åtta talanger med rötter i olika länder” *Expressen* 22 Sept. 2010.
 188. Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 115–16, 121, 131, 192. Malmö has one of the highest percentages of citizens with foreign origins in all of Sweden: 35.9 percent. This percentage, however, is nowhere near to being matched among the team’s core supporters.
 189. Philip Leander, “Att vara supporter,” in Inrikesdepartementet, *Väldet och glädjen*, 65; Hagström, Johansson, and Jurell, *Va för jävla pack e ni?*, 162. This topic, however, needs to be further studied. So far a majority of attention has focused on the members of the supporter clubs who have historically generated the most interest from the media. We know less about *Allsvenskan*’s other spectators, though they too appear to be largely male and ethnically Swedish. Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 192.
 190. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 147. One way of thinking about supporter clubs is that they are (in the words of Benedict Anderson) essentially “imagined communities.” Above all, these groups provide a context in which local identities can be both collectively celebrated and reaffirmed.
 191. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 47–48. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 192. Patrick Mignon, “Fans and Heroes,” in Huge Dauncey and Geoff Hare (eds.), *France and the 1998 World Cup: The National Impact of a World Sporting Event* (New York: Routledge, 1999) 96; Daniel Burdsey, *British Asians and Football: Culture, Identity and Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 41–42, 47.
 193. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 181.
 194. Post by “Raul,” 29 May 2008 “Rasismen inom svensk fotboll” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/20/2011.
 195. “Fattiglapp?” 7 Jan. 2010 <http://intefanvetjag.blogg.se> accessed 2/3/2011. In Sweden, “svartskalle” and “blatte” are two common derogatory terms used in reference to people of non-Nordic origins.
 196. For a specific illustration, see post by “Anders” 2 Nov. 2009 (reader comments), “Allsvenskan: Mutumba and trotjänarna gav fotbollen en seger” <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 6/2/2011. Anders complains that a couple of IFK Göteborg fans in front of him repeatedly yelled racial insults at AIK’s players and also made fascist salutes.
 197. Lindberg et al., *Vilka har Sveriges Bästa Hejarklack*, 334–39. In British slang, “a firm” originally referred to a criminal syndicate, but the term was later adopted by English football hooligans and eventually also by their Swedish counterparts. <http://www.slang-dictionary.com/definition/firm.html> accessed 6/26/2011.

198. Johan Höglund, *En av grabbarna* (Stockholm: MMG Books AB, 2005); “Firman Boys-Historien” 2000 <http://www.sverigesenen.com> accessed 7/15/2008.
199. Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 385. See also Tony Deogan, *Blodsbröder. En sann historia* (Malmö: Bra Böcker, 2009) 201–10.
200. Anna Bredström, “Makulinitet och kamp om nationella arenor—reflektioner kring bilden av ‘invandrarkillar i svensk media,’” in Paulina de los Reyes et al. (eds.), *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader: Kön, klass and etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2002) 192–94.
201. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 85–96, 235–38.
202. For a specific illustration, see “Johan,” one of the alleged leaders of Djurgården’s firm, DFG, as cited in “Firmaledaren: Var redo att dö” *Aftonbladet* 8 May 2005. Johan states that over the years he has fought alongside both immigrants and organized racists in Djurgården’s name. See also Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 67.
203. “Tema Fotboll” *EXPO* 3–4 (2005) <http://www.expo.se> accessed 2/2/2011. According to EXPO, by 2005, Helsingborgs IF had the largest racist following in Sweden. Other Helsingborg fans also testify to the fact that far right extremists have been a consistent menace on the terraces. Posts by “Fredrik Forever Red & Blue” and “Sann HIF:are,” “Fotboll och rasism” 5 April 2011 <http://hd.se/sport/blogg/sportbloggen> accessed 3/2/2012. See also Andersson, “*Spela fotboll bondjävlar!*” *Del 1*, 65–68.
204. Posts by “Hartelpool,” “Svensktiger,” “Doink crys fou,” and “Objectiv,” 5 Sept. 2009 “GAIS och ‘mångkultur’” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011.
205. Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 168. The fans themselves have repeatedly referred to this process as “self-sanitation.”
206. Posts by “Doink crys fou,” 5 Sept. 2009 “GAIS och ‘mångkultur’” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011.
207. Posts by “Drämmaren” 7 Sept. 2007 and “Turbohamster,” 28 March 2008 “Negrer + fotboll?” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 2/11/2011.
208. For a specific illustration, see “Supporter hetsade före fotbollsmatch” 26 Feb. 2010 <http://www.skanskan.se> accessed 10/10/2010.
209. For specific examples, see posts by “Frankie” and “Alexander Sofronjou,” 7 Sept. 2006 “Fotbollens kamp mot rasismen: IFK ger rasismen rött kort” <http://ifkgoteborg.blogspot.com> accessed 10/10/2010, and post by “Beyond,” 2 Sept. 2009 “Fotboll Stlm-Gbg” <http://exilen.eu> accessed 2/6/2011. All these entries testify to the persistence of racist attitudes among IFK Göteborg’s supporters. See also AIK player Martin Mutumba as cited in “Kwame Karikari hamnade mitt i rasismdebatt” *Expressen* 10 Oct. 2012.
210. An unidentified AIK supporter, for instance, retells the story of how one spectator got up and yelled, “What the fuck are you doing, Dulee, you fucking Negro?,” to AIK’s Dulee Johnson. Those within earshot apparently laughed heartily at these remarks. One can only imagine what any person of color would have felt in this situation. Post by “Emden,” 5 Sept. 2007 “Negrer + fotboll?” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 2/11/2011.
211. Halm, “Turkish Immigrants in German Amateur Football,” 81. In Germany, it is estimated that 80 percent of the country’s Turkish immigrants support a team in a Turkish league, as opposed to a German club.
212. For a specific illustration, see Cemal Izgudun as cited in “Resfeber” *Offside* 5 (2011): 112.
213. Kitimbwa Sabuni, “Svenskheten och afrosvenskheten,” in Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansksvenska röster*, 27–40.
214. Posts by “Magnus,” “Frågande,” and “Morgan,” 24 Sept. 2008 “Elfsborgssupportrar anklagas för rasism” <http://www.fotbollssverige.se> accessed 3/24/2011. Following the

- accusation that IF Elfsborg's supporters had racially abused Hammarby's black players, all these entries vehemently deny that this had occurred and counter that that this cannot possibly be true because the team's supporter club has "several colored" members, including one of the group's leaders. One of the posts even goes so far as to provide the phone numbers of ten fans from immigrant backgrounds who, in turn, "will testify to the fact that the club's supporters are not racists."
215. For another specific example, see post by "John Holm" 29 May 2007 (reader comments), "Mats Olsson, 'Derbyfesten'" *Expressen* <http://www.fotboll.expressen.se> accessed 4/12/2011. "John Holm" flatly rejects the idea that the actions of AIK's supporters are racially motivated in light of how many fans with immigrant origins the team now has.

Chapter 4

1. Torbjörn Andersson and Aage Radmann, *Från Gentleman till Huligan? Svensk fotbollskultur för och nu* (Stockholm: Bokförlag Symposium, 1998) 131–39.
2. Bengt Wallin, "Starta Vågen—idrottens etiksatsning," in Inrikesdepartementet, *Våldet och glädjen. En debattbok om huliganer och glada supportrar* (Stockholm: SISU Idrottsböcker, 1997) 37–43; Rolf Jönsson, "Supporterkulturen—en positiv kraft," in Inrikesdepartementet, *Våldet och glädjen*, 81–89.
3. Inrikesdepartementet, *Gemensamt arbete mot våld* (Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 1997) 25–26.
4. The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) is the top governing body in European Football, to which SvFF also belongs.
5. "Säg nej till rasism!" 21 July 2005 <http://svenskfotboll.se/allsvenskan> accessed 10/5/2010.
6. Svenska Fotbollsfrbundet, "Ge Rasismen Rött Kort" 5 Sept. 2006 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/10/2010.
7. "Rasism kan leda till poängavdrag" *Expressen* 9 Dec. 2006; Tommy Theorin, "Fler unga får chansen" *Svensk Elitfotboll* 4 (2006): 22.
8. Tommy Theorin, "Nej till rasism!" *Svensk Elitfotboll* 4 (2005): 26; "Nu tar svensk fotboll kraftag mot rasismen" *Svensk Elitfotboll* 1 (2006): 5–7.
9. "Ge rasismen rött kort" *Svensk Elitfotboll* 3 (2006): 6–7.
10. "AIK:s fotbollsspelare mot rasism och våld" undated <http://www.aikfotboll.se> accessed 2/11/2012. Together with IFK Göteborg, Malmö FF and Qviding FIF, AIK, for example, participated in a project called "Unga fotbollsspelare mot rasism och våld" ("Young Football Players against Racism and Violence."). For another illustration, see "MFF:s 17-åringar möter Braca—mot rasism" *Sydsvenskan* 21 July 2010.
11. For two specific illustrations, see "Skånes Fotbollförbund—Nolltolerans" 2006 <http://www.skaneboll.se> accessed 2/2/2011; "Nolltolerans I Halland" 2007 <http://www.laget.se> accessed 2/7/2011.
12. Lars-Åke Lagrell, Chairman SvFF, as cited in "Rasism skakar fotbolls-Europa" *Aftonbladet* 29 Nov. 2004; Tommy Theorin, general secretary *Föreningen Svensk Elitfotboll*, as cited in "Nu tar svensk fotboll kraftag mot rasismen" *Svensk Elitfotboll* 1 (2006): 6.
13. Anthony King, *The European Ritual: Football in the New Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 237–40.
14. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 19–22, 25–27. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010. See also Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 121–28, 141–42, 145–77.

15. Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 116–20.
16. “UEFA Disciplinary Regulations” 2008, 5. <http://www.uefa.com> accessed 10/10/2010; “FIFA Disciplinary Code” 2009, 34. <http://www.fifa.com> accessed 10/10/2010.
17. Johansson as cited in “Svenska fotbollsbasen talar ut om VM-grälet i Afrika” *Aftonbladet* 14 Nov. 1996; “Football: Johansson Apology in Race Row” *The Independent* 16 Nov. 1996. For Johansson’s own version of events, see Lennart Johansson, *I fotbollens tjänst* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2008) 163–65. Johansson denies any racist intent on his part, adding that he personally does not make any distinctions between “colored, white or yellow people.”
18. “Pressure on clubs to tackle racism” *London Evening Standard* 10 Oct. 2002; Johansson as cited in “Jag känner stor avsky: UEFA-basen Lennart Johansson tar kraftag mot rasismen” *Aftonbladet* 29 Nov. 2005; Johansson as cited in “UEFA holds antiracism conference” 1 Feb. 2006 <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk> accessed 3/27/2012. Johansson served as the president of UEFA from 1990 to 2007.
19. Blatter, it might be added, has been accused of using this issue in the same exact manner. Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 128.
20. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 7. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
21. “AIK får böta för kastade bananer” *Svenska Dagbladet* 19 Oct. 2007. Here it should, however, be noted that this fine was issued for several different transgressions and not just because of the alleged racist behavior of the club’s supporters.
22. Christos Kassimeris, “Deutschland über Alles: Discrimination in German Football,” in Kausik Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don’t Play Soccer: A Global Exploration* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 65; King, *The European Ritual*, 241–42.
23. Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensman, *Gaming of the World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010) 165, 243–45; Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (II): Challenging Racism and Xenophobia,” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Berlin: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 124.
24. Christos Kassimeris, “Fascism, Separatism and the Ultras: Discrimination in Italian Football” *Soccer & Society* 12 (5; 2011): 677–88; Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 164–65, 192–94, 197–98.
25. Daniel Burdsey, “They Think It’s All Over . . . It Isn’t Yet!,” in Daniel Burdsey (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Football* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 7–8; Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 164–65, 192–94, 197–98.
26. “Bois förnekar rasism” 6 Nov. 2005 <http://www.sverigesradio.se> accessed 10/10/2010; “Amuneke anklagar Bois för rasism” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Jan. 2008.
27. “Taktiken får vänta” *Dagens Nyheter* 29 June 2003; “Fotbollsvägen in i samhället” 25 May 2005 <http://www.drivkraft.org/page/33/nr52005.htm> accessed 1/10/2010.
28. “Landskrona—svart på vitt” *Aftonbladet* 3 July 2002; “En stad i stort behov av fotbollen: Rasism och ungdomsbrott—nu står Landskronas hopp till Cirkus Farnerud” *Aftonbladet* 25 March 2003.
29. Mats Arosson, director of football operations Landskrona BoIS, as cited in “Henke Larsson: Vi vill sprida glädje” *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2010.
30. Ucar as cited in “Landskrona är rasister” *Expressen* 10 Feb. 2007.

31. Håkan Mild, director of football operations IFK Göteborg, as cited in “Allsvenskan—en smalare nålsöga för våra talanger” 5 July 2007 <http://svenskfortboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
32. Damon Rasti, “Diskrimineringen finns även inom svensk fotboll, Lagrell” 3 May 2011 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 4/6/2012. See also “Pontus Kåmark ger Sportbladet rätt kort” *Expressen* 8 Feb. 2007.
33. Elias Minerjii, head coach AIK Football Academy, as cited in “Här är alla välkomna” *Svenska Dagbladet* 17 Nov. 2010.
34. Andreas Alm, “Alm: ‘Varför ta hit det vi redan har?’” 17 July 2007 <http://svenskfortboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
35. Fatih Yalap as cited in “Invandrare måste vara snäppet bättre” *Svenska Dagbladet* 19 May 2007. See also remarks by “Nihad,” “Kelim,” and “Elie” as cited in Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 3 (2003): 16–18. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010.
36. Aram Ibrahim and Michel Kamhie as cited in “Vinner vi inte serien är det vårt eget fel” *Jönköpings Nytt* 14 April 2009.
37. “Ali” and “Issan” as cited in Andres Jorquera, “Fotboll och Integration: En studie om tre invandrarungdomars berättelser” (Karlstads University, C-Uppsats Dept. of Sociology, 2008) 23–25.
38. Tomas Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” in Göran Rydstad and Svante Lundberg (eds.), *Att möta främlingar* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 2000) 161. See also Ola Andersson, director of football operations AIK, as cited in “Allsvenskan—ett smalare nålsöga för våra talanger” 5 July 2007 <http://www.svenskfortboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
39. “Släpp fram talangerna!” *Svenska Dagbladet* 4 April 2007. See also former Swedish international, Jocke Nilsson, as cited in “Jokern” *Offside* 5 (2011): 84.
40. Jesper Fundberg, “Invandrare och Idrott. Om att skapa kategorier och normalitet,” in Bo G. Nilsson (ed.), *Idrottens själ* (Uddevalla: Nordiska Museet, 2000) 284.
41. Torbjörn Andersson, “Immigrant Teams in Sweden and the Case of Assyriska FF” *Soccer & Society* 10 (3–4; 2009): 402–3; Jonas Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010* (Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag, 2010) 235.
42. Sine Agergaard and Jan Kahr Sorensen, “The Dream of Social Mobility: Ethnic Minority Players in Danish Football Clubs,” in Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer*, 76; Jim Lusted, “Playing Games with ‘Race’: Understanding Resistance to ‘Race’ Equality Initiatives in English Local Football Governance,” in Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer*, 37.
43. Zejko Vidakovic, “‘De hoppar och skuttar när vi vinner!’: En kvalitativ studie om integration genom idrott” (University of Gothenburg, C-Uppsats Dept. of Social Work, 2008) 24. See also “Ali” as cited in Jorquera, “Fotboll och Integration,” 20, 23.
44. Andreas Alm, “Alm: ‘Varför ta hit det vi redan har?’” 17 July 2007 <http://svenskfortboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
45. Vidakovic, “‘De hoppar och skuttar när vi vinner!’” 21. See also Emir Bajrami, Swedish international, as cited in “Jokern” *Offside* 5 (2011): 85–86.
46. Damon Rasti, “Diskrimineringen finns även inom svensk fotboll, Lagrell” 3 May 2011 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 2/21/2012.
47. Fundberg, “Invandrare och Idrott,” 278–80.
48. *Seiduninche* as cited in “Hade jag varit svensk hade jag fått kontrakt med Västerås” *Expressen* 9 April 2004.
49. Garba as cited in “Jag är en slav från Afrika” *Aftonbladet* 17 Jan. 2004.
50. Karlsson as cited in “Hammarby-spelaren var första afrikan i allsvenskan” <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 9/3/2010.

51. Raffaele Poli, "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labor Market" *Soccer & Society* 7 (2–3; 2006): 286.
52. This can also be a problem for African players in the lower Swedish divisions, as was the case for Aluspah Brewah during this time with Assyriska FF in 2007. "Aluspah Brewah klar för Boden" Nov. 2007 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 4/20/2011.
53. "Kouakou i ingenmansland" *Sydsvenskan* 18 May 2007. See also Isaac Chansa, Olivier Karekezi, Razak Omotoyossi, and McDonald Mariga as cited in "Mariga: 'Bättre att flytta'" *Expressen* 25 Aug. 2007.
54. Post by "Biskop," 25 March 2007 "Cotonou-avtalet" <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011; "Supercupen" 1 April 2007 <http://martini.blogg.se> accessed 1/31/2011. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the Cotonou agreement in effect made it much easier for some African footballers to get work permits in Sweden.
55. John Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality," in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) 239–40; Poli, "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labor Market," 286.
56. The clubs are the only ones who possess this data, and as a rule, they keep salary information private.
57. "Så mycket tjänar stjärnorna" *Aftonbladet* 28 Nov. 2002. As was noted in Chapter 2, in 2001, the average salary of the league's six African imports was 284,199 Swedish Crowns per year, while the average salary for all players that year was 383,056 Swedish Crowns. (Although eight African imports played in *Allsvenskan* that year, this article only provides the salary information for six of them.)
58. In 2003, Peter Ijeh, Derek Boateng, Joseph Elanga, and Pa Dembo Touray earned more than the league average, while René Makondele, Yannick Bapupa, Edwin Phiri, and Boyd Mwila, on the other hand, made less than 346,801 Crowns (which was the league average that year.) "De tjänar 94, 470 212" *Aftonbladet* 12 Dec. 2004.
59. For a specific illustration, see "Ijeh friad från misstanken om grovt skattebrott" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 1 July 2005; "Nya trassliga affärer med Peter Ijeh" *Idrottens Affärer* 16 Sept. 2009 <http://www.idrottensaffarer.se> accessed 3/29/2011. See also "De ändrade avtalet till ett svart kontrakt" *Expressen* 17 Jan. 2007. In this case, Joseph Nguijol alleged that the Third Division club Carlstad United had paid part of his salary under the table, which team officials denied.
60. For a specific illustration, see "En agent med skamfilat rykte" *Aftonbladet* 21 April 1998. When the former Olympic Bronze medalist Joachim Yaw Acheampong played for IFK Norrköping in 1995, he claimed that his Swedish agent had cheated him.
61. Paul Darby and Eirik Solberg, "Differing Trajectories: Football Development and Patterns of Player Migration in South Africa and Ghana," in Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (eds.), *Football, Apartheid and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 125; Raffaele Poli, "Football Players Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans' Mobility," in Jonathan Magee et al. (eds.), *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances* (Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport, 2005) 229.
62. Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, *Det blågula glashuset—strukturell diskriminering i Sverige* (SOU 56 2005): 91, 93–109, 121–22. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108/al/46188> accessed 2/2/2012.
63. D. McCarthy, R. L. Jones, and P. Potrac, "Constructing Images and Interpreting Realities: The Case of the Black Soccer Player on Television" *International Review for the Sociology in Sport* 38 (2; 2003): 230–34.
64. Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 187; Jonathan Ngeh, *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation: African Migrants in Sweden* (Umeå: Umeå University Dept. of Sociology, 2011) 88–89.

65. For a specific illustrations, see Mikael Selini, Chairman Bodens BK, as cited in “Fotbollsprojekt ska ge ökad befolkning” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 1 June 2010; Mats Engqvist, Malmö FF Youth Football, as cited in “Åtta talanger med rötter i olika länder” *Expressen* 22 Sept. 2010.
66. Daniel Burdsey, *British Asians and Football: Culture, Identity and Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 48–50; Lusted, “Playing Games with ‘Race,’” 35, 39. Similar tendencies are also evident in France, see Patrick Mignon, “Racisme et discrimination dans le sport,” in *La Lutte contre le racisme, l’antisémitisme et la xénophobie, Rapport de l’année 2006*, Commission nationale consultative des droits de l’homme (Paris: La Documentation Française, 2007) 197–241.
67. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Vilka är idrottens valda makthavare?—Om rekrytering till styrelser inom svensk idrott* 6 (2009): 4, 16–22. <http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx> accessed 11/11/2011.
68. Finansdepartementet, *Arbetsutbud och sysselsättning bland personer med utländsk bakgrund* Ds 2007, 4, 141–46. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108/a/77148> accessed 1/22/2011; Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, *Egenmakt mot utanförskap—regeringens strategi för integration* Skr. 2008/9 (24): 26. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9761/a/111280> accessed 1/22/2011.
69. Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige* (Stockholm: Statens Invandrarverk, 1983) 20–22; Ngeh, *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation*, 77–145.
70. In this context, it must be pointed out that EU research shows that institutional discrimination is a huge problem in the European professional game overall. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 29, 113. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
71. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010 http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010. Point number nine in UEFA’s “Ten Point Plan of Action for Professional Football Clubs” calls upon UEFA’s members to “adopt an equal opportunities policy in relation to employment and services.” UEFA’s “Ten Point Plan” as cited in Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 26–27.
72. For a recent illustration of this view, see “Patrick Ekwall: Våga ta ställing mot idiotin” *Expressen* 13 Oct. 2012.
73. “Vi vill inte ha ert våld, vi vill inte ha ert hat. Det här är vår fotboll och vi älskar den” *Aftonbladet* 10 April 2005.
74. “Stiftelsen Älska fotboll” 2005 http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/alska_fotboll accessed 3/15/2012.
75. “Tack för ett bra initiativ. Persson och Reinfeldt enade i kampen mot våldet” *Aftonbladet* 17 April 2005; “Älska Fotboll erövrar världen. Lennart Johansson: ‘Det är viktigt att budskapet sprids’” *Aftonbladet* 13 May 2005.
76. Simon Bank, sports journalist at *Aftonbladet* and chairman of “Älska Fotboll,” as cited in “Fotbollen tar krafttag mot rasism: ‘Oerhört viktigt’” *Aftonbladet* 28 Aug. 2006.
77. “101,884 Succén fortsätter—över hela världen” *Aftonbladet* 17 May 2005.
78. <http://sv-se.facebook.com/pages/Älska-Fotboll> accessed 6/6/2010.
79. <http://sv-se.facebook.com/pages/Ge-Rasismen-Rött-Kort> accessed 6/6/2010.
80. <http://sv-se.facebook.com/pages/Black-Army-Stockholm/132288741336> accessed 6/6/2010.
81. For an overview, please see <http://gerasismenrottkort.se> accessed 10/12/2010.

82. "Indoktrinering på fotbollsplanen" 7 Sept. 2006 <http://www.pariot.nu> accessed 4/4/2011.
83. Post by "Adoremus," 5 Sept. 2009 "GAIS och 'mångkultur'" <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011; post by "Excalibur," "Negrer + fotboll?" 29 March 2009 <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 2/11/2011. "Excalibur" recalls a match when the fans simply tore apart the big red arcs of paper that they had been issued to display and just threw these onto the pitch instead. In his view, the "Give Racism the Red Card" campaign was a "big joke."
84. Post by "Objektiv," 17 Oct. 2006 "IFK-DIF" <http://www.sportalare.se/forum> accessed 3/23/2011. "Objektiv" discusses his skepticism toward the "Give Racism the Red Card" campaign. Post by "RonnyGorder," 21 July 2010 "MFF:s 17-åringar möter Barca—mot rasism" <http://www.sydsvenskan.se> accessed 4/11/2011. "RonnyGorder" complains that this type of manifestation against racism is a waste of the taxpayers' money. He asks, "How will a football game ever resolve racism?"
85. "Tema Fotboll" *EXPO* 3–4 (2005) <http://www.expo.se> accessed 2/2/2011.
86. Posts by "Anonym," "Benny," "SI," and "Aftonbladet," 7 Sept. 2006 "Fotbollens kamp mot rasismen: IFK ger rasismen rött kort" <http://ifkgoteborg.blogspot.com> accessed 4/4/2011.
87. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 195–96.
88. Ruth Johnson, "Football Unites, Racism Divides," in Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 105–38; Ged Grebby, "Show Racism the Red Card," in Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 139–74. Supporters of Sheffield United founded "Football Unites, Racism Divides" in 1995, whereas "Show Racism the Red Card" was first started by fans of Newcastle United in 1996.
89. Carlo Podaliri and Carlo Balestri, "The Ultras, Racism and Football Culture in Italy," in Adam Brown (ed.), *Fanatics: Power, Identity, and Fandom in Football* (New York: Routledge, 1998) 99; Kurt Wachter, Susanne Franke, and Jacek Purski, "Football against Racism in Europe," in Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 30–65.
90. For a specific illustration, see Mats Jonsson, chairman of Järnkaminerna, as cited in "Hela Sverige älskar fotboll" *Aftonbladet* 12 April 2005.
91. "Vad är Malmö Supporter?" undated <http://www.mff-familjen.se> accessed 10/10/2011. That said, not even Malmö FF's supporters are totally free of organized racists. "Huliganerana bakom hoten mot Malmö FF" *Expressen* 16 Nov. 2012.
92. "Di blåe är hela Malmös klubb" *Fria Tidningen* 8 April 2005 <http://www.fria.nu> accessed 2/3/2011. See also Torbjörn Andersson, "Spela fotboll bondjävlar!" *Del 1* (Stockholm: Symposion, 2011) 183.
93. Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 173, 195–97.
94. For specific illustrations, see Lasse Anrell, "Folskeltoppen—här är veckans vinnare" *Aftonbladet* 8 Oct. 2006; Mats Olsson, "Derbyfesten" *Expressen* 29 May 2007; Simon Bank, "Il Caso Totti" *Aftonbladet* 7 May 2010.
95. Eriksson as cited in "Rasism skakar fotbolls-Europa" *Aftonbladet* 29 Nov. 2004; Larsson as cited in "Henke Larsson: Vi vill sprida glädje" *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2010.
96. Ylva Habel, "Whiteness Swedish Style," in Kolade Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansvenska röster: En antologi om afrikansvenskarnas situation i, och tankar om, Sverige* (Stockholm: Notis, 2009) 107.
97. Anders Ahnberg, "Väld och Rasism" undated <http://www.gais.nu/i/kron4.html> accessed 9/19/2010; Urban Rybrink, Hammarby Football, as cited in "Elfsborgssupportrar anklagas för rasism" 24 Sept. 2008 <http://www.fotbollssverige.se> accessed 3/24/2011.

98. Lennart Sjögren, Örebro SK, as cited in “Edwin Phiri utsatt för hatattack” *Aftonbladet* 22 May 2005; Stuart Baxter, head coach Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Rasistattack mot Blåvits stjärna” *Expressen* 1 Oct. 2006.
99. Valle Elivuori, chairman Black Army, as cited in “Det finns ord som bara är okay på fotboll” *Dagens Nyheter* 22 April 2007; Henrik Hägg, the chairman of Helsingborgs IF’s supporter group “Kärnan,” as cited in “Rasistattack mot Blåvits stjärna” *Expressen* 1 Oct. 2006. Hägg condemns those among his fellow Helsingborg fans who racially abused Samuel Wowoah and adds, “HIF has several ‘colored players’ of its own, and it is largely due to them that the team is currently in third place.”
100. Post by “De Large,” 22 May 2006 “Svenska fotbollssupporters rasistiska?” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 5/11/2011. “De Large” complains that those fans who racially abused Edwin Phiri have harmed Örebro SK’s image. See also posts by “CarlApan,” “Farbror,” “Tobbe,” “Tillbaka till toppen,” and “Bigbadda,” “Västra Sidan Forum” Nov. 4–5 2008 <http://vastra.futurniture.se> accessed 2/3/2011. All these posts reject Liston Söderberg’s racism, which they view as an embarrassment for their club, Västerås SK.
101. Posts by “Gäst,” “Bobby O,” and “thebandit,” 14 Aug. 2005 “Halmstad BK-GIF Sundsvall” <http://patronerna.se> accessed 2/19/2011. “Gäst” and “Bobby O,” for example, condemn “thebandit” for referring to GIF Sundsvall’s Canadian Ali Gerba as a “ghetto neger.”
102. Post by “Punschrus” (reader comments), “1988. Reportage. Rasism. Svensk. Fotboll. Sportnytt” (undated) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPPmEym7y5A> accessed 2/2/2011. In this discussion about racism in Swedish football during the late 1980s, “Punschrus” admonishes “racists to get a life” and reminds his fellow discussion forum participants that Swedes once also immigrated abroad en masse.
103. Posts by “Fula Gubben” 24 Jan. 2007 and “SeanExile” (reader comments), “Elanga får sparken av Bröndby” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 11/13/2010.
104. For a specific illustration, see supporters of Djurgårdens IF sing, “Don’t think that you are Swedish just because you received asylum!” “Haningebuss-norrköping premiär 2008” uploaded 2 June 2008 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Qjgi8wWQjc> accessed 1/2/2013.
105. Post by “15Februari,” 8 April 2011 “Elaka ramsor! (?)” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
106. “Ekenberg anklagas för rasistiska skrik” *Expressen* 29 March 2011.
107. “Västerås sparkar ‘Liston’: Får gå efter rasistiska utalanden” *Aftonbladet* 13 April 2004.
108. Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 62, 82, 86–88, 106, 124.
109. According to Danny Eriksson, a spokesperson for “Fotboll mot rasism i Sverige” (“Football against Racism in Sweden”), Sweden is “hopelessly behind” in this work in comparison to England and even in relation to the other Scandinavian countries. Eriksson as cited in “Sverige ligger hopplöst efter” 15 Oct. 2011 <http://www.fria.nu> accessed 2/2/2012.
110. “Publiken kastade bananer—Touray tackade och åt” *Aftonbladet* 24 Sept. 2004; “Dembo utsatt för ny bananattack: ‘Det är inte roligt’” *Expressen* 11 April 2006; “Ny bananattack mot Pa Dembo” *Aftonbladet* 13 Aug. 2007.
111. Simon Bank, “Allsvenskan bättre än någonsin” *Aftonbladet* 6 Aug. 2005; Åke Stolt, “Klubbsstraff biter inte på buset!” *Sydsvenskan* 30 Aug. 2006; Mats Olsson, “Derbyfesten” *Expressen* 29 May 2007.
112. Posts by “hell-man” and “Jeppe” (reader comments), 30 May 2007 “Nytt skrikande med krav på fotbollsklubbarna” <http://www.hell-man.se> accessed 3/25/2011; posts by “HAXXXRAXXE,” “RaXmOuSe,” “r00z,” and “iLLuGazaLa,” 14 Aug. 2007 “Bajen, Sluta kasta bananer” <http://www.fragbite.se> accessed 3/23/2011.

113. Mikael Hällbom, chairman Bajen Fans, as cited in “Jag hoppas det inte var rasistiskt” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2004.
114. Henrik Appleqvist (chairman Hammarby IF) and Anders Linderoth (head coach Hammarby IF) as cited in “Hammarby-klacken kastade bananer mot Dembo Touray” *Aftonbladet* 20 July 2004.
115. Posts by “joakim,” “bubba,” and “joja” 8–9 Aug. 2005 “Rasistbladet-igen” <http://bajenvanamet.blogspot.com> accessed 3/30/2011. See also Åsa Linderborg, “Varför städar inte Bajen upp?” *Aftonbladet* 8 Aug. 2005, and Andreas Olsson, “Svar till Åsa Linderborg” 9 Aug. 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 9/18/2010.
116. “Purgare, Vomere” 31 Aug. 2006 <http://gronvitasidanupp.blogspot.com> accessed 3/31/2011. In the comments that follow this opinion piece, the legitimacy of continuing to throw bananas is subject to a heated internal debate among Hammarby supporters. In the end, most seem to have concluded that under the circumstances, this tradition had run its course. As one unidentified supporter states, “While throwing bananas against DIF is an old tradition, the despicable racist tradition of throwing bananas at black footballers for explicitly racist reasons is even older and more well-known, so why should we expect outsiders to understand this ritual?” Most of the posts on this blog are not signed.
117. “Skärpt syn på banankastning” *Dagens Nyheter* 24 Aug. 2007; “AIK får böta för kastade bananer” *Svenska Dagbladet* 19 Oct. 2007. See also “Beslut i SvFF:s Disciplinnämnd 18 oktober 2007” 19 Oct. 2007 <http://fogis.se/tavling/namnder-och-kommitteer/disciplinnamnden/arkiv/tidigare/2007/10/beslut-i-svffs-disciplinnamnd-18-oktober-2007> accessed 10/10/2009.
118. Richard Slätt, “Kasta bananer är inte rasism” *Expressen* 8 April 2006; Valle Elivouri, chairman Black Army, as cited in “Skärpt syn på banankastning” *Dagens Nyheter* 24 Aug. 2007.
119. “Gamla talanger, rockande fik och målvaktsbananer,” 3 Aug. 2010 “I skuggan av Bobigol” <http://www.eurosport.se> accessed 4/2/2011.
120. Post by “Martin” (reader comments), 14 Sept. 2005 *Curva Sofa Ultras* <http://csu.se> accessed 3/30/2011; post by “Bajen-Danne,” “IFK GBG-DIF” 17 Oct. 2006 <http://www.sportalare.se> accessed 3/23/2011.
121. Post by “joakim” (reader comments), 8 Aug. 2005 “Rasistbladet-igen” <http://bajenvanamet.blogspot.com> accessed 3/30/2011; “Bananer igen” 12 April 2006 <http://jockeshem.blogspot.com> accessed 10/10/2010.
122. “Bananer” 26 Aug. 2007 <http://sjuttisju.blogg.se> accessed 4/2/2011; “Förbundet delar ut nya böter till AIK—Ge dom bananer!” 30 Oct. 2007 <http://www.sverigesenen.se> accessed 4/4/2011.
123. Post by “drsteffo,” 6 April 2007 “allsvenskan 2007 tråd!” <http://www.familjeliv.se> accessed 3/22/2011; post by “osis” (reader comments), “Derbyfesten” *Expressen* 29 May 2007 <http://www.fotboll.expressen.se> accessed 4/12/2011.
124. “Casual—T-Shirts and Pikeer” <http://www.difshop.se> accessed 10/10/2011.
125. Posts by “joakim” and “för evigt trogen,” 24 April 2006 “SWE: Hammarby 2006” <http://forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 3/23/2011.
126. Post by “Chomsky” (reader comments), 29 March 2009 “Varför detta jäkla tjafs om att ta seden dit man kommer?” <http://www.familjeliv.se> accessed 3/22/2011; post by “SuttonHoo,” “Banankastning mot DIF?” 11 Dec. 2010 <http://www.aikforum.se> accessed 3/21/2011.
127. To their credit, at the time, some Swedish football supporters did indeed recognize that throwing bananas at a black player had very different and far more sinister connotations than tossing them at a white player. “Steget är långt från bananer till raketer” 30 Aug. 2006 <http://gurksurken.blogg.se> accessed 4/2/2011; post by “John” 29 May 2007 <http://vastrasidan.se> accessed 3/31/2011.

128. “Touray utsatt för rasistattack: ‘Jag är hjälplös’” 25 Nov. 2005 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.com> accessed 4/2/2011. During the match, the opposing Danish supporters pelted Touray with bananas and made monkey noises each time he picked up the ball.
129. Mustafa Mohamed as cited in “De kallade mig för apa” *Aftonbladet* 11 Aug. 2007; Kevin Amunke as cited in “De kallade mig apa” *Aftonbladet* 11 Jan. 2008.
130. Posts by “AlleyCat” 28 Dec. 2005 and “Fyrkantig_boll,” 19 Nov. 2010 “Elaka ramsor! (?)” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
131. Post by “Bubba” (reader comments), 8 Aug. 2005 “Rasistbladet—igen” <http://bajenvanamet.blogspot.com> accessed 3/30/2011. See also Richard Slätt, “Kasta bananer är inte rasism” *Expressen* 8 April 2006.
132. For specific illustrations, see “Edwin Phiri utsatt för hatattack” *Aftonbladet* 22 May 2005, and “Rasistattack mot blåvits stjärna” *Expressen* 1 Oct. 2006.
133. “Skamligt AIK” 29 May 2007 <http://daglarsson.blogspot.com> accessed 4/4/2011; “Kring Fotboll Och Galningar” 4 Aug. 2011 <http://gunnarbernstrup.wordpress.com> accessed 2/2/2012.
134. For an excellent example of this, see Åsa Linderborg, “Varför städar inte Bajen upp?” *Aftonbladet* 8 Aug. 2005. See also post by “Bagis” (reader comments), “Purgare, Vomere” 31 Aug. 2006 <http://gronvitasidanupp.blogspot.com> accessed 3/31/2011.
135. Andersson and Radmann, *Från Gentleman till Huligan?*, 121–26. See also Stefan Magnusson, Bajen Fans, as cited in Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010*, 168–69.
136. For a specific illustration, see post by “Paladin” 9 April 2002 <http://www.svenskafans.com/fotboll/5422.aspx> accessed 1/31/2011. “Palatin” complains about a contingent of Nazi skinheads that were racially abusing opposing players during a Hammarby home game. See also post by “Fyrkantig_boll,” 19 Nov. 2010 “Elaka ramsor! (?)” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
137. Post by “Bubba” (reader comments), 8 Aug. 2005 “Rasistbladet—igen” <http://bajenvanamet.blogspot.com> accessed 3/30/2011; post by “Jensas_pungsvett” (reader comments), 1 Sept. 2006 “Purgare, Vomere” <http://gronvitasidanupp.blogspot.com> accessed 3/31/2011; post by “Cliff Hanger” (reader comments), 29 Aug. 2007 “Pinsamt” <http://gurksurken.blogg.se> accessed 4/2/2011.
138. Alberto Testa and Gary Armstrong, *Football, Fascism and Fandom: The Ultras of Italian Football* (London: A & C Black, 2010) 52.
139. Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes: One Man’s Odyssey into the Heart of Darkness and the Origins of European Genocide* (New York: New Press, 2006).
140. Floris Müller, L. van Zoonen, and L. de Roode, “Accidental Racists: Experiences and Contradictions of Racism in Local Amsterdam Soccer Fan Culture,” in Brown (ed.), *Football Fans around the World*, 175.
141. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, “Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture” *The British Journal of Sociology* 50 (3; 1999): 427–28.
142. Jacco van Sterkenburg, Jan Janssens, and Bas Rijnen (eds.), *Football and Racism: An Inventory of the Problems and Solutions in Eight West European Countries in the Framework of the Stand Up Speak Up Campaign* (Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media, 2005) 68; King, *The European Ritual*, 232.
143. Kassimeris, *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 9, 183.
144. King, *The European Ritual*, 232.
145. Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, “Accidental Racists,” 182.
146. Garland and Rowe, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (II),” 107.
147. Katarina Mattsson and Mekonnen Tesfabuney, “Rasism i vardagen,” in Ingemar Lindberg (ed.), *Det slutna folkhemmet. Om etniska klyftor och blågul självbild* (Stockholm: Agora, 2002) 30–31.

148. Richard Slätt, “Kasta bananer är inte rasism” *Expressen* 8 April 2006.
149. Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, “Accidental Racists,” 180–83.
150. Posts by “Anonym,” “Bocken,” and “Rasism” (reader comments), 6 March 2009 “När fotboll inte handlar om poäng: Kick Racism Out of Football” <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 10/10/2010; post by “Rastasite,” 27 June 2006 “Rasism under VM?” <http://www.whoa.nu> accessed 3/8/2011. In all instances, the authors of these posts make a distinction between “real racism” versus racist abuse that is uttered in “a moment of passion” or when such abuse is employed by fans in the name of gamesmanship in order to gain competitive advantage. See also Andreas Kjäll et al., *Vi som är från Göteborg åker aldrig hem med sorg* (Göteborg: Supporterklubben Änglarna, 2014) 120–21.
151. Jorge Capelán, “Domare! Stoppa matchen” 27 April 2006 <http://www.upmana.nu> accessed 3/23/2011.
152. Victoria Kawesa and Jolin Boldt, “Kasta bananer är alltid galet” *Expressen* 24 April 2006; Kitimbwa Sabuni, “Låt oss tala om afrofobi” 24 April 2006 <http://www.upmana.nu> accessed 4/3/2011. A “negerboll” (“Negro ball”) is a traditional Swedish treat that is now known as a “chocolate ball,” whereas “nogger black” was briefly the name of a popsicle in the mid-2000s. “GB:s glassreklam är rasistisk: Nogger Black anmäls till DO” *Aftonbladet* 13 April 2005; Timothy Noah, “MooLatte, Bested: Please Welcome an Even More Race-Baiting Ice Cream Product” 22 April 2005 <http://www.slate.com> accessed 3/30/2011.
153. “Gränsen för rasism” 8 Feb. 2007 <http://mathimlen.blogspot.com> accessed 2/25/2011.
154. King, *The European Ritual*, 234.
155. Posts by “Jerry” and “Hoff” 29 May 2007 <http://vastrasidan.se> accessed 3/31/2011; Post by “Billy Swan” (reader comments), 15 Aug. 2007 “Detta är en liten stamp-på-handen affär” <http://trehornorstraff.wordpress.com> accessed 3/30/2011.
156. Victoria Kawesa and Jolin Boldt, “Kasta bananer är alltid galet” *Expressen* 24 April 2006; Sabuni, “Låt oss tala om afrofobi” 24 April 2006 <http://www.upmana.nu> accessed 4/3/2011.
157. Touray as cited in “På stan är alla tysta” *Expressen* 1 Sept. 2007.
158. Touray as cited in “Dembo utsatt för ny bananattack: ‘Det är inte roligt”’ *Expressen* 11 April 2006; “Nya bananer mot Dembo: ‘Fuck it”’ 14 Aug. 2007 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 3/29/2011.
159. Touray as cited in “Dembo om 2006 och idioter” 30 March 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/3/2011.
160. Touray as cited in “Dembo om bananerna: Bryr mig inte” *Aftonbladet* 27 April 2006. Touray states that although he continues to be offended by this practice, he does not let it affect him anymore.
161. “Publiken kastade bananer—Touray tackade och åt” *Aftonbladet* 24 Sept. 2004.
162. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 100; Dave Hill, *Out of His Skin: The John Barnes Phenomenon* (London: WSC Books, 2001) 75, 136. See also van Sterkenburg, Janssens, and Rijnen (eds.), *Football and Racism*, 123–24.
163. Viktorija Kalonaitytė et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige: Upplevelser av diskriminering och rasism bland ungdomar med afrikansk bakgrund i Sverige* (Stockholm: Ombudsmannen Mot Etnisk Diskriminering, 2008) 21, 43.
164. Touray as cited in “Touray eats banana” 28 Sept. 2004 <http://news.bbc.co.uk> accessed 3/25/2011.
165. Brendon Batson as cited in Scott Fleming and Alan Tomlinson, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (I): Europe and Old England,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 87.
166. Vince Hilaire as cited by Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 49.

167. Phil Vassili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 131. For specific illustrations, see Pascal Simpson as cited by Fredrik Quistbergh et al., "Lika inför bollen?" 2002 <http://www.quistbergh.se/view/26> accessed 1/2/2013, and Henok Goitom as cited in "Kwame Karikari hamnade mitt i rasismdebatt" *Expressen* 10 Oct. 2012.
168. Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2010) 93.
169. Touray as cited in "Hammarby-klacken kastade bananer mot Dembo Touray" *Aftonbladet* 20 July 2004; Touray as cited in "Touray utsatt för rasistattack: 'Jag är hjälplös'" 25 Nov. 2005 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.com> accessed 4/2/2011.
170. Samir Bakaou as cited in "Samir Bakaou" *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011; Razak Omotoyossi as cited in "Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008.
171. Fleming and Tomlinson, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (I)," 87.
172. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 146–50.
173. Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, "Accidental Racists," 183–85.
174. Garland and Rowe, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in England (II)," 107.
175. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 158–59.
176. *Ibid.*, 143.
177. Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 176–80, 218.
178. Samir Bakaou as cited in "Samir Bakaou" *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
179. "Tauers snoppskämt mot Dembo Touray" *Aftonbladet* 15 April 2009. See "TV: Se när Tauer driver med Dembo Touray" 15 April 2009 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 3/21/2011.
180. Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, "Accidental Racists," 176, 179.
181. *Ibid.*, 181–84.
182. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 92, 111.
183. *Ibid.*, 171.
184. Burdsey, *British Asians and Football*, 50.
185. Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 137. See also Richie Moran, "Racism in Football: A Victim's Perspective," in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 191–99.
186. Amuneke as cited in "Amuneke utsatt för rasism i Bois" *Norrköpings Tidningar* 11 Jan. 2008.
187. Amuneke as cited in "Amuneke: 'Min karriär har varit crazy'" 14 April 2011 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 4/19/2011.
188. Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 137.
189. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 144–45, 150; Müller, van Zoonen, and de Roode, "Accidental Racists," 183–84. See also Colin King, *Playing the White Man* (New York: Berg, 2004) 1–74.
190. For a specific example, see Edwin Phiri as cited in "Edwin Phiri utsatt för hatattack" *Aftonbladet* 22 May 2005.
191. Razak Omotoyossi as cited in "Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008; Etuwe Prince Eboagwu as cited in "Sa det så många gånger" 30 March 2011 <http://www.corren.se> accessed 4/14/2011.
192. Richard Ekunde as cited in "Ekunde om livet i hemlandet, och om en framtid som fotbollssagent" 29 Dec. 2010 <http://www.sportstory.se> accessed 4/25/2011; Reuben Ayarna as cited in "Reubens uppdrag för Ghana" 13 Feb. 2011. <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011. Ayarna, for instance, argues that most of the people who engage in racist chanting are not really racists; they are only trying to get into the heads of the opposing players.

193. Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 188–89; Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 239.
194. For a specific illustration, see Congolese immigrant Papi Muhinda as cited by Sarudzayi Zindoga, “Ett bättre liv ingen självklarhet för afrikansk invandrare” *Södra Afrika* 3 (2008): 30–31.
195. Emmanuel Tetteh as cited in “Tetteh tackar Gud för framgångarna” *Aftonbladet* 16 Sept. 1999. See also Atiba Hutchinson as cited in “Mitten är toppen, HIF” *Aftonbladet* 10 May 2005. Hutchinson is a Canadian international of Trinidadian origins that played professional football in Sweden for three and a half seasons. In 2004, he opted to stay in Sweden instead of moving to Russia for more money due to his concerns about the high level of racism there.

Chapter 5

1. Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 168–69.
2. Jonathan Magee and John Sugden have proposed an alternative interpretive scheme to understand player migration. They have divided professional football migrants into six basic typologies: the mercenary, the settler, the ambitionist, the exile, the nomadic cosmopolitan, and the expelled. While the mercenary, settler, ambitionist, and nomadic cosmopolitan are motivated by financial reward and/or by the quest for personal fulfillment, the exile and expelled are, in contrast, forced to move abroad out of political necessity. All these typologies more or less exist among African footballers in Sweden. Jonathan Magee and John Sugden, “‘The World at Their Feet’: Professional Football and International Labor Migration” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26 (2002): 429–34.
3. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). The listed nationality of these players, however, does not always correspond to their actual place of birth. For example, Walid Atta was born in Saudi Arabia, Kangana Ndiwa in Angola, and John Pelu in Burkina Faso.
4. “Afrikanska fotbollspelare i årets allsvenska” *Fokus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010; “Ibrahim Atiku now EU citizen” 13 May 2009 <http://footballerspromotion.wordpress.com> accessed 5/19/2011; “Exclusive: AIK’s Liberian International Dulee Johnson Granted EU Citizenship” 9 March 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 6/25/2011. Makondele was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Atiku in Ghana, and Johnson and Samura in Sierra Leone.
5. “Pa Dembo Touray EU-spelare” *Dagens Nyheter* 15 Feb. 2006.
6. For a specific example, see “Afrikanerna dominerar Allsvenskan” *Aftonbladet* 5 April 2012. While this article points out that René Makondele was born in the Congo, it fails to mention that he has been a naturalized Swedish citizen for almost a half decade at this point. An article in *Dagens Nyheter* that grades *Allsvenskan*’s foreign imports in 2009 similarly fails to acknowledge that players like Makondele, Yannick Bapupa, and Dulee Johnson are all now Swedish nationals. “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar—DN sätter betyg” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
7. For a specific illustration, see “Afrikanerna stormar fram på bred front i allsvenskan” *Kristianstadsbladet* 4 April 2002. In this article, both Benjamin Kibebe and Samuel Wowoah are referred to as “African,” even though they both grew up in Sweden and are Swedish nationals.
8. “Afrikanska spelare i allsvenskan” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 8 June 2010.
9. See Appendix A and B.

10. “Stephen Ademolu,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stephen_Ademolu accessed 3/14/2011; “Ademolu till Norska Tromsö” *Aftonbladet* 8 July 2005. Ademolu played for Trelleborgs FF in 2004.
11. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). Here it should be said that Goitom first began his professional career outside of Sweden. Originally signed by Udinese in Italy, Goitom later moved to *La Liga*, and only midway through the 2012 season did he finally make his debut for AIK in *Allsvenskan*.
12. This is only a partial list of Swedish players with one African-born parent. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). Shaaban’s mother is actually Finnish and his father is Egyptian, but because he was born and raised in Sweden, he has dual Swedish-Egyptian citizenship. “Rami Shaaban Interview” 10 Dec. 2002 <http://www.egyptianplayers.com> accessed 4/4/2011.
13. For a specific example, see post by “Micke666,” 5 May 2009 “Allsvenskans sämsta utlänning alla kategorier på 2000-talet” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 3/12/2011. The fact that Rami Shaaban was born and raised in the Stockholm suburb of Fisksätra does not make him Swedish in the eyes of “Micke666.” This a topic to which we will return in Chapter 9.
14. For two specific illustrations, see “Djurgården hammers Öster in Opener. Liberian Samuel Wowoah Netted in Opener” 15 April 2003 <http://www.liberiansoccer.com> accessed 4/3/2011; “Ghanaian Players in Sweden Impress” 1 Nov. 2001 <http://www.ghanaweb.com> accessed 11/16/2011. See also “Gambia: Scorpions—If They Wish to Be” 11 July 2011 <http://www.allafrica.com> accessed 7/14/2011.
15. “Scorpions Stun Guingamp 1-0” 12 Oct. 2009 <http://www.foroyaa.gm> accessed 20/2/2011; “Gambia—ett afrikanskt landslag i Sverige” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 9 June 2010. José Monteiro has similarly opted to play for Guinea-Bissau. “José på högerbacken när Guinea-Bissau skräll vann” 5 Sept. 2010 <http://www.hammarbyfotboll.se> accessed 5/20/2011.
16. “Sise-debut i U21-landslaget” *Hallandsposten* 4 Aug. 2010.
17. “Dinamo-redaktionen intervjuar Walid Atta: ‘Bestämde mig tidigt för Dinamo’” 15 Feb. 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 7/17/2011.
18. “Pelu—HIF:s nye Alvaro-ersättare” *Aftonbladet* 13 April 2003.
19. “Pascal Simpson—Sju Framgångsrika År På 1990-Talet” 2005 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 10/10/2010.
20. “Benjamin Kibebe,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=11330> accessed 4/15/2011.
21. “Mike Owuso TFF:s första nyförvärv” *Trelleborgs Allehanda* 19 Nov. 2009.
22. “Ännu en DIF:are till U-21” 6 Nov. 2001 <http://www.dif.se> accessed 11/11/2010.
23. “Svensk i afrikanska mästerskapen” *Dagens Nyheter* 14 Jan. 2004; “Dr Congo Needs More Pros” 27 June 2004 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/football> accessed 7/14/2011; “Ceesay startar i U21” 21 Nov. 2007 <http://www.dif.se/sidor> accessed 11/3/2010; “Kebba Ceesay Ready for Gambia” 2 Sept. 2010 <http://www.gambiasports.gm> accessed 10/28/2010.
24. “Jones Kusi-Asare ineligible for Ghana?” 11 Nov. 2001 <http://www.ghanaweb.com> accessed 11/16/2011; “Landslagsman—utan att veta om det” *Aftonbladet* 17 March 2008. In early 2008, it was rumored that Liberia wished to select Samuel Wowoah for an upcoming international friendly. Wowoah, who grew and Sweden (and who had never returned to Liberia since leaving as a young child), was apparently quite surprised by the news of his alleged selection.
25. Football fans in Ghana were, for example, briefly interested in recruiting Swedish born and raised Patrick Amoah to play for their national team. (Amoah’s father is Ghanaian.) “Who Is Patrick Amoah?” 28 Nov. 2005 <http://discussions.ghanaweb.com> accessed

- 4/21/2011. See also “Ugandas landslag vill ha Martin Mutumba” *Expressen* 19 Nov. 2011, and “Saleh uttagen till Afrikanska mästerskapen” *Aftonbladet* 2 Jan. 2013.
26. Kananga Ndiwa as cited in “Mitt livs svåraste val” *Dagens Nyheter* 22 Jan. 2004.
 27. Rami Shaaban as cited in “Tveksam till Egypten” *Aftonbladet* 9 Dec. 2002; Henok Goitom as cited in “Han kräver respekt” *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 March 2009.
 28. For a specific illustration, see Amadou Jawo as cited in “Titta är det inte Amadou som tränar med GIF?” *Arbetarbladet* 5 Jan. 2010. According to Amadou, it is his dream to one day play for the Swedish national team. Yet at the same time he is very happy that his older brother Omar was finally selected to the Gambian senior team.
 29. Demba-Nyrén as cited in “Svenska succéproffset kan spela för Gambia” *Expressen* 18 Dec. 2002; Demba-Nyrén as cited in “Från knarktrasket till hyllad målkung” *Aftonbladet* 14 Jan. 2003.
 30. Demba-Nyrén as cited in “Exklusiv intervju med Njogu Demba-Nyrén” 20 May 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 6/16/2011.
 31. “U21 herr: Goitom tvåmålsskytt mot Bulgarien” 25 March 2005 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/10/2010; Goitom as cited in “Kan tänka mig att byta landslag” *Aftonbladet* 18 Nov. 2010.
 32. “Shaaban funderar på Egypten också” *Dagens Nyheter* 2 Sept. 2002; “Rami Shaaban om Egypten” 3 Feb. 2007 <http://www.campsweden.se> accessed 4/20/2011.
 33. “Peter Ijeh är ingen Svenssonlirare” *Dagens Nyheter* 10 Aug 2002.
 34. Ijeh as cited in “Kända Malmöprofiler: Peter Ijeh” 11 Nov. 2002 accessed 3/29/2011; Ijeh as cited in “Peter Ijeh—älskar Gud och fotbollen” undated <http://evigalivet.blogspot.se> accessed 3/29/2011.
 35. Elanga as cited in “Intervju med Joseph Elanga” 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/2011.
 36. For a specific illustration, see Henok Goitom as cited in “Husby I Mitt HJÄRTA” *Aftonbladet* 15 March 2009. See also Kitimbwa Sabuni, “Svenskheten och afrosvenskheten,” in Kolade Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansksvenska röster: En antologi om afrikansksvenskarnas situation i, och tankar om, Sverige* (Stockholm: Notis, 2009) 27–40.
 37. For a specific illustration, see Moestafa El Kabir as cited in “El Kabir om succén: ‘Tänker fotboll’” *Expressen* 17 July 2010.
 38. “HIF testar Milanspelare” *Aftonbladet* 5 March 2003; “Beloufa klar för Helsingborg” *Expressen* 20 March 2007.
 39. “En blåvit artist har gjort entré” *Aftonbladet* 28 April 2003.
 40. “Han lever för fotbollen men får inte spela” *Dagens Nyheter* 1 Feb. 2008.
 41. “Profiler från förr—Abdel Seidou” 4 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> 04/25/2011.
 42. “Först guld—sedan väntar världen på Chatto” 25 Oct. 2008 <http://www.hbl.fi> accessed 4/7/2011; “Afrikas löften laddar i lugn och ro” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 26 Sept. 2010.
 43. As of 2010, more than 50 percent of *Allsvenskan*’s African imports had come from the five English-speaking West African states of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Gambia. In contrast, normally big football exporting nations in West Africa such as the Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Cameroon have together only contributed seven players to the top Swedish league. See Appendix A.
 44. John Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality,” in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) 235–36.
 45. Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe” *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 10 (2007): 448–49.
 46. “Kan man inte spela fotboll i Östafrika?” *Dagens Nyheter* 16 Jan. 2010.

47. Between 1977 and 2010, the following seven North African footballers played in *Allsvenskan*: Melki Amri (Tunisia/Hammarby IF 1977), Samir Bakaou (Tunisia/Västra Frölunda, GAIS 1987–1990), Samir Beloufa (Algeria/Hälsingborgs IF 2007), Haytham Farouk (Egypt/Hälsingborgs IF 1997), Driss El Asmar (Morocco/Malmö FF 2001–2002, Enköpings SK 2003), Yazid Kaissi (Morocco/BK Häcken 2010), and Moestafa El Kabir (Morocco/Mjällby AIF 2010).
48. Darby, “Out of Africa,” 448.
49. Raffaele Poli calls attention to the fact that Moroccan players, for instance, can typically be more discriminating about signing with European clubs than most Nigerians can afford to be. Raffaele Poli, “Africans’ Status in the European Football Players’ Labor Market” *Soccer & Society* 7 (2–3; 2006): 287–89.
50. Paul Darby and Eirik Solberg, “Differing Trajectories: Football Development and Patterns of Player Migration in South Africa and Ghana,” in Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (eds.), *Football, Apartheid and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 119–20, 123–24.
51. As of 2010, eight South African footballers had played in *Allsvenskan*: Neathan Gibson (IFK Norrköping 1997), Stephen Armstrong (Västra Frölunda 2000), Thando Mngomeni (Hälsingborgs IF 2004–2005), Siyabonga Nomvethé (Djurgårdens IF 2005), Nkosinathi “Toni” Nhleko (Hammarby IF 2006–2007), Lance Davids (Djurgårdens IF 2006–2008), Nathan Paulse (Hammarby IF 2008–2009), and May Mahlangu (Hälsingborgs IF 2009–). Out of these eight footballers, five subsequently returned to play professional football in South Africa. As for the remaining three, the first (Gibson) left for the top Japanese division, the second (Armstrong) moved to the United States, and the third (Mahlangu) was still playing in top Swedish division at the end of the 2010 season.
52. Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration,” 229–31.
53. “Neathan Gibson,” <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Neathan-Gibson/133411610023700?sk=info> accessed 5/30/2010. Gibson concluded his career in the United States and is now an American citizen.
54. <http://stephen-armstrong.co.tv> accessed 3/22/2011.
55. “WM-spelare klar för Öster” *Aftonbladet* 9 July 2007.
56. “Vit motor driver Angola” *Dagens Nyheter* 6 June 2006.
57. For two specific illustrations, see “Tetteh tackar Gud för framgångarna” *Aftonbladet* 16 Sept. 1999, and “Frimodiga röster på Sergelstorg” *Dagen* 26 Aug. 2006.
58. Players like Charles Anderson and Dominic Yobe very quickly mastered Swedish to the point of near native fluency. “Charles har spelat sig in i mångas hjärtan” *Sydsvenskan* 24 June 2003; “Dominic har tagit steget upp i A-truppen” 19 Jan. 2005 <http://www2.ois.se/forboll> accessed 5/11/2011.
59. Ayarna as cited in “Reubens uppdrag för Ghana” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
60. Hälsingborgs IF’s Rwandan French speaker Olivier Karekezi, similarly, normally communicates in Swahili with his Kenyan (and English-speaking) teammate MacDonald Mariga. “Hello Africa: ‘Ett projekt som kan förbättra HIF:s talangutveckling’” *Aftonbladet* 3 April 2007.
61. In Ghana alone, there are more than a hundred different tribal groups who speak 13 different tribal languages in addition to English.
62. Igboananike as cited in “Jag kommer från gettot” *Aftonbladet* 9 April 2011; Suma as cited in “Fotbollen är en fest och dans för Sheriff” 4 April 2011 <http://www.jnytt.se> accessed 5/11/2011.
63. Mahlangu as cited in “WM-drömmen slutade i Växjö” *Smålandsposten* 10 June 2010.
64. Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World’s Game* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2010) 79. Between 1981 and 2001, the number of

- Africans living in Europe rose from 700,000 to 1.2 million, and this number has only continued to grow since then. The overwhelming majority of these immigrants have made their way to Europe for economic reasons.
65. Touray as cited in "Sista Sommaren" *Offside* 5 (2011) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
 66. Elanga as cited in "Intervju med Joseph Elanga" 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/ 2011.
 67. Ijeh as cited in "En missionär med bibel och boll" *Sydsvenskan* 22 Dec. 2002.
 68. Ayarna as cited in "Reubens tid är nu" 13 Feb. 2011 <http://1984.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
 69. "Det nya landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57. Makondele, for instance, states that if he had stayed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), he would have become a doctor instead. Makondele as cited in "Makondele har hittat 'hem' i Gefle" *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 March 2006.
 70. Ekunde as cited in "Ekunde om livet i hemlandet, och om en framtid som fotbollsagent" 29 Dec. 2010 <http://www.sportstory.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
 71. Omotoyossi as cited in "Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008. Omotoyossi was born and raised in Nigeria and only became a citizen of Benin in order to compete for that country internationally.
 72. <http://stephen-armstrong.co.tv> accessed 3/22/2011; "Neathan Gibson" undated <http://www.menacesoccer.com> accessed 3/6/2012.
 73. Ayarna as cited in "Reubens uppdrag för Ghana" 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
 74. "Welcome to Hisingen Waris" 14 Oct. 2009 <http://www.bkhacken.se> accessed 2/3/2011.
 75. "Profiler från förr—Abdel Seidou" 4 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/25/2011; Chibsah as cited in "Chibsah to Pursue Masters Degree" 24 Dec. 2008 <http://www.modernghana.com> accessed 6/12/2011. See also Anders Bengtsson, Tobias Regnell, and Henrik Ystén (eds.), *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor* ([n.l.]: Offside Press AB, 2010) 296–98.
 76. Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora," 205–6.
 77. Charles Anderson as cited in "Charles har spelat sig in i många hjärtan" *Sydsvenskan* 24 June 2003; Yunus Ismail as cited in "Han lever för fotbollen men får inte spela" *Dagens Nyheter* 1 Feb. 2008. In both of these cases, they were illegally smuggled into Sweden.
 78. "Asylsökande Oyombe hittade SIK" *Lokaltidningen Stenungsund* 14 Feb. 2011.
 79. George Weah is probably the most famous example of this, but he is by no means the only African footballer who had had to emigrate for political reasons. Magee and Sugden, "The World at Their Feet," 432.
 80. "Hammarby-spelaren var första afrikan i allsvenskan" undated <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 9/3/2010.
 81. For specific examples, see Samuel Ayorinde as cited in "Jag är glad över att jag fick spela" *Dagens Nyheter* 3 June 2006, and Akombo Ukeyima as cited in "Hemma för kärlekens skull" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 21 May 2010.
 82. "WM-målvakten vill till Stockholm" 5 Nov. 2008 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 5/19/2011; Amamoo as cited in "William Amamoo klar för Enköping" *Expressen* 1 April 2011.
 83. "Tragiska backar" 4 Oct. 2005 <http://www.svedskironaldo.blogspot.co.uk> accessed 1/2/2012.
 84. Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 229–31; Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 168.
 85. BoBo Bola as cited in "Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005; Abiola Dauda as cited in "Fotbollblekinge.se möter Abiola Dauda" 5 Aug. 2009 <http://fotbollblekinge.se> accessed 4/7/2011.

86. Garba Lawal as cited in “Olympiske mästaren är här” *Aftonbladet* 29 March 2004; McDonald Mariga as cited in “Han vill visa framfötterna i Helsingborg” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 Oct. 2007.
87. “ÖSK:s afrikaner landade i snöfall” *Expressen* 23 Jan. 2008; Prince Eboagwo as cited in “I Vietnam var det riktigt skumt” *Aftonbladet* 25 April 2010.
88. Raffaele Poli, “Football Players Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans’ Mobility,” in Jonathan Magee et al. (eds.), *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances* (Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport, 2005) 227.
89. Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 23.
90. Clifford Mulenga as cited in “Clifford klar för Örgryte” 26 Aug. 2005 <http://www2.ois.se/fotboll> accessed 5/11/2011; Mohamed Bangura as cited in “Jag spelar för att nå de stora ligorna” *Expressen* 21 March 2011.
91. Valter Tomaz Jr. as cited in “50 procent fler utläningar i år” *Aftonbladet* 17 Aug. 2002; Alvaro Santos as cited in “Pojkarna från Brasilien” *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
92. Mahmadu Alphajor Bah as cited in “Alphajor Mahmadu Bah under luppen” 2 April 2005 Himlen är blå <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/20/2011; Reuben Ayarna as cited in “Ghanaian Student in Shock Swedish Move” 15 July 2008 <http://www.modernghana.com/sports> accessed 2/3/2011; Etuwe Prince Eboagwu as cited in “I Vietnam var det riktigt skumt” *Aftonbladet* 25 April 2010.
93. Mamadou Diallo as cited in “Fotbollen räddade mitt liv” *Dagens Nyheter* 5 May 2002; Razak Omotoyossi as cited in “Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008.
94. Christopher as cited in “Jakten på ett job i Trelleborg” *Expressen* 10 Feb. 2004. Christopher had been a member of the Nigerian national team during the 2006 World Cup, but injuries subsequently derailed his career. He believed that coming to Sweden would be a fresh start for him.
95. For specific illustrations, see Abiola Dauda, as cited in “Abiola Dauda” 2 March 2010 <http://www.kalmarff.se> accessed 4/7/2011, and Majeed Waris as cited in “19-åriga Waris—hetaste spelaren” *Aftonbladet* 20 March 2011.
96. Bertin Zé Ndille as cited in “Örebro SK: Bertin Zé Ndille” 2007 <http://www.fotbollssverige.se> accessed 5/17/2011; John Chibuike as cited in “John Chibuike drömmer om större ligor” 31 March 2010 <http://www.fotbolltransfers.com> accessed 4/14/2010.
97. Edward Ofere as cited in “Par i lånade skor blev fyrtal i mål” 2 Oct. 2009 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011, and Moestafa El Kabir as cited in “Bröndby jagar Moestafa El Kabir” *Expressen* 16 July 2010. In this case, both players were eventually able to achieve their dreams by transferring to *Serie A*.
98. “Jamal Mohamed stannar i ESK” 25 Jan. 2008 <http://www.unt.se> accessed 3/14/2011. In 2008, Mohamed was playing for Enköpings SK in the Swedish Second Division. A year later he had transferred to Kazma Diliyah in the Kuwaiti First Division. <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=23752> accessed 3/14/2011.
99. Tahini as cited in “Sierra Leone Star Ibrahim Tahini Explains Why Expatriate Coaches Fail in Africa” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 8/30/2010.
100. Ralani as cited in “Afrikas löften laddar i lugn och ro” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 26 September 2010.
101. For a specific illustration, see Clifford Mulenga as cited in “Clifford klar för Örgryte” 26 Aug. 2005 <http://www2.ois.se/fotboll> accessed 5/11/2011.
102. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 188.
103. Magee and Sugden, “The World at Their Feet,” 429–32. For instance, in a 2008 survey of 140 Swedish players born in 1987 or later, a full 64 percent of the respondents

- thought that they would one day play in a more competitive league than *Allsvenskan*. “Talangerna talar ut” *Offside 2* (2008): 71.
104. Joseph Maguire and David Stead, “Border Crossings: Soccer Labour Migration and the European Union” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33 (1998): 69–72.
 105. In 1995 Joachim Yaw Acheampong moved from IFK Norrköping to Real Sociedad. In 2007 McDonald Mariga first went on loan to (and was subsequently signed by) Parma. (When Mariga originally arrived at Parma from Helsingborgs IF, the club was still in *Serie A*, though the following season Parma was relegated to *Serie B*.) That same year in 2007, Richard Kingsley transferred from Hammarby IF to Birmingham City (though at the time he still formally belonged to Ankara Spor AS). In early 2011 Edward Ofere left Malmö FF for Unione Sportiva Lecce, and Moestafa El Kabir went to Cagliari Calcio on loan from Mjällby AIF (though by late 2012 Kabir was back in *Allsvenskan* again). See Appendix A. As of 2010, no African import had, however, yet made the jump directly from *Allsvenskan* to the German *Bundesliga*.
 106. Derek Boateng at National Football Teams <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=2653> accessed 6/22/2011. After Boateng left AIK in 2006, he first moved to Beitar Jerusalem and then briefly to FC Köln in early 2009 before finally transferring to Getafe CF in July 2009.
 107. This figure does not include players such as Michael (Mike) Obiku and Azrack Mahamat, who returned to their original First Division teams in the Netherlands and Spain after briefly having been on loan to *Allsvenskan* clubs.
 108. See Appendix A.
 109. See Appendix A. Since some of these players have made repeated visits to *Allsvenskan*, I have only counted the destination that immediately followed their most recent stint in the Swedish top division.
 110. Here it should, however, be kept in mind that since these statistics only go up through the 2010 season, the percentage of players that ultimately move up to more prestigious (or at least to better paying) leagues may well still grow.
 111. Poli, “Football Players Migration in Europe,” 228.
 112. *Ibid.*, 228.
 113. Boba Bola (Rwanda/Landskrona BoIS) and Kali Ongala (Tanzania/GIF Sundsvall 2008) are just two such examples. “Boba Bola klar för BBK” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 15 Feb. 2007; “Intervju med Kali Ongala” 24 April 2010 <http://www.ufc.se> accessed 4/21/2011. Kali, coincidentally, is the son of the famed Tanzanian musician Remmy Ongala.
 114. “Bodens drömtrio” *Kuriren* 26 April 2008. Another example of this occurred when Kingsley and Kevin Amuneke (the younger brothers of the Nigerian great Emmanuel Amuneke) were relegated together in late 2005 while playing for Landskrona BoIS, and two years later, they were both playing at separate clubs in the lower Swedish divisions. “Kevin Amuneke hett alternativ för IFK Norrköping” 8 Dec. 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/6/2011; “Amuneke kan ge Asmundtorp ett lyft” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 8 Feb. 2008. In 1994, Kingsley and Kevin’s older brother, Emmanuel Amuneke, was voted the African player of the year.
 115. Discontent at Helsingborg, Razak Omotoyossi demanded a trade. He was subsequently sold to Al Nasr in Saudi Arabia, but he was unhappy there too and was soon released. This was then followed by several unsuccessful trials at British clubs before he finally signed with FC Metz in the French Second Division. Yet at Metz he never managed to break into the starting lineup, and he ultimately returned to the top Swedish division in early 2011. “Razak Omotoyossi sparkad . . . och HIF väntar på pengar” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 24 November 2008; “Gais värvar allsvensk skyttekung” *Expressen* 30 March 2011.

116. "Olivier Karekezi klar för Öster" 23 March 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/14/2011; "Peter 'Shamåshå' Ijeh" 13 March 2010 <http://www.bahro.nu> accessed 3/29/2011.
117. "Bröndby sparkar Elanga" 23 Jan. 2007 <http://svt.se> accessed 5/12/2011; "Elanga klar för Malmö FF" 2 Feb. 2010 <http://www.fotbollsoraklet.se> accessed 5/12/2011.
118. "Dioh Williams klar för Århus" *Expressen* 30 Aug. 2007; "Dioh tillbaka i Häcken" 7 Jan. 2011 <http://www.sportsday.se> accessed 3/10/2011.
119. "Kevin Amunke hett alternativ för IFK Norrköping" 8 Dec. 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/6/2011; Kevin Amunke at National Teams <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=12294> accessed 6/26/2011.
120. Sarudzayi Zindoga, "Ett bättre liv ingen självklarhet för afrikansk invandrare" *Södra Afrika* 3 (2008): 30–31; Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora," 187.
121. Suma as cited in "Sheriffen skjuter helst långskott" *Expressen* 17 Dec. 2006.
122. "Sheriffen stannar i stan" 7 Dec. 2010 <http://www.jnytt.se> accessed 4/15/2011.
123. Yobe as cited in "Från Gothia Cup till allsvenskan på ett år" *Aftonbladet* 15 July 2004.
124. Yobe as cited in "Q&A: Dominic Yobe Answers Fans' Questions" 4 March 2009 <http://www.zambianfootball.net> accessed 5/11/2011.
125. "Soccer-Helsinki Midfielder Suspended in Betting Probe" 18 March 2011 <http://af.reuters.com> accessed 5/11/2011; "Helsingfors sparkar Dominic Yobe efter spelskandal" 22 March 2011 <http://www.fotbolltransfers.com> accessed 5/11/2011.
126. Angolan Yamba Asha, the African defenseman of the year in 2004 was, for instance, recruited by Östers IF in 2006 following a nine-month-long FIFA imposed drug suspension. Asha's doping suspension apparently ended Chelsea's earlier interest in signing him. "Yamba nästa angolan i Öster" *Smålandsposten* 28 July 2006; "Öster vill värva Chelsea-aktuell angolan" *Aftonbladet* 29 July 2006.
127. "Afrikanskt löfte till Malmö FF" *Sydsvenskan* 20 Feb. 2004.
128. "Samuel Barley flyttar till Azerbardzjan" 27 Jan. 2011 <http://www.fotbolltransfers.com> accessed 4/20/2011.
129. "Essiens kompis till Sylvia" *Norrköpings Tidningar* 3 April 2007; Atiku as cited in "Utd could have got me" *The Sun* 3 Feb. 2011.
130. "Ibrahim Atiku joins Vasalund" 9 Jan. 2010 <http://www.modernghana.com> accessed 6/22/2011.
131. Jabu Mahlangu as cited in "WM-drömmen slutade i Växjö" *Smålandsposten* 10 June 2010. Earlier in his career, Mahlangu was also teammates with Djurgården's Siyabonga Nomvethe on the Kaizer Chiefs and on the South African national team as well.
132. See Appendix A.
133. For specific examples, see Tor-Arne Fredheim, head of scouting IFK Norrköping, as cited in "Brassar och Svenskar—klubbarna handlar för fullt" *Aftonbladet* 7 Aug. 2002, and Stefan Thylin, "Gästkrönika: 'Det är IFK som visar vägen'" 15 Sept. 2005 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
134. Andreasson as cited in "Afrikanskt rekord i Allsvenskan 2012" *Offside* 2 (2012): 10.
135. By "regular presence," I specifically mean at least 30 appearances.
136. In this category, one might mention players like Charles Sampson for Assyriska FF in 2006 or Russell Mwafulirwa for IFK Norrköping in 2009. Aydin Aho, chairman Assyriska FF, as cited in "Charles Sampson förlänger med Assyriska!" 8 Aug. 2006 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 5/19/2011; "En vinnande duo" *Folkbladet* 5 Oct. 2009; "Chockbesked för Russell Mwafulirwa" *Norrköping Tidningar* 23 Sept. 2010.
137. "Adelino Lopes klar för Assyriska" 2005 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 3/14/2011; "Lopes nummer två och Gabriel Uskar" 12 Aug. 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/14/2011.

138. “Adelino Lopes,” <http://www.svenskfotboll.se/allsvenskan/person/?playerid=4378> accessed 3/14/2011; “Mateus Lopes,” <http://www.svenskfotboll.se/allsvenskan/person/?playerid=4379> accessed 3/14/2011.
139. “Assyriskas ras kan avgöra allt” *Expressen* 19 Sept. 2005.
140. “‘Det här är min värsta dag.’ Kouakou dubbel syndabock—ett självmål och en golvad lagkamrat” *Aftonbladet* 18 April 2006.
141. “Raoul Kouakou lämnar MFF” *Sydsvenskan* 11 July 2007.
142. “Sesay får lämna ÖSK” *Nerikes Allehanda* 26 Aug. 2009; Sesay as cited in “Sesay till Tyskland” *Nerikes Allehanda* 27 Aug. 2009.
143. “Garba Lawal till Portugal” 6 Aug. 2004 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/6/2011; “Kingson lämnar Hammarby: Den ekonomiska kokuren för svår” 28 June 2007 <http://www.bandysverige.se> accessed 5/19/2011; “Jimmy Dixon till Turkiet” *Expressen* 14 July 2009. See also Björn Wesström, head scout AIK, as cited in *Matchdax* (bilaga *Expressen*) 26 Oct. 2011. He concedes that it is hard to keep quality players like Mohamed Bangura when they can make as much as four times as much money elsewhere in Europe.
144. “Helsingborgs IF säljer sin talang till Belgien” 31 Oct. 2009 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/14/2011.
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153. “Thando Mngomeni lämnar HIF på grund av bristande disciplin” 12 Sept. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/24/2011; “Fortsatta disciplinproblem för Thando Mngomeni” 1 June 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/24/2011; “Thando måste ta sista chansen” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 31 Jan. 2007; “Sserumaga och HIF går skilda vägar” 20 Jan. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/28/2011; “Sserumaga joins R. Sport” 13 April 2011 <http://in2eastafrica.net> accessed 4/28/2011. Because of these problems, Sserumaga never played a single league game for Helsingborgs IF.
154. “Spelarna ville ha bort Elanga” *Expressen* 21 Dec. 2005; “Bröndby har fått nog av Elanga” *Expressen* 23 Jan. 2007; “Populär spelare som ställde till trassel” *Sydsvenskan* 15 Nov. 2009. Elanga was found guilty of driving without a license and also of domestic violence.

155. “Johnsons tidigare skandaler” *Aftonbladet* 27 Aug. 2010; “Dulee Johnson får lämna AIK” *Dagens Nyheter* 7 Dec. 2010. Previously suspected of fraud and also convicted of drunk driving, domestic violence, and paying a prostitute for sex, Johnson was subsequently arrested on a rape charge in October 2010. Even though he was eventually acquitted of this last offense, Johnson was let go by AIK for the second time as pressure built on the club from its corporate sponsors to get rid of him once and for all.
156. “Michael Mensah dömd för våldtäkt” *Sydsvenskan* 8 Dec. 2009; “Dömd för våldtäkt—nu sparkas han” *Aftonbladet* 9 Dec. 2009; “Bapupa uppsagd efter våldtäktsdom” *Svenska Dagbladet* 14 April 2010; “Kalmar FF kräver Bapupa på miljoner” 14 April 2010 *Idrottens Affärer* <http://www.idrottensaffarer.se> accessed 5/27/2011. In June 2011, Bapupa was released from prison and has since tried to revive his professional career. “Jag vill bara spela fotboll nu” *Expressen* 26 Oct. 2011.
157. Swedish player agent, Patrick Mörk, as cited in “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside 2* (2012): 92. In addition to the handful of criminal cases relating to Mensah, Bapupa, Johnson, and Elanga, Peter Ijeh has also been subjected to negative headlines following accusations of tax evasion (of which he was eventually acquitted). “Ijeh friad” *Aftonbladet* 1 July 2005.
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159. “Afo Doodoo borta hela säsongen” 20 June 2002 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/17/2011; “Ingen utlandsflytt för Farnerud” 30 Aug. 2003 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 5/17/2011.
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Chapter 6

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72. Simon Kuper and Stefan Szymanski, *Soccernomics* (New York: Nation Books, 2009) 59–64, 71–72.
73. For a specific illustration, see “Putte” Carlsson, Djurgårdens IF, as cited in “Det nya landet” *Offside* 5 (2010): 54–55.
74. At the risk of overstating the homogeneity of the African football experience in Sweden, these imports nevertheless come from relatively similar football traditions to each other (at least when compared to Swedish approach to the sport), and as a result, they are confronted by many of the same obstacles as they seek to acclimate themselves to the Swedish professional game.
75. Mohamed Bangura is one such exception. Bangura was an instant success at AIK after having spent only a brief spell in the Swedish Third Division. “Nyfövärvet hyllades efter förlusten” *Expressen* 28 July 2010; “Bangura frälste AIK—efter tragedin” *Aftonbladet* 16 Oct. 2010.
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77. When asked why he succeeded in Sweden (when many other foreign imports do not), Samir Bakaou attributed this to the fact that he had already spent considerable time playing in Europe prior to his arrival in Sweden. Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
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86. Ayarna as cited in “Reubens tid är nu” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://1984.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
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91. Edward Ofere as cited in “Edward Ofere förlänger med Malmö FF” 21 Oct. 2005 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011; Ibrahim Tahini as cited in “Sierra Leone Star Ibrahim Tahini Explains Why Expatriate Coaches Fail in Africa” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 8/30/2010.
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93. Richard Ekunde as cited in “Anna möter Richard” 26 April 2006 <http://www.gais.se> accessed 11/16/2010; McDonald Mariga as cited in “Han vill visa framfötterna i Helsingborg” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 Oct. 2007.
94. For a specific illustration, see Prince Ikpe Ekong as cited in “Dif-spelarna rasar mot tränarna” *Expressen* 19 July 2010.
95. Dominic Yobe as cited in “Från Gothia Cup till Allsvenskan på ett år” *Aftonbladet* 15 July 2004; Patrick Osiako as cited in “Fotbollsproffsen lever i sin egen värld i världen” *Blekinge Läns Tidning* 2 April 2009.
96. For a specific example, see Thiago Qurino, a Brazilian player for Djurgårdens IF, as cited in “Thiago Qurino” *Offside* 2 (2008): 118–20.
97. Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 68; Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World’s Game* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010) 32–34, For

- specific Swedish examples, see Conny Winge, “Skönheten i Afrika” 28 Dec. 2003 <http://www2.ois.se/fortboll> accessed 1/25/2011, and Kjell Petterson, assistant coach GAIS, as cited in “Reubens tid är nu” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://1984.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
98. Suma as cited in “Sheriff laddar inför mötet med Gais” 2 March 2011 <http://1894.se> accessed 4/21/2011. After playing in Sweden and Norway for four years, Suma briefly signed with a club in Cyprus and then moved to Kocaelispor in the Turkish Second Division, though in late 2010, he returned to Sweden again.
 99. Atiku as cited in “Essiens kompis till Sylvia” *Norrköpings Tidningar* 3 April 2007.
 100. Conny Karlsson, head coach Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “HIF hoppas på ett ja från May Mahlangu” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 26 January 2011; Alexander Alén, head coach GAIS, as cited in “10 Allsvenska Mysterier” *Offside* 2 (2012): 104.
 101. Roger Palmgren as cited by Henrik Ystén “Outsidern,” in Anders Bengtsson et al. (eds.), *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor* ([n.l.]: Offside Press AB, 2010) 206–7; LO Mattson, head coach of the Sierra Leonean National Team, as cited in “You must win!” *Offside* 5 (2011): 55.
 102. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 63; Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 70. For a specific illustration taken from Sweden, see Tore Lennartsson as cited in “Afrikansk fotboll: Attraktiv och Annorlunda” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 26 May 2007. Lennartsson, however, distinguishes himself from most Swedish football professionals by not taking an entirely negative view of the African game.
 103. “Haruna Moshi lämnar Gefle” 7 July 2010 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/21/2011; Haruna Moshi and Per Olsson, head coach Gefle IF, as cited in “Tanzanian confusion” 15 July 2010 <http://news.bbc.co.uk> accessed 4/21/2011.
 104. Anders Linderoth, head coach Hammarby IF, as cited in “Sommartider—NEJ! NEJ!” *Aftonbladet* 9 Aug. 2004.
 105. Gidlund as cited in “Bola klar för Syrianska” 21 July 2009 <http://vlt.se> accessed 4/14/2011.
 106. “Spelarfokus: Boniventure Maruti” 6 Dec. 2003 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/24/2011; “Ingen Kwedi” 24–26 Nov. 2004 <http://www.anglarna.se/forum> accessed 5/12/2011; “Edward Ofere” undated <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/6/2011.
 107. For specific illustrations, see “Issa Mohammed en bortkastad talang!” 8 Nov. 2002 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/17/2011; Kurt Martinsson, “Martinsson: ‘Ett finger up i elitfotbollens giriga ansikte’” 20 Oct. 2009 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 1/5/2010.
 108. “Clifford klar för Örgryte” 26 Aug. 2005 <http://www2.ois.se/fortboll> accessed 5/11/2011; “Mulenga ska frälsa Öis” *Aftonbladet* 26 Aug. 2005.
 109. “Clifford bäst i U20” 13 July 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/11/2011.
 110. Clifford Mulenga at National Football Teams <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=12223> accessed 3/4/2012.
 111. “Och vad hände sedan med . . . ? Del 1” 25 Feb. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/19/2011.
 112. “Takeawayspelare” *Offside* 5 (2011): 192.
 113. Goitom as cited in “Utvandrarerna” *Offside* 2 (2008) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 11/13/2010. See also “Abderrahman Kabous,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com> accessed 4/15/2011.
 114. “Mohamed Kallon: Biography,” <http://www.mohamed-kallon.com/biography.html> accessed 7/14/2011.
 115. Ukeyima as cited in “Hemma för kärlekens skull” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 21 May 2010. Nathan Paulse provides another example of this same phenomenon. “Nathan Paulse Matchhjärte i Sydafrika. På Söderstadion hade Nathan Paulse igen större lycka. Men för

- Ajax Cape Town fungerar målskyttet bättre” 4 April 2010 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 3/8/2011.
116. “Afrikanska fotbollspelare i årets allsvenska” *Fokus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010.
 117. Patrick McGovern, “Globalization or Internationalization? Foreign Footballers in the English League, 1945–95” *Sociology* 36 (2002): 33–34.
 118. *Ibid.*, 38.
 119. Joseph Maguire and David Stead, “Border Crossings: Soccer Labour Migration and the European Union” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33 (1998): 71.
 120. Mats Franzén and Tomas Peterson, “Football Involvement and Male Ethnic Differences among Soccer Youth in Sweden,” paper presented to the Nordic Sociological Association Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, 15–17 Aug. 2002 (unpublished paper courtesy of Tomas Peterson), 2.
 121. Peter Swärdh, head coach Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Erik Wahlstedt och Thando Mngomeni till HIF” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 20 Jan. 2004; Bosse Falk, former Head Coach GAIS, as cited in “En fulländad tekniker” 22 Jan. 2005 <http://www.gais.se> accessed 9/3/2010.
 122. “Halmstad värvar ‘ny Sypniewski:’ Yaw Preko kan göra succé i allsvenskan” *Aftonbladet* 10 Dec. 2003; “AIK värvar Mohamed Bangura” 21 July 2010 <http://www.aikfotboll.se> accessed 9/9/2010.
 123. “Kabba Samura—en irrationell målgörare” 2004 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 4/20/2011; Per Gidlund, head coach Bodens BK (speaking of Aluspah Brewah), as cited in “Här är spelaren som ska göra målen” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 15 Nov. 2007.
 124. “Utländska anfallare är guld värda i år” *Svenska Dagbladet* 26 Oct. 2004; “Framtiden anfaller” *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 April 2007.
 125. “U21-kaptenen oroad” *Svenska Dagbladet* 5 Nov. 2006; “Svenska målskyttar kan bli en bristvara” *Svenska Dagbladet* 26 Oct. 2007; “Utlänningarna går till anfall” *Svenska Dagbladet* 2 April 2008.
 126. “Lagens målkungar” *Svenska Dagbladet* 25 March 2011. Heading in to the 2011 season, *Svenska Dagbladet* predicted that African nationals were likely to be the principal goal scorers for 4 out of *Allsvenskan*’s 16 teams. Mohamed Bangura (Sierra Leone/AIK), Kennedy Igboananike (Nigeria/Djurgårdens IF), Mostapha El Kabir (Morocco/Mjällby AIF), and Peter Ijeh (Nigeria/Syrianska FC) were all on this list.
 127. Sören Åkeby, head coach Djurgårdens IF, as cited in “Afrikanerna stormar fram på bred front i Allsvenskan” *Kristianstadsbladet* 4 April 2002; Lennart Sjöberg, director of football operations Örebro SK, as cited in “Afrikanska fotbollspelare i årets allsvenskan” *Fokus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010.
 128. Andreas Alm, “Alm: ‘Varför ta hit det vi redan har?’” 17 July 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010; Björn Wesström, head scout AIK, as cited in “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside* 2 (2012): 88.
 129. Pelle Olsson (head coach Gefle IF), Håkan Mild (director of football operations IFK Göteborg), and Stefan Andreasson (director of football operations IF Elfsborg) as cited in “Nu öppnas gränserna” *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2007.
 130. Ola Andersson, former AIK player (and future director of football operations), as cited in “50 procent mer utlänningar i år” *Aftonbladet* 17 Aug. 2002; Unidentified club official, Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Afrikanska fotbollspelare i årets allsvenskan” *Fokus Afrika* 1 (2009) <http://www.fokusafrika.se> accessed 2/2/2010.
 131. Björn Wesström, head scout AIK, as cited in Matchdax (bilaga *Expressen*) 26 Oct. 2011.
 132. “10 Allsvenska Mysterier” *Offside* 2 (2012): 108–9.

133. John Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality," in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) 244.
134. Jesper Fundberg, "Invandrare och Idrott. Om att skapa kategorier och normalitet," in Bo G. Nilsson (ed.), *Idrottens själ* (Uddevalla: Nordiska Museet, 2000) 280.
135. Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En Svensk Kulturhistoria*, 3rd edition (Stockholm: Dialogs, 2005) 403.
136. For a specific illustration, see Bo Petersson as cited in "Ingen av brassarna har stjärnglansen" *Expressen* 28 April 2009. See also "Thiago Quirino" *Offside* 2 (2008): 120–21.
137. Roman Horak and Matthias Marschik, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Austria: 'If You Let Them They Behave like Mafia,'" in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Anchen, FRG: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 52–53; Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 130–31.
138. See, for example, "Vi svenskar fick mycket skit i Århus" *Dagens Nyheter* 4 March 2008. See also Pascal Simpson as cited in "Kultspelare Pascal Simpson" *Offside* 1 (2013): 130.
139. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 53–84; Horak and Marschik, "Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Austria," 52–53.
140. Ola Andersson (director of football operations AIK) and Håkan Mild (director of football operations IFK Göteborg) as cited in "Allsvenskan—en smalare nålsöga för våra talanger" 5 July 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
141. Stella Orakwue, *Pitch Invaders: The Modern Black Football Revolution* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998) 11, 38, 59–69. See also Pascal Simpson as cited by Fredrik Quistbergh et al., "Lika inför bollen?" 2002 <http://www.quistbergh.se/view/26> accessed 1/2/2013.
142. Dave Hill, *Out of His Skin: The John Barnes Phenomenon* (London: WSC Books, 2001) 86–89, 234; Christos Kassimeris, "Deutschland über Alles: Discrimination in German Football," in Kausik Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don't Play Soccer: A Global Exploration* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 64.
143. For a specific illustration, see former Ghanaian international, Anthony Baffoe, as cited in Patricia Müller, "Get Up—Stand Up!: A Conversation with Anthony Baffoe about Racism on the Pitch," in Karin Guggeis (ed.), *Fussball, Ein Spiel—Viele Welten* (Munich: Arnoldsche, 2006) 39–43.
144. "Derek Boateng—Djupa Dalar Och Höga Toppar" 2006 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 5/19/2011.
145. "Och vad hände sedan med . . . ? Del 1" 25 Feb. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/19/2011.
146. "Utländska spelare i AIK" 20 Oct. 2010 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 1/2/2011.
147. "Oyuga lämnar ÖSK?" 3 Oct. 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/24/2011.
148. "Kenyanera frälste Örebro" *Aftonbladet* 30 Sept. 2001.
149. "Vi lämnar inte ut dig" *Aftonbladet* 27 April 2009; "Sista Sommaren" *Offside* 5 (2011) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012. Touray had not only been booed by his club's own fans, but at one point, he was even threatened by the team's hooligans.
150. Nigerian forward Bala Garba's experience with GIF Sundsvall serves an excellent illustration of the kind of pressure that foreign imports often put on themselves to produce instantly. Garba as cited in "Vänta bara—ni får se mer" *Aftonbladet* 14 April 2003; "Bala Garba matchhjälte i Sundsvall" *Aftonbladet* 27 May 2003.
151. "Akombo Ukeyima ska ta sista chansen" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 9 July 2009.

152. Urban Hammar, head coach Gefle IF, as cited in “Landslagsman klar för Gefle IF” 19 Nov. 2009 <http://www.gefleiffotboll.se> accessed 4/21/2011; “Haruna Moshi lämnar Gefle” 7 July 2010 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/21/2011.
153. “Sprintern som ska frälsa Hammarby” *Aftonbladet* 24 July 2004; “Sommartider—NEJ! NEJ!” *Aftonbladet* 9 Aug. 2004.
154. “AIK lånar från Ajax” 2003 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 5/19/2011; “Utländska spelare i AIK” 20 Oct. 2010 <http://www.aik.se/fotboll> accessed 1/2/2011.
155. “Mulenga ska frälsa Öis” *Aftonbladet* 26 Aug. 2005; “Förändringar i Öis spelartrupp” 8 July 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/11/2011.
156. “Issa på rätt väg in i IFK-truppen” *Norrköping Tidningar* 5 March 2002; “IFK Norrköpings spelare vill sparka lagledningen” *Dagens Nyheter* 3 Dec. 2002.
157. “Nathan Paulse klar för Hammarby” *Expressen* 14 July 2008; “Allsvenskans sämsta utlåning alla kategorier på 2000-talet” 5 May 2009 <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 4/20/2011.
158. “‘Big Mama’ ska rädda Änglarna” *Aftonbladet* 23 March 2003; “Baraben.com minns Mamadou Diallo” 2 March 2006 <http://ifkgoteborg.blogspot.com> accessed 7/3/2011.
159. “HIF testar målsportare” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 21 Feb. 2006; “Sserumaga och HIF går skilda vägar” 20 Jan. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/28/2011.
160. “Utländska spelare sågas offentligt” *Dagens Nyheter* 18 April 2007.
161. Touray insists that Djurgården will always be in his heart. Touray as cited in “Pa Dembo ligger lågt” 14 Sept. 2010 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 25 March 2011.
162. Elanga states that after six years with Malmö FF he has developed a powerful personal attachment to the club, its fans, and the city. Elanga as cited in “Klublös Elanga: Väntar på att det ska ringa” 16 Feb. 2011 <http://www.eurosport.se> accessed 5/12/2011.
163. Bakaou, meanwhile, makes clear his loyalty by stating that “en gång Gaisare, alltid Gaisare.” This might roughly be translated as “once a Gaisare (i.e., either a player for, or supporter of, GAIS), always a Gaisare.” Bakaou as cited in “Vi är chanslösa” *Aftonbladet* 23 May 2002. The years within parenthesis only refers those that Bakaou played in *Allsvenskan*.
164. Alberto Testa and Gary Armstrong, *Football, Fascism and Fandom: The Ultras of Italian Football* (London: A & C Black, 2010) 210; Joseph Maguire and Bob Pearton, “Global Sport and the Migration Patterns of France ’98 World Cup Finals Players: Some Preliminary Observations,” in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 181.
165. Torbjörn Andersson, “Spela fotboll bondjävlar!” *Del 1* (Stockholm: Symposion, 2011) 183. For a specific illustration, see “Utan Boateng inga poäng?” 15 July 2006 <http://brian.se> accessed 5/19/2011. In this post, AIK supporter “Brian Einarsen” states that this it is obvious that Boateng left AIK for Beitar Jerusalem just to get a bigger paycheck.
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167. Samuel Ayorinde as cited in “Ayorinde klar för kinesisk klubb” *Dagens Nyheter* 14 April 2004; Isaac Chansa as cited in “Isaac Chansa lämnar Helsingborg” *Expressen* 3 Jan. 2010.
168. Razak Omotoyossi as cited in “Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008; Patrick Osiako as cited in “Fotboll är som prostitution” *Aftonbladet* 30 Aug. 2010.
169. Richard Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 162; Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 176.

170. Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football, Europe and the Press* (London: Frank Cass, 2002) 40; D. McCarthy, R. L. Jones, and P. Potrac, "Constructing Images and Interpreting Realities: The Case of the Black Soccer Player on Television" *International Review for the Sociology in Sport* 38 (2; 2003): 234.
171. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 35. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
172. Johansson as cited in "Svenska fotbollsbasen talar ut om VM-grälet i Afrika" *Aftonbladet* 14 Nov. 1996. When the journalist challenged Johansson about this assertion, the latter backtracked somewhat saying that "I do not know what is built into the black race, but I have determined that they [people of African descent] do not like to swim."
173. Another illustration of this is provided by Conny Winge, an assistant coach with Örgryte IS, who similarly concludes that the physical movement of Zambian players is undoubtedly genetic. Conny Winge, "Skönheten i Afrika" 28 Dec. 2003 <http://www2.ois.se/fotboll> accessed 1/25/2011. For a more overtly racist illustration of this same view, see post by "Månsan" 30 April 2011 "Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 12/12/2012.
174. Jay Coakley, *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies*, 8th edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004) 290–91.
175. For two specific illustrations, see Ronald Nilsson, head coach Malmö FF, as cited in "Edward Ofere förlänger med Malmö FF" 18 Dec. 2008 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011, and Mats Karlsson, director of football operations Åtvidabergs FF, as cited in "Nigeriansk mittfältare till Åtvidaberg" *Expressen* 17 Dec. 2009.
176. "Här är ÖSK:s nya försvarsjätte" *Expressen* 6 Dec. 2007.
177. "Hammarby har bestämt sig—värvar Brewah" *Aftonbladet* 27 July 2004; "Abiola Dauda nära Kalmar" *Belkinge Läns Tidning* 24 Oct. 2007.
178. Ian Hawkey, *Feet of the Chameleon: The Story of African Football* (London: Portico Books, 2009) 24–25.
179. Björn Wesström, head scout AIK, and Patrick Mörk as cited in "Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna" *Offside* 2 (2012): 83, 89.
180. Bale, "Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration," 244.
181. Richard J. Reid, *A History of Modern Africa 1800 to the Present*, 2nd edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012) 144.
182. Helena Tolvhed, *Nationen på spel: Kropp, kön och svenskhet i populärpressens representationer av olympiska spel 1948–1972* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget h:ström, 2008) 250–51.
183. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 84.
184. McCarthy, Jones, and Potrac, "Constructing Images and Interpreting Realities," 227.
185. Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 94–97, 196–97, 215–16; Dubois, *Soccer Empire*, 63.
186. Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 110, 123.
187. Joe A. Maguire, "Race and Position Assignment in English Soccer: A Preliminary Analysis of Ethnicity and Sport in Britain" *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5 (1988): 266; Gianluca Vialli and Gabrielle Macotti, *The Italian Job: A Journey into the Heart of Two Great Footballing Cultures* (London: Bantam Press, 2006) 33–34.
188. Lanfranchi and Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, 176; Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 84.
189. Unidentified club official Helsingborgs IF as cited in "HIF-stjärnan i Sydafrikas landslag" *Expressen* 10 March 2004; Metin Tasci, head coach Assyriska FF, as cited in "Adelino Lopes klar för Assyriska" 2005 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 3/14/2011; Peter Gerhardsson, head coach BK Häcken, as cited in "Chatto siktar högt med Häcken" 24 March 2009 <http://svt.se> accessed 4/7/2011.

190. Sören Åkeby, head coach Malmö FF, as cited in “Jimmy Dixon klar för Malmö FF” 5 Dec. 2006 <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se> accessed 3/10/2011; Bosse Nilsson, director of football operations Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Två spelare klara för Helsingborg” *Aftonbladet* 21 March 2007.
191. Jan Andersson, head coach Halmstads BK, as cited in “HBK värvar från Ghana” *Svenska Dagbladet* 30 Dec. 2003; Peter Swärd, head coach Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Han vill visa framfötterna i Helsingborg” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 Oct. 2007.
192. Tolvhed, *Nationen på spel*, 245–48.
193. Tomas Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” in Göran Rydstad and Svante Lundberg (eds.), *Att möta främlingar* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 2000) 161; Fundberg, “Invandrare och Idrott,” 280.
194. “Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007.
195. See Appendix A.
196. For some further Swedish research on this topic, see Elias Bergstrand, “Segregation på fotbollsplanen. En studie av stacking i herrallsvenskan i fotboll” (Lund: Lund University, Kandidatuppsats, Dept. of Sociology, 2012).
197. Colin King, “Is Football the New African Slave Trade?,” in Daniel Burdsey (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Football* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 36–49.
198. Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 41.
199. Floris Müller, L. van Zoonen, and L. de Roode, “Accidental Racists: Experiences and Contradictions of Racism in Local Amsterdam Soccer Fan Culture,” in Sean Brown (ed.), *Football Fans around the World: From Supporters to Fanatics* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 176; Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game*, 162.
200. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, 5th edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 374–75; Paul Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa: African Football Labor Migration to Europe,” in James A. Mangan (ed.), *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) 219–20.
201. Raffaele Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographical and Cultural Aspects” *Africa Spectrum* 41 (3; 2006): 407–8. For a specific illustration, see discussion “Ghanaian Players in Sweden” 8 July 2005–7 Dec. 2006 <http://discussions.ghanaweb.com> accessed 7/14/2011.
202. For two specific illustrations, see “Rizzlaman,” “Ibrahim Atiku: Creating Waves in Sweden” 21 June 2003 <http://www.ghanaweb.com> accessed 2/3/2011, and “Tanzania: Haruna Moshi in Spotlight” *Tanzania Daily News* 3 June 2010 <http://www.allafrica.com> accessed 4/21/2011.
203. “Pa Dembo and Kebbay Ceesay’s DIF Put to the Sword at Mjallby” 24 May 2011 <http://sportsgambia.com> accessed 7/14/2011; “Gambia: Scorpions—If Wish to Be” 11 July 2011 <http://www.allafrica.com> accessed 7/14/2011.
204. “Sierra Leone Defender Signs for Swedish Club” undated <http://www.africansportschannel.com> accessed 5/11/2011; “Soccer’s Mohamed Bangura’s Fairy-Tale: Journey from Sierra Leone to Sweden” 18 Aug. 2010 <http://www.standardtimespress.net> accessed 5/11/2011.
205. “Q & A: Dominic Yobe Answers Fans’ Questions” 4 March 2009 <http://www.zambianfootball.net> accessed 5/11/2011; “Helsingborg Send Kola to Israel on Loan” 29 Sept. 2009 <http://www.zambianfootball.net> accessed 5/11/2011.
206. BoBo Bola as cited in “Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005; Edward Ofere as cited in “Edward Ofere förlänger med Malmö FF” 21 Oct. 2005 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
207. Paul Darby, Gerald Akindes, and Matthew Kirwin, “Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31 (2; 2007): 155.

208. Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 78–79; Poli, “Migrations and Trade of African Football Players,” 411–12.
209. Darby, “The New Scramble for Africa,” 227–28. For specific illustrations, see Majeed Waris as cited in “19-årgie Waris—hetaste spelaren” *Aftonbladet* 20 March 2011, and Kennedy Igboanani as cited in “Jag kommer från gettot” undated <http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fortboll/sverige/allsvenskan/djurgarden/article12855503.ab> accessed 4/9/2011.
210. Atiku as cited in “Ghanska viktigt mål, Atiku” *Aftonbladet* 30 May 2006.
211. Ekong as cited in “Miljon-regnet” *Aftonbladet* 4 March 2010.
212. Fredrick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past and the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 171; Emmanuel Akyeampong, “Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa” *African Affairs* 9 (2000): 211–14.
213. Joseph Elanga as cited in “Intervju med Joseph Elanga” 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 5/12/2011; Edwin Phiri as cited in “Bästa vänner men inte i derby: Edwin Phiri och Boyd Mwila ställs mot varandra i viktigt derby” *Bohusläningen* 18 May 2010.
214. Reuben Ayarna as cited in “Reubens uppdrag för Ghana” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011; “Chibsah hjälper sitt hemland—via egen stiftelse” *Gefle Dagblad* 1 April 2011.
215. René Makondele as cited in “Makondele har hittat ‘hem’ i Gefle” *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 March 2006; McDonald Mariga as cited in “Mina lärare slog mig, de sa att jag spelade för mycket fotboll” *Expressen* 21 April 2007.
216. For two specific illustrations, see Henok Goitom as cited in “Husby I Mitt H JÄRTA” *Aftonbladet* 15 March 2009, and Martin Kayongo-Mutumba as cited in “Jag blev en fel människa” *Aftonbladet* 14 April 2009.
217. For two exceptions in the media, see “Shamo var en fantastisk spelare” *Västerbottens Folkblad* 23 July 2005; and “You must win” *Offside* 5 (2011): 42–74.
218. For a specific example, see Thom Åhlund, assistant coach Hammarby IF, as cited in “Hammarby-spelaren var första afrikan i allsvenskan” <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 9/3/2010.

Chapter 7

1. Filippo M. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles: A Journey through African Football* (London: WSC Books, 2008) 70.
2. John Bale, “Three Geographies of African Footballer Migration: Patterns, Problems and Postcoloniality,” in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (eds.), *Football in Africa: Conflict, Conciliation and Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) 239; Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a Continent Changed the World’s Game* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2010) 93.
3. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 20.
4. *Etuwe Prince Eboagwu* as cited in “I Vietnam var det riktigt skumt” *Aftonbladet* 25 April 2010; Samir Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
5. For a specific illustration, see “Lång väntan över för Charles Anderson” *Trelleborgs Allehanda* 15 March 2006.
6. Yunus Ismail as cited in “Han lever för fotbollen men får inte spela” *Dagens Nyheter* 1 Feb. 2008; Andrew Oyombe Opiyo as cited in “Asylsökande Oyombe hittade SIK” *Lokaltidningen Stenungsund* 14 Feb. 2011.
7. Mohamed Bangura is somewhat unusual in that he claims to be largely unaffected by his move from Sierra Leone to Sweden. Bangura as cited in “De dödade min styvmor med voodoo” *Aftonbladet* 8 Aug. 2010.

8. Edwin Phiri as cited in “Örgryte dansar—och ler” *Aftonbladet* 19 April 2003; McDonald Mariga as cited in “Han vill visa framfötterna i Helsingborg” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 Oct. 2007.
9. Dauda as cited in “Fotbollblekinge.se möter Abiola Dauda” 5 Aug. 2009 <http://fotbollblekinge.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
10. Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001) 179.
11. Gaim Kibreab and Woldu Kidane, “Eritreanska Flyktingar i Sverige,” in Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige* (Stockholm: Statens Invandrarverk, 1983) 81–83; Luyinda Ssemakula, *Afrikansk och svensk kultur i möte* (Västerås: Malpo Books, 1998) 31–35, 52–59.
12. For a specific illustration, see Anders Bengtsson, Tobias Regnell, and Henrik Ystén (eds.), *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor* ([n.l.]: Offside Press AB, 2010) 289–90.
13. Cecilia Gärding (ed.), *Afrosvensk i det nya Sverige* (Stockholm: Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund, 2009) 75–76; Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige*, 90–91.
14. Sheriff Suma as cited in “Sheriffen skjuter helst långskott” *Expressen* 17 Dec. 2006; “ÖSK:s afrikaner landade i snöfall” *Expressen* 23 Jan. 2008.
15. Boyd Mwila as cited in “Här är Örgrytes nye kelgris” *Aftonbladet* 1 Oct. 2003; Peter Ijeh as cited in “Peter Ijeh-älskar Gud och fotbollen” undated <http://www.evigalivet.blogspot.se> accessed 3/21/2011.
16. BoBo Bola as cited in “Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005.
17. Alegi, *African Soccerscapes*, 79–80.
18. Makondele as cited in “Med från start—då kom målet” *Aftonbladet* 12 Sept. 2004.
19. Issa Mohammed as cited in “Issa på rätt väg i IFK-truppen” *Norrköpings Tidningar* 5 March 2002; Richard Ekunde as cited in “Ekunde om livet i hemlandet, och om en framtid som fotbollsagent” 29 Dec. 2010 <http://www.sportstory.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
20. Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011. According to Bakaou, despite this rocky introduction, he and Falk soon became great friends.
21. Ibrahim Tahini as cited in “Sierra Leone Star Ibrahim Tahini Explains Why Expatriate Coaches Fail in Africa” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 8/30/2010.
22. Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe” *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 10 (2007): 446.
23. Such stores and restaurants can, however, be found in the bigger cities, and in places like Gothenburg, African footballers do regularly make use of them. Bengtsson, Regnell, and Ystén (eds.), *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor*, 289.
24. Richard Ekunde as cited in “Kunde ha lämnat Gais i vintras” *Expressen* 10 April 2007. Ekunde, for instance, attends a small Congolese church in Gothenburg.
25. Mariga as cited in “Mina lärare slog mig, de sa att jag spelade för mycket fotboll” *Expressen* 21 April 2007.
26. Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
27. Viktorija Kalonaitytė et al., *Att Färgas av Sverige: Upplevelser av diskriminering och rasism bland ungdomar med afrikansk bakgrund i Sverige* (Stockholm: Ombudsmannen Mot Etnisk Diskriminering, 2008) 43, 46; Christian Bawa Yamba, “En Afrikans Möte Med Sverige,” in Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige*, 29–30.
28. Tamboura as cited in “Har du missat intervjun med Adama Tamboura” 25 May 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 3/19/2011.
29. For other illustrations, see Richard Ekunde (DRC) and Prince Ikpe Ekong (Nigeria) at GAIS. “Ekong och Ekunde—årets bästa gaisare” *Expressen* 25 Sept. 2007. At times these bonds even cross team lines, like in the case of Reuben Ayarna (Ghana/GAIS)

- and Dominic Chatto (Nigeria/BK Häcken). Ayarna as cited in “Reubens uppdrag för Ghana” 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
30. Cameroonian Joseph Elanga, for example, states that Nigerian Peter Ijeh is his closest friend on the team. Elanga as cited in “Intervju med Joseph Elanga” 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/2011.
 31. The families of Aluspah Brewah (Sierra Leone), Kabba Samura (Sierra Leone), and Charles Sampson (Ghana), for instance, spent lots of time together while they were playing for Bodens BK. Brewah as cited in “Bodens drömtrio” *Kuriren* 26 April 2008.
 32. South Africans May Mahlangu (Helsingborgs IF) and Amethyst Bradley Ralani (Landskrona BoIS), for instance, already knew each other from their time at the Stars Academy in Johannesburg and later shared an apartment in Helsingborg after coming to Sweden. Mahlangu and Ralani as cited in “Afrikas löften laddar i lugn och ro” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 26 Sept. 2010.
 33. Yannick Bapupa and René Makondele, for example, lived together in Kinshasa before coming to Sweden in 2002, and they continued to share an apartment during their first few years in Stockholm. Makondele as cited in “Med från start—då kom målet” *Aftonbladet* 12 Sept. 2004. Kenyans Andrew Oyombe Opiyo and McDonald Mariga similarly lived together in Nairobi before moving to Enköping in 2004. Opiyo as cited in “Asylsökande Oyombe hittade SIK” *Lokaltidningen Stenungsund* 14 Feb. 2011.
 34. “ÖSK:s afrikaner landade i snöfall” *Expressen* 23 Jan. 2008.
 35. “Liberiansk trio Häckens hopp” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 April 2005.
 36. “Bästa vänner men inte i derby: Edwin Phiri och Boyd Mwila ställs mot varandra i viktigt derby” *Bohusläningen* 18 May 2010.
 37. Bala Garba as cited in “Vänta bara—ni får se mer” *Aftonbladet* 14 April 2003; “Ramadan har startat för Chibsah” *Arbetarbladet* 12 Aug. 2010.
 38. Sheriff Suma as cited in “Sheriffen skjuter helst långskott” *Expressen* 17 Dec. 2006; “Abdel Seidou—till Kolsva IF” 15 Oct. 2007 <http://magazin24.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
 39. Mahmadu Alphajor Bah as cited in “Alphajor Mamadu Bah under luppen” 2 April 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/20/2011; Robert Mambo Mumba as cited in “Jag tippar UFC som vinnare. Mambo Mumba om seriesegrar, Kenya, och Marta” *Västerbottens-Kuriren* 8 April 2010.
 40. For a specific illustration, see Pa Dembo Touray as cited in “Sista Sommaren” *Offside* 5 (2011) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012. Touray, who first arrived in Sweden as a 19 year old, says that his transition to Sweden was initially very difficult and that he was quite lonely at first.
 41. For a specific illustration, see comments by May Mahlangu as cited in “En allsvensk semester” *Offside* 7 (2011): 89. Mahlangu states that although he is not unhappy in Sweden, he nevertheless very much looks forward to returning to South Africa to see his family at the end of each season.
 42. Rennie as cited in “Rennie vill slå till mot Elfsborg, trivs i Gais” 28 April 2011 <http://www.sportsday.se> accessed 5/11/2011.
 43. Dominic Chatto, for instance, took fellow Nigerian John Chibuike under his wing at Häcken. Chibuike as cited in “Världsklass” *Expressen* 5 May 2009.
 44. Alfa as cited in “Alfa aims for good start” 8 May 2009 <http://www.kickoff.com> accessed 4/14/2011.
 45. Patrick Osiako as cited in “Fotbollsproffsen lever i sin egen värld i världen” *Blekinge Läns Tidning* 2 April 2009.
 46. Edwin Phiri as cited in “Örgryte dansar—och ler” *Aftonbladet* 19 April 2003; Abiola Dauda as cited in “Forbollblekinge.se möter Abiola Dauda” 5 Aug. 2009 <http://forbollblekinge.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
 47. “Cafékväll med Peter Ijeh” undated <http://www.linnekyrkan.org> accessed 3/29/2001; “Frimodiga röster på Sergelstorg” *Dagen* 26 Aug. 2006.

48. "Tetteh tackar Gud för framgångarna" *Aftonbladet* 16 Sept. 1999; "GIF's Glädjebesked: Chibisah slipper fasta vid bortamatcher" *Arbetarbladet* 9 May 2010.
49. Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa" *African Affairs* 9 (2000): 207.
50. Ssemakula, *Afrikansk och svensk kultur i möte*, 27–31.
51. Former South African international, Jabu Mahlangu, as cited in "WM-drömmen slutade i Växjö" *Smålandsposten* 10 June 2010. Lars Lagerbäck made the same observation during his time as coach for the Nigerian national team. Lagerbäck as cited in "Intervju: Lars Lagerbäck" 11 Nov. 2010 <http://www.matchdax.se> accessed 6/28/2011.
52. Joseph Elanga as cited in "Intervju med Joseph Elanga" 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/2011. The interviewer notes that Elanga's strongly professed religious convictions are extremely unusual in Sweden.
53. Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En Svensk Kulturhistoria*, 3rd edition (Stockholm: Dialogs, 2005) 372.
54. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 26.
55. John Chibuikwe as cited in "6 snabba med Chibuikwe inför derbyt" 8 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/14/2011.
56. Bala Garba as cited in "Balla Garba" *Aftonbladet* 28 May 2003; "Geflespelaren firade segern på bönemattan" *Expressen* 18 April 2011.
57. Ekong as cited in "Johan Orrenius möter Prince Ikpe Ekong" *Expressen* 1 April 2009.
58. "Nu hoppas jag få möta Sverige i VM" *Aftonbladet* 4 May 2002: "Gud förbjude, Ijeh" *Aftonbladet* 6 Oct. 2002. Upon scoring a goal, Ijeh would lift up his jersey to reveal a psalm written on his undershirt.
59. For a specific illustration, see "Gud struntar nog i vår idrottsvärld" *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 11 Nov. 2006.
60. To cite another example, in reaction to revelation that parts of Mohamed Bangura's family believes in voodoo, the following comments were left by *Aftonbladet's* readers. "Frälskuppchock," for instance, sarcastically comments "Yet another religious genius. Religion and high intelligence must go hand in hand!" "Dsuede" meanwhile asserts "Typical Africathink, this type of nonsense has always held back their [Africa's] development and instead created trauma and chaos." "Killuminati" simply adds "religious people = retards." Posts by "Frälskuppchock," "Dsuede," and "Killuminati" (reader comments), "De dödade min styvmor med voodoo" 8 Aug. 2010 <http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fofboll/sverige/allsvenskan/aik/article12418649.ab> accessed 8/12/2010.
61. Post by "Al Capone" (reader comments), "GIF's Glädjebesked: Chibisah slipper fasta vid bortamatcher" 15 Aug. 2010 <http://www.arbetarbladet.se/sport/fofboll/gefle/1.2251766-gif-gladjebesked-chibisah-slipper-fasta> accessed 8/30/2010. "Hasse" adds that "they should take this type of thing into consideration when they sign someone, this guy [Chibisah] is hardly a star. There must be lots of players of equal quality or better." Post by "Hasse" (reader comments), "GIF's Glädjebesked: Chibisah slipper fasta vid bortamatcher" 15 Aug. 2010 <http://www.arbetarbladet.se/sport/fofboll/gefle/1.2251766-gif-gladjebesked-chibisah-slipper-fasta> accessed 8/30/2010.
62. "Prince utmanar att tala om Kungen" 26 Aug. 2010 <http://www.dagen.se> accessed 3/17/2011; "Peter Ijeh-älskar Gud och fotbollen" undated <http://www.evigalivet.blogspot.se> accessed 3/21/2011.
63. Ekong as cited in "Från fotbollsplanen till predikstolen" *Offside* 3 (2013): 34.
64. For a specific illustration, see Patrick Osiako as cited in "Patrick Osiako stannar i Mjällby" *Kristianstadsbladet* 28 Oct. 2008. Osiako, who grew up Nairobi, was clearly quite bored living in the small and rather sleepy town of Sölvesborg.
65. In Sweden, the most violent racist attacks against immigrants and refugees have historically taken place in rural areas and not in the larger urban areas where most actually

- immigrants live. Tore Björge, "Terrorist Violence toward Immigrants and Refugees in Scandinavia: Patterns and Motives," in Tore Björge and Rob Witte (eds.), *Racist Violence in Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993) 34. See also Kalonaityté et al., *Ärger av Sverige*, 43.
66. Sarah Nakiito, "Livet i diasporan," in Kolade Stephens (ed.), *Afrikansksvenska röster: En antologi om afrikansksvenskarnas situation i, och tankar om, Sverige* (Stockholm: Notis, 2009) 48, 51; Gärding (ed.), *Afrosvensk i det nya Sverige*, 167.
 67. Samuel Ayorinde as cited in "Jag är glad att jag fick spela" *Dagens Nyheter* 3 June 2006; Akombo Ukeyima as cited in "Hemma för kärlekens skull" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 21 May 2010.
 68. Adama Tamboura as cited in "Har du missat intervjun med Adama Tamboura" 25 May 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 3/19/2011; Abiola Dauda as cited in "Fotbollblekinge.se möter Abiola Dauda" 5 Aug. 2009 <http://fotbollblekinge.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
 69. Issa Mohammed as cited in "Issa på rätt väg i IFK-truppen" *Norrköpings Tidningar* 5 March 2002; Patrick Osiako as cited in "Fotbollsproffsen lever i sin egen värld i världen" *Blekinge Läns Tidning* 2 April 2009.
 70. McDonald Mariga as cited in "Mina lärare slog mig, de sa att jag spelade för mycket fotboll" *Expressen* 21 April 2007; Mohamed Bangura as cited in "Jag spelar för att nå de stora ligorna" *Expressen* 21 March 2011.
 71. Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige*, 98–100; Gärding (ed.), *Afrosvensk i det nya Sverige*, 129.
 72. Makondele as cited in "Makondele har hittat 'hem' i Gefle" *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 March 2006.
 73. Dauda as cited in "Abiola Dauda" 12 Jan. 2008 <http://mattiasjohanssonphotography.blogspot.com> accessed 9/8/2010.
 74. Demba-Nyrén as cited in "Från knarkträsket till hyllad målkung" *Aftonbladet* 14 Jan. 2003. Demba-Nyrén moved to Sweden at age 9 after his mother married a Swedish national.
 75. Congolese immigrant, Papi Muhinda as cited in Sarudzayi Zindoga, "Ett bättre liv ingen självklarhet för afrikansk invandrare" *Södra Afrika* 3 (2008): 30. See also Everlyn Nicodemus, "Ett livsöde," in Statens Invandrarverk, *Afrikaner i Sverige*, 92–93, and Gärding (ed.), *Afrosvensk i det nya Sverige*, 145–46, 167.
 76. Patrick Osiako as cited in "Fotbollsproffsen lever i sin egen värld i världen" *Blekinge Läns Tidning* 2 April 2009.
 77. Ayarna as cited in "Reuben Ayarna hyllar fansen inför derbyt" *Expressen* 9 May 2011.
 78. For a specific illustration, see "Charles har spelat sig in i många hjärtan" *Sydsvenskan* 24 June 2003.
 79. Omotoyossi as cited in "Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008.
 80. Bangura as cited in "Har jag massa vänner tappar jag koncentrationen på fotbollen" *Aftonbladet* 30 April 2010. Halfway through the 2011 season, Bangura moved from AIK to Glasgow Celtic, though in 2012 he returned to Sweden again.
 81. Raffaele Poli, "Football Players Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans' Mobility," in Jonathan Magee et al. (eds.), *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances* (Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport, 2005) 227.
 82. René Makondele as cited in "Makondele har hittat 'hem' i Gefle" *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 March 2006; Andrew Oyombe Opiyou as cited in "Asylsökande Oyombe hittade SIK" *Lokaltidningen Stenungsund* 14 Feb. 2011.
 83. Sehten Hills, for instance, apparently suffered from acute homesickness while he was living with several other Liberian players at Stig Johansson's house in Gothenburg. Bengtsson, Regnell, and Ystén (eds.), *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor*, 286.

84. Jesper Jansson, director of football operations Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “Sserumaga och HIF går skilda vägar” 20 Jan. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/28/2011.
85. Jabu Mahlangu, as cited in “WM-drömmen slutade i Växjö” *Smålandsposten* 10 June 2010; Amadiya Rennie as cited in “Rennie vill slå till mot Elfsborg, trivs i Gais” 28 April 2011 <http://www.sportsday.se> accessed 5/11/2011. In Rennie’s words, “one cannot play well when one is not happy.”
86. For a specific illustration, see Kenyan internationals, Willis Ohieng, and Amos Ekhalie as cited in “Landslagsspelarna jobbar på Åland” *Ålandstidningen* 30 July 2010.
87. “Pojkarna från Brasilien” *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012; “Ett brasilianskt allsvenskan?” 1 March 2010 <http://www.fotbollsorkalet.se> accessed 10/15/2010. See also “Kultspelare Fábio Augusto” *Offside* 1 (2013): 62–63.
88. For a specific illustration, see Amadou Jawo as cited in “Det är värsta lyxen här” *Arbetsbladet* 29 April 2009.
89. For a specific illustration, see Kebba Ceesay as cited “Porträtt: Kebba Ceesay, del 1” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://dif.se> accessed 7/14/2010. In this interview, Kebba recounts that it was hard to adjust to Swedish football when he first arrived from Gambia as a 12 year old. Above all, holding his position on the pitch was very difficult, but it was something he gradually learned while playing for IK Brage as a teenager. However, he had already grasped this aspect of the game by the time he reached Djurgårdens IF and *Allsvenskan* in 2007.
90. While both Demba-Nyrén and Pelu went on to have relatively successful careers abroad, Ndiwa’s career never really took off, despite a promising start. In 2003 he signed by Bolton Wanderers, but by 2007 he was playing semiprofessionally for Weldstone FC. <http://en-gb.facebook.com/pages/Lord-Kanga-Ndiwa/111674708851248> accessed 11/5/2010; “Experternas säsong” *Fotbollsguiden* 37 (2007) <http://andreakjall.se/professen> accessed 11/5/2010.
91. “Zunda—ett hett namn för IFK” *Folket* 17 Jan. 2011; “Sleipners nya radarpar på top” *Folkbladet* 17 Jan. 2011.
92. The only three that had not reached this benchmark were Mike Owuso, Saihou Jagne, and Omar Jawo. Owuso had moved abroad to play professionally in the Netherlands at the peak of his career, whereas Jagne and Jawo were still in the early stages of their careers in 2010. See Appendix B.
93. “En fulländad tekniker” 22 Jan. 2005 <http://www.gais.se/fotboll> accessed 9/3/2010. The years in the parenthesis only lists Bakaou’s years in *Allsvenskan*.
94. “Trio som lyser i mörkret” *Göteborgs Posten* 7 Nov. 2010.
95. “Shamo var en fantastisk spelare” *Västerbottens Folkblad* 23 July 2005; “Liraren som var för bra” *Västerbottens-Kuriren* 22 Aug. 2009.
96. “Importerna som sätter färg på Halmstad” 15 May 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/19/2011; “I morgon lämnar Preko HBK” 25 Nov. 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 1/20/2011.
97. “Olympiske mästaren är här” *Aftonbladet* 29 March 2004. Garba Lawal represented Nigeria in the World Cup twice, and he was also part of the gold-winning team at the 1996 Olympics.
98. “Allsvenskans fem bästa ytterbackar” 19 Sept. 2008 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 3/10/2011.
99. “Hundra afrikaner i allsvenskan” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 9 Sept. 2010; “Omotoyossi tackar Larsson för succén” *Aftonbladet* 18 Jan. 2008.
100. See Appendix A. As of 2010, Tetteh and Chibuike had only made 49 appearances each in *Allsvenskan*.
101. “Alla vi som älskar Reuben Ayarna” <http://www.facebook.com> accessed 5/19/2011.

102. “Mohamed Bangura—Crowd Pleaser!” 10 Nov. 2010 <http://www.sierraexpressmedia.com> accessed 5/11/2011; “Lista sju heta lirare” *Aftonbladet* 20 March 2011.
103. “Östers två succéköp” *Expressen* 8 Aug. 2006.
104. “Helsingborg ger upp Isaac Chansa” 16 April 2008 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 5/11/2011.
105. “Dags för Paulo att starta?” *Smålandsposten* 11 Aug. 2007.
106. Conny Karlsson, head coach Helsingborgs IF, as cited in “HIF hoppas på ett ja från May Mahlangu” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 26 January 2011.
107. “Mjällbyspelare uttagen i landslaget” 6 Aug. 2010 <http://www.fotbollkristianstad.se> accessed 2/24/2011.
108. “Russell Mwafulirwa vill mer” *Norrköpings Tidningar* 8 July 2008.
109. Unidentified coach at BK Häcken (referring to Waris) as cited in “19-årgie Waris—hetaste spelaren” *Aftonbladet* 20 March 2011.
110. Somewhere between 25 and 30 of these 109 players had their stays in *Allsvenskan* cut short by injuries or other “mitigating factors.” If this group is deducted from the total of 109 and removed from consideration, then slightly more than half of the league’s African imports actually made more than 30 appearances.
111. “Olof Lundh: ‘Maradona hade varit nöjd’—Samura värd en större scen” *Expressen* 4 Nov. 2004; “Assyriska har nått enda upp till toppen” 8 April 2005 <http://www.fria.nu> accessed 4/20/2011.
112. “Årets försvarare: Ibrahim Koroma” 24 Jan. 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/11/2011. Midway through the 2010 season, Korma was signed away from Motala AIF by Trelleborgs FF.
113. “Charles Sampson—länken mellan försvar och anfall” 11 May 2005 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 5/19/2011; Aydin Aho, chairman Assyriska FF, as cited in “Charles Sampson förlänger med Assyriska!” 8 Aug. 2006 <http://www.assyriska.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
114. “Sheriff Suma imponerade stort mot Halmstad” 12 Feb. 2011 <http://www.jnytt.se> accessed 4/21/2011.
115. “Halva allsvenskan jagar superlöftet” *Expressen* 11 Oct. 2007; “Abiola Dauda nära Kalmar” *Belkinge Läns Tidning* 24 Oct. 2007.
116. Pascal Kondaponi, for instance, was recognized for scoring a potentially very important goal for Ljungskile SK at the tail end of the 2009 season; Ibrahim Atiku similarly scored a seemingly decisive goal for Assyriska FF early in the 2005, giving the team its first victory in *Allsvenskan*. “Atiku satte stopp för Assyriskas negativa trend” *Aftonbladet* 29 May 2005; “Ljungskiles Kondaponi stal GIF-segern” *Arbetsbladet* 4 Oct. 2008.
117. “Keynanerna frälste Örebro” *Aftonbladet* 30 Sept. 2001.
118. “Samuel Ayorinde: 3–3 målet vi aldrig glömmet” 2004 <http://www.aik.se> accessed 4/6/2011; “I backspegeln: AIK-DIF 3–3” 1 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/3/2011.
119. “En fulländad tekniker” 22 Jan. 2005 <http://www.gais.se/fotboll> accessed 9/3/2010; “GAIS—Samir Bakaou Fan Club” undated <http://www.facebook.com> accessed 4/25/2011; “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
120. “Profilerna lyfter allsvenskan—men det vill inte klubbarna förstå” *Aftonbladet* 5 Feb. 2011.
121. “Dembo firar Örebrosegern med klacken” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CCqjimOqSU> accessed 10/10/2010.
122. “Mina lärare slog mig, de sa att jag spelade för mycket fotboll” *Expressen* 21 April 2007.
123. “Shamo var en fantastisk spelare” *Västerbottens Folkblad* 23 July 2005; “Krönika: Vi har väl inte glömt Shamo?” 6 March 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com/fotboll> accessed 2/1/2011.

124. “Kingson: Allt kan hända” 27 June 2007 <http://www.fotbollssverige.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
125. “Alla vi som älskar Reuben Ayarna” <http://www.facebook.com> accessed 5/19/2011.
126. “Monday James kvar i Bajen” 7 June 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/14/2011.
127. “Hjältar, Svikare och forna Lagkamrater—Del 2” 12 Feb. 2002 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/4/2010.
128. “Intervju med Joseph Elanga” 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/2011; “Populär spelare som ställde till trassel” *Sydsvenskan* 15 Nov. 2009.
129. “Exklusiv intervju med Dulee Johnson” 12 March 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/12/2011.
130. “Nu leker fotbollslivet för Ofere” *Sydsvenskan* 24 Sept. 2009.
131. “Alla som vill ha tillbaka Dominic Yobe till ÖIS” <http://sv-se.facebook.com> accessed 5/11/2011.
132. In an Internet survey taken by 3874 IFK Göteborg fans in 1999, Tetteh received the third most votes after club legends Håkan Mild och Dick Last. This is an impressive showing for someone who at that point had only been with the team for three years. “Rösta på din favorit spelare!” *Allsvenskan* 1999 IFK Göteborg <http://www.webvoter.net/se/vote> accessed 5/17/2011.
133. Here one can, for example, point to players like Driss El Asmar (Morocco/Degerfors IF 2001), Paterne Kossa (Ivory Coast/Syrianska SK 2000–2006), and Sheriff Suma (Sierra Leone/Jönköping Södra 2010). Håkan Olsson, chairman Degerfors IF, as cited in “Driss klar för MFF!” 28 Sept. 2001 <http://www.svenskafans.com> 3/10/2011; “Pattes avslutande ord till Syrianska-fansen” 13 Dec. 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 3/14/2011; “Sherriffen stannar i stan” 7 Dec. 2010 <http://www.jnytt.se> accessed 4/21/2011.
134. Despite only playing in 17 games during his 3 years with Örebro SK, Cameroonian Bertin Samuel Zé Ndille quickly obtained cult status among the club’s fans. “Vi som vill ha tillbaka Bertin Zé Ndille i ÖSK” <http://www.facebook.com> accessed 5/17/2011; “Bertin Zé lämnar ÖSK efter säsongen” <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 2/3/2011.
135. While the former Senegal international Mamadou Diallo (or “Big Mama” as he was known) never lived up to fans’ expectations at IFK Göteborg, he is nonetheless still fondly remembered by the club’s supporters for his playful spirit. They particularly appreciate the fact that he once showed up to a game having dyed his hair in the team colors, blue and white. “Blåvits frälsare” *Aftonbladet* 27 May 2003; “Ny frisyr, band i hand och afrikan? Välkommen till Blåvitt!” June 30 2005 <http://ifkgoteborg.blogspot.com> accessed 7/3/2011; “Baraben.com minns Mamadou Diallo” 2 March 2006 <http://ifkgoteborg.blogspot.com> accessed 7/3/2011.
136. For two specific illustrations, see fan tributes to Abdel Seidou (Togo/Örebro SK 2000) and Michael (Mike) Obiku (Nigeria/Helsingborgs IF 1994). “Det kom en man från Togo” 31 July 2005 <http://enondplats.wordpress.com> accessed 4/25/2011; “Profiler från förr—Abdel Seidou” 4 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/25/2011; “Minns ni de här värvningarna?” undated <http://www2.hif.se> accessed 3/10/2011; “AOH Proudly Presents . . . Mr Mike Obiku” 22 Jan. 2010 “Läger, Obiku och Joel” <http://www.hif1907.se> accessed 3/10/2011.
137. “IFK Norrköpings spelare vill sparka lagledningen” *Dagens Nyheter* 3 Dec. 2002; “The Sad Story of Issa Mohammed” 3 December 2002 <http://www.modernghana.com> accessed 10/10/2010. Mohammed, however, was not the only player that had allegedly been mistreated by the coaching staff, according to several of the unidentified players that *Dagens Nyheter* had spoken to.

138. "Ayorinde om AIK: 'Jag har aldrig behandlats så här dåligt'" 10 Sept. 2003 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 4/6/2010.
139. Nigerian, Bala Garba, as cited in "Jag är en slav från Afrika" *Aftonbladet* 17 Jan. 2004.
140. Kouakou as cited in "Uphittad: Raoul Kouakou" *Offside* 1 (2013): 26.
141. Eric Bassombeng as cited in "Bassombeng vill flytta; 'Situationen ohållbar'" 23 Feb. 2010 <http://www.fotballtransfers.com> accessed 5/17/2011.
142. "Patrick Osiako stannar i Mjällby" *Kristianstadsbladet* 28 Oct. 2008; "Missnöjd Osiako träningsstrejkar" *Expressen* 25 Aug. 2010; El Kabir as cited in "Moestafa El Kabir firade guldet med Malmö FF" *Aftonbladet* 9 Nov. 2010.
143. For a specific illustration, see Dominic Yobe as cited in "Q & A: Dominic Yobe Answers Fans' Questions" 4 March 2009 <http://www.zambianfootball.net> accessed 5/11/2011.
144. While qualifying for the African cup in 2011, the Siera Leonean national team fielded no less than six Swedish-based players. "Bangura hjälte" *Aftonbladet* 7 June 2011.
145. Peter Ijeh and Joseph Elanga as cited in "Intervju med Joseph Elanga" 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/ 2011; Raoul Kouakou as cited in "Raoul Kouakou om Afrikanska Mästerskapen" 6 Feb. 2006 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 5/17/2011; Yussif Chibsah as cited in "Chibsah har inte lagt VM-petningen bakom sig" *Gefles Dagblad* 11 June 2010.
146. Ofere as cited in "Par i lånade skor blev fyrtalet i mål" 2 Oct. 2009 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
147. Driss El Asmar as cited in "Först MFF sedan Europa för Driss" *Sydsvenskan* 5 Oct. 2001; Monday James as cited in "Han kan lämna Bajen redan på lördag" *Expressen* 29 May 2009.
148. Thiago Qurino, Djurgårdens IF, as cited in "Thiago Qurino" *Offside* 2 (2008):118–22. See also "Pojkarna från Brasilien" *Offside* 1 (2003) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012.
149. Olivier Karekezi, as cited in "Jag såg min bror bli mördad" *Aftonbladet* 28 Feb. 2008; Ghanaian goalkeeper, William Amamoo, as cited in "VM-målvakten vill till Stockholm" 11 May 2008 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 5/19/2011.
150. Razak Omotoyossi as cited in "Omotoyossi tackar Larsson för succén" *Aftonbladet* 18 Aug. 2008.
151. Ibrahim Koroma as cited in "You must win!" *Offside* 5 (2011): 67; Samir Bakaou as cited in "Samir Bakaou" *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
152. Prince Ikpe Ekong as cited in "Why Nigerian Players Fail Abroad" 29 Nov. 2010 <http://www.nigerianbestforum.com> accessed 11/17/2011. See also Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 91–92.
153. BoBo Bola as cited in "Det är en dröm att få spela fotboll i Europa" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 12 Aug. 2005.
154. Joseph Elanga, for example, insists that Tom Prahl is the best coach he has ever had. Dulee Johnson is equally complementary about his coach at AIK, Rickard Norlin. Elanga as cited in "Intervju med Joseph Elanga" 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/ 2011; Johnson as cited "Exklusiv intervju med Dulee Johnson" 12 March 2010 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/12/2011.
155. For a specific illustration, see Patrick Osiako as cited in "Fotbollsprouffsen lever i sin egen värld i världen" *Blekinge Läns Tidning* 2 April 2009. Coach-player relations in Sweden are typically not as hierarchical and dictatorial as they can be in many other parts of the world.
156. Aluspah Brewah as cited in "Sprintern som ska frälsa Hammarby" *Aftonbladet* 24 July 2004; Peter Ijeh as cited in "Jag förlåter Malmö" *Expressen* 10 Feb. 2007.
157. Yakubu Alfa as cited in "Alfa aims for good start" 8 May 2009 <http://www.kickoff.com> accessed 4/14/2011; Ibrahim Tahini as cited in "Sierra Leone Star Ibrahim Tahini

- Explains Why Expatriate Coaches Fail in Africa” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://www.goal.com> accessed 8/30/2010.
158. For a specific illustration, see *Etuwe Prince Eboagwu* as cited in “I Vietnam var det riktigt skumt” *Aftonbladet* 25 April 2010.
 159. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 158–59; Roman Horak and Matthias Marschik, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Austria: ‘If You Let Them They Behave like Mafia,’” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Anchen, FRG: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 41–56.
 160. “Blåränderna tar bussen till matchen” *Dagens Nyheter* 27 Oct. 2007; “Trivselfaktorn hög på Hisingen” *Expressen* 4 April 2011.
 161. “Livet på andra sidan” *Offside 2* (2011): 111.
 162. “Segersång efter DIF-Örebro” 12 Sept. 2010 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWfOQit8KaY&feature=relmfu> accessed 11/2/2011. Although this song is probably mostly associated with Pa Dembo Touray, it apparently predates his arrival at the club. “Sanningen om Kamala Vesta” 29 Aug. 2010 <http://wap.dif.se> accessed 10/10/2012. Here it should also be added that origins of this song are actually unknown, though in Sweden it is seemingly widely believed to be a West African folk song.
 163. Ricci, *Elephants, Lions and Eagles*, 24; Alegi, *African Soccerescapes*, 30.
 164. “Sista Sommaren” *Offside 5* (2011) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet.smyglaesning> accessed 2/20/2012; Kebba Ceesay as cited “Porträtt: Kebba Ceesay, del 1” 10 Aug. 2010 <http://dif.se> accessed 7/14/2010.
 165. Horak and Marschik, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Austria” 41–56; Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 151, 176.
 166. For a specific illustration, see “Örebrospelare skrek rasistiska hot och misshandlade tjejer—åtalas nu” 22 Sept. 2009 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 2/11/2011.
 167. Yves Pallade, Christophe Villinger, and Deidre Berger, *Anti-Semitism and Racism in European Soccer* (Berlin: American Jewish Committee Berlin Office/Center for German-Jewish Relations, 2007) 9; Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004) 141–66.
 168. “Miljon-regnet” *Aftonbladet* 4 March 2010; “Givmilde Ekong tjänar mest i Allsvenskan” 4 March 2010 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 5/5/2010. In 2003 Peter Ijeh was, similarly, one of *Allsvenskan*’s ten best-paid players. “De tjänar 94, 470 212” *Aftonbladet* 12 Dec. 2004. That having been said, Ekong and Touray’s paychecks probably say more about Djurgården IF’s overly generous salaries in this period than anything else. As the club entered the next decade, it was very heavily indebted. “20 miljoner saknas i Djurgården” 4 Feb. 2011 <http://www.idrottensaffarer.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
 169. Paul Darby, “Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe” *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 10 (2007): 449.
 170. “Mittfältaren Charles Sampson: ‘Jag känner mig lurad, utnyttjad och besiken på klubben”” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 8 Oct. 2010; “Sampson slickar sina sår—I IFK” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 15 April 2011.
 171. Hasse Borg, director of football operations Malmö FF, as cited in “Afrikanskt löfte till Malmö FF” *Sydsvenskan* 20 Feb. 2004; “HIF:are på svenskundervisning” 27 March 2010 <http://www.hif.se> accessed 3/10/2011.
 172. N. G. Karlsson, Scout IFK Timrå Football, as cited in “Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007.
 173. “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside 2* (2012): 91.
 174. Following Yanus Ismail’s stroke in 2009, the club and his teammates at Örebro SK rallied to help raise money for him. “Yanus Hjälpfond” 2009 <http://oskfotboll.se> accessed 4/21/2011; “ÖSK spelar för Ismail” *Expressen* 3 Aug. 2009. IF Elfsborg similarly

- continued to assist Gbassy Bangura after he fell ill. "Sonen är hans sista gnista" *Borås Tidning* 21 Feb. 2009.
175. Michiko Hase, "Race in Soccer as a Global Sport," in John Bloom and Michael N. Willard (eds.) *Sport Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) 306–7; Poli, "Migrations and Trade of African Football Players," 407–8, 410–11.
 176. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union" Oct. 2010, 29, 113. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 177. Zindoga, "Ett bättre liv ingen självklarhet för afrikansk invandrare," 30–31.
 178. *Yussif Chibсах* as cited in "Kommer att ge precis allt för Djurgården" *Expressen* 25 March 2012.
 179. Mamadou Diallo as cited in "Fotbollen räddade mitt liv" *Dagens Nyheter* 5 May 2002; Joseph Elanga as cited in "Intervju med Joseph Elanga" 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 5/12/2011; Abiola Dauda as cited in "Abiola Dauda—Fotbollen tog honom till Sverige" undated <http://www.rafiki.se> accessed 4/7/2011; Richard Ekunde as cited in "Ekunde om livet i hemlandet, och om en framtid som fotbollsagent" 29 Dec. 2010 <http://www.sportstory.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
 180. According to the annual human development index (HDI) report issued by the UN's Development Program (UNDP), in 2010 the three top African football exporters to Sweden—Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone—were all listed in the bottom one-fourth of this list, whereas Sweden came in ninth. This bottom fourth also contains Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia—countries that have all also provided football imports to Sweden. The HDI specifically measures wealth per capita, average length of education, and life expectancy. "Human Development Index (HDI)—2010 Rankings" undated <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics> accessed 7/11/2011.
 181. For instance, out of the four players from the DRC that are listed in Appendix A, three were still in Sweden a decade after their arrival, while the fourth one had moved on to Norway. "Det Nya Landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57. Similarly, virtually all the Liberian and Sierra Leonean players that came to *Allsvenskan* during the first decade of the twenty-first century were (as of 2010) still residing either in Sweden or in some other European country.
 182. Here it should be added that permanently settling down abroad is normal behavior for professional footballers. Magee and Sugden, "'The World at Their Feet': Professional Football and International Labor Migration," 431.
 183. Richard Ekunde as cited in "Kunde ha lämnat Gais i vintras" *Expressen* 10 April 2007; "Sampson har hittat spelglädjen igen" *Norrbottnens Kuriren* 14 April 2011. See also "Det Nya Landet" *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57.
 184. Dodo Loum and Pa Musa Fofana are two examples of African players that have subsequently become coaches in Sweden. <http://www.fofana.se> accessed 6/19/2012; "Om Högaborgs BK J-laget" 2011 <http://www.laget.se> accessed 6/1/2012.
 185. Kevin Amunike, who at the time was playing for the Swedish Division Four club Borstahusens BK, as cited in "Stjärnan vill till Helsingborg: 'Har potential att spela för Liverpool'" 6 April 2011 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 4/6/2011.
 186. Suma as cited in "Fotbollen är en fest och dans för Sheriff" 4 April 2011 <http://www.jnytt.se> accessed 4/21/2011.
 187. Ukeyima as cited in "Akombo Ukeyima ska ta sista chansen" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 9 July 2009; Ukeyima as cited in "Hemma för kärlekens skull" *Sundsvalls Tidning* 21 May 2010.

188. “Abdel Seidou—till Kolsva IF” 15 Oct. 2007 <http://magazin24.se> accessed 4/25/2011; “Profiler från förr—Abdel Seidou” 4 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 4/25/2011.
189. Yaw Preko as cited in “Importerna som sätter färg på Halmstad” 15 May 2005 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/19/2011; Yussif Chibsah as cited in “Chibsah vill stanna i GIF” *Arbetarbladet* 18 Oct. 2009.
190. Cameroonian midfielder, Frédéric Ayangma, as cited in “Färgstarke Federick trivs perfekt i Boden” *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* 20 April 2006; Abiola Dauda as cited in “Fotbollblekinge.se möter Abiola Dauda” 5 Aug. 2009 <http://fotbollblekinge.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
191. Former Helsingborgs IF striker Thando Mngomeni as cited in “Thando måste ta sista chansen” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 31 Jan. 2007; Edward Ofere as cited in “Edward Ofere förlänger med Malmö FF” 18 Dec. 2008 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 4/7/2011.
192. Kingson as cited in “Kingson: Spelar för en hel kontinent” *Expressen* 2 July 2010.
193. Bakaou as cited in “Samir Bakaou” *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011.
194. Ekunde as cited in “Ekunde om livet i hemlandet, och om en framtid som fotbollsagent” 29 Dec. 2010 <http://www.sportstory.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
195. Reuben Ayarna (speaking of Ekunde) as cited in “Reuben Ayarna hyllar fansen inför derbyt” *Expressen* 9 May 2011.
196. “Pa Dembo ligger lågt” 14 Sept. 2010 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 25 March 2011; Ekong as cited in “I huvudet på Prince Ikpe Ekong” 20 Jan. 2011 <http://www.dif.se> accessed 3/15/2011.
197. Ijeh as cited in “Ijeh tröttnar aldrig på nättrasslet” *Svenska Dagbladet* 25 March 2011.
198. Elanga as cited in “Intervju med Joseph Elanga” 1 Sept. 2003 <http://www.mff.se> accessed 05/12/2011.
199. Omotoyossi as cited in “Fotbollsspelare går dit pengarna finns” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 2 March 2008.
200. For a specific illustration, see Yussif Chibsah as cited in “Kommer att ge precis allt för Djurgården” *Expressen* 25 March 2012.
201. Makondele as cited in “Makondele har hittat ‘hem’ i Gefle” *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 March 2006. See also “Det Nya Landet” *Offside* 5 (2010): 44–57.
202. Dominic Yobe, for instance, thinks it is far more difficult to make friends in Finland than in Sweden, where he found people to be comparatively more open socially. Yobe as cited in “Dominic Yobe: I Enjoy My Life in Oulu” 21 July 2009 <http://www.zambianfootball.net> accessed 5/11/2011.
203. Ghanaian goalkeeper William Amamoo as cited in “VM-målvakten vill till Stockholm” 11 May 2008 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 5/19/2011; Robert Mambo Mumba as cited in “Jag tippar UFC som vinnare. Mambo Mumba om seriesegrar Kenya och Marta” *Västerbottens-Kuriren* 8 April 2010.
204. Kenyan midfielder Evans “Valdo” Nyabaro, for instance, states that his countrymen Paul Oyuga and Bonaventure Maturi only had nice things to say about playing in Sweden. Nyabaro as cited in “Kenyanska fintar i ‘Randigt’” *Norrköpings Tidningar* 15 Aug. 2002.
205. For a specific illustration, Bruno Amadeu as cited in “Öster vill gärna ha Yamba” *Smålandsposten* 31 July 2007. Amadeu asserts that racism against African players is worse elsewhere in Europe and that Swedish coaches are good at developing young players.
206. Henrik Ystén, “Outsidern,” in Anders Bengtsson et al. (eds.) *Offside: Fotbollens Bästa Sidor* ([n.l.]: Offside Press AB, 2010) 218.
207. Innocent Kamara, a player for FC Ports in Sierra Leone, as cited in “Den afrikanska drömmen om Europa” *Sundsvalls Tidning* 2 June 2007. Pascal Karblee and Tubman

Johnson, two players for Mighty Barolle in Liberia, as cited in “Drömmen om Sverige” *Offside* 5 (2005): 107–8. (Dulee Johnson is Tubman’s younger brother.)

Chapter 8

1. Neil Farrington et al., *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2012) 23–31; Daniel Burdsey, *British Asians and Football: Culture, Identity and Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 142.
2. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 6; D. McCarthy, R. L. Jones, and P. Potrac, “Constructing Images and Interpreting Realities: The Case of the Black Soccer Player on Television” *International Review for the Sociology in Sport* 38 (2; 2003): 219.
3. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 49; Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football, Europe and the Press* (London: Frank Cass, 2002) 41.
4. Jacco van Sterkenburg and Annelies Knoppers, “Dominant Discourses about Race/Ethnicity and Gender in Sport Practice and Performance” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39 (3; 2004): 303; Kevin Hylton, “Race” and Sport: *Critical Race Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2009) 81–105.
5. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 39, 49–50. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010. See also Farrington et al., *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism*, 32–46.
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11. “Justerad neger måste visa att han är tvättäkta” *Idrottsbladet* 72 (1937): 12.
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28. For two specific illustrations, see Olivier Karekezi as cited in "Jag såg min bror bli mördad" *Aftonbladet* 28 Feb. 2008; Kennedy Igboananike as cited in "Jag kommer från gettot" <http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/sverige/allsvenskan/djurgarden/article12855503.ab> accessed 4/9/2011. See also "You must win!" *Offside* 5 (2011): 49–74.
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30. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010).
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33. "10 spelare som stack ut i allsvenskan 2008" *Expressen* 6 Nov. 2008; "Johnsons tidigare skandaler" *Aftonbladet* 27 Aug. 2010. See also note 155 in Chapter 5.
34. Birgitta Löwander, "Rasism i verkligheten och i nyheterna," in Ylva Brune (ed.), *Mörk magi i vita medier. Svensk nyhetsjournalistik om invandrare, flyktingar och rasism* (Stockholm: Carlssons Bokförlag, 1998) 90–91; Anna Bredström, "Makulinitet och kamp om nationella arenor—reflektioner kring bilden av 'invandrarkillar i svensk media,'" in Paulina de los Reyes et al. (eds.), *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader: Kön, klass and etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2002) 192–94.
35. "Fotbollsstjärna dömd till fängelse: Fällades för misshandel och olaga tvång" *Aftonbladet* 25 Nov. 2003; MFF-stjärnan: "Jag slog min flickvän" *Kvällsposten* 14 April 2005.
36. Post by "Corduner" 25 Jan. 2007 (reader comments), "Elanga får sparken av Brändby" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 11/13/2010.
37. Post by "IFKGBG1904," 14 Sept. 2010 "Elaka ramsor! (?)" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012. The song is difficult to translate in its entirety, but in Swedish it goes like this: "Dulee har knullat med en hora. Han ska in i fängelset, FÄNGEL-SET! Bröd och vatten blir hans mat. Enda samlaget: oralt. Dulee Johnson han ska in i fängelset!"

38. Post by “Alfamale,” 2 Sept. 2009 “Fotboll Stlm-Gbg” <http://exilen.eu> accessed 2/6/2011; Post by “Hartepool,” 5 Sept. 2009 “GAIS och ‘mångkultur’” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 4/25/2011.
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42. “Michael Mensah dömd för våldtäkt” *Sydsvenskan* 8 Dec. 2009; “Bapupa uppsagd efter våldtäktsdom” *Svenska Dagbladet* 14 April 2010; “Dulee Johnson får lämna AIK” *Dagens Nyheter* 7 Dec. 2010.
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44. Post by “Claire Redfield” 13 March 2010 (reader comments), “Yannick Bapupa dömd till två års fängelse för våldtäkt” <http://frianyheter.wordpress.com> accessed 5/27/2011.
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46. Post by “John Galt” 15 Nov. 2009 (reader comments), “Idrottsman anhållen för misstänkt våldtäkt i Gävle” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 4/6/2011; “Yannick Bapupa” 12 March 2010 <http://www.peopleequalshit.se> accessed 5/27/2011.
47. Post by “Jocke” 16 Nov. 2009 (reader comments), “Allsvensk stjärna gripes för våldtäkt” <http://www.spikharry.wordpress.com> accessed 10/11/2011.
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50. For a specific example, see a post by “Rehnskjöld” 12 Oct. 2005 (reader comments), “Dulee Johnson åtalad för kvinnomisshandel” <http://forums.skadi.net> accessed 4/20/2011.
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53. Post by “gohomenow” 9 Dec. Dec. 2009 (reader comments), “Michael Mensah dömd för våldtäkt” <http://www.frianyheter.wordpress.com> accessed 10/15/2010.
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59. “Här är Yunus Ismail tillbaka på Behrn arena” *Nerikes Allehanda* 31 Aug. 2009.
60. “Yunus Ismail,” 13 May 2009 “Staffans Blogg: En Blogg För Den Politiska Vänsterliberala Traditionen” <http://frisinnad.blogspot.com> accessed 5/30/2012. See also “Han lever för fotbollen men får inte spela” *Dagens Nyheter* 1 Feb. 2008.
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69. Post by “Klevis,” 29 May 2008 “Rasismen inom svensk fotboll” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/20/2011; Post by “LeoNaaaaad,” 24 Jan. 2007 “Elanga får sparken av Bröndby” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 11/13/2010.
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72. Post by “Smuts,” 24 June 2009 “SVE: Djurgårdens IF-2009” <http://www.fmsweden.se> accessed 2/2/2012; “Pa Modou Kah,” “AIK<3 Neger” 9 Oct. 2008 <http://forum.sweden.se> accessed 2/14/2011.
73. Post by “Slaktar-Åke” 8 Oct. 2008 <http://forum.sweden.se> accessed 2/14/2011. Along similar lines, a post by “IIDivino” alleges that “Pa Dembo Touray has the capacity to satisfy a whale,” thereby implying that Touray has a huge penis. Post by “IIDivino,” “Vilka kändisar har stora resp små kukar?” 14 Aug. 2007 <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 3/21/2011.
74. “Det kom en man från Togo” 31 July 2007 <http://enondplats.wordpress.com> accessed 4/25/2011.

75. "Den bekymmersamma togolesen" 19 April 2011 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/26/2011.
76. Post by "Klevis," 29 May 2008 "Rasismen inom svensk fotboll" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/20/2011. In this post, "Klevis," for example, insists that when AIK's fans taunted the opposition by chanting "You don't have a Negro" after every time Pascal Simpson scored, this was meant as an indirect compliment.
77. Post by "Götgatan" 29 Dec. 2010 "Allsvenskans sämsta utlänning alla kategorier på 2000-talet" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 3/12/2011. In Stockholm dialect, "ba" is used to give emphasis to a sentence. It is placed at the end of the sentence in a way that "right" might be utilized in American English.
78. Post by "Dr. Jekyll," 20 Dec. 2005 "Elaka ramsor! (?)" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012. "Dede Andersson har ansiktsmålning, idag! Han är go och gla. Ser ut som kexchoklad!"
79. Post by "SCFC" 18 May 2005 "Nostalg i ramsor" <http://www.karnan.nu/forum> accessed 3/10/2011.
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81. "Samir Bakaou" *Offside* 1 (2007) <http://www.offside.org/magasinet/smyglaesning> accessed 3/21/2011. "Vilka har en neger i laget, som för oss från seger till seger, jo svaret är lätt, GAIS är number ett, nu slår vi de jävlarna jävligt lätt."
82. "Samir Bakaou" undated <http://www.gais.se> accessed 9/3/2010; "Historik 1984" undated <http://www.gais.se> accessed 4/25/2011.
83. Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 31.
84. Tolvhed, *Nationen på spel*, 250–51.
85. Kassimeris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football*, 184.
86. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 113, 155–56; Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 31.
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89. "AIK<3 Neger" 7 Oct. 2008–20 July 2010 <http://forum.sweden.se> accessed 2/14/2011.
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91. "AIK<3 Neger" 7 Oct. 2008–20 July 2010 <http://forum.sweden.se> accessed 2/14/2011.
92. Margita Boström, "Idrotten på farlig väg," in Inrikesdepartementet, *Våldet och glädjen. En debattbok om huliganer och glada supportrar* (Stockholm: SISU Idrottsböcker, 1997) 73.
93. "Reubens uppdrag för Ghana" 13 Feb. 2011 <http://www.1984.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
94. Post by "Gustav" 3 July 2008 (reader comments), "Patetiska Jävla Nollor" <http://imittsverige2.wordpress.com> accessed 2/1/2011.
95. Post by "Grim88" 25 Jan. 2007 (reader comments), "Elanga får sparken av Bröndby" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 11/13/2010.
96. Post by "JmB<3JP," 10 April 2007 "Allsvenskan 2007" <http://www.fragbite.se> accessed 2/7/2011.
97. Post by "Germania," 24 April 2005 "Allsvenskan 2005" <http://www.forumhuset.net> accessed 2/6/2011.
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101. Post by “2673a” 9 Dec. 2009 (reader comments), “Michael Mensah dömd för våldtäkt” <http://www.frianyheter.wordpress.com> accessed 10/15/2010.
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128. “Värd en plats i VM-truppen” *Aftonbladet* 31 March 2010.
129. “Allsvenskans tio största genombrott” *Aftonbladet* 4 Nov. 2010.
130. “Den blågula idyllen kommer aldrig tillbaka” *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 Aug. 2002; “Utlänningarna går till anfall” *Svenska Dagbladet* 2 April 2008.
131. “Postorderproffsen” *Aftonbladet* 31 March 2003; “Norlings system lyfter fram de begåvande medelmåttorna” *Aftonbladet* 28 Aug. 2006; “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar—DN sätter betyg” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
132. “Succéköp och bottennapp: Allsvenskans alla utländska importörer de senaste 10 åren” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2006.
133. “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar—DN sätter betyg” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
134. “Succéköp och bottennapp: Allsvenskans alla utländska importörer de senaste 10 åren” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2006. On this list Stephen Armstrong is misidentified as an American citizen instead of as a South African. (These days, however, Armstrong is a US national.) Similarly, while Adelino Lopes and Mateus Lopes are simply listed as being Portuguese, in reality both are dual citizens: Adelino with Guinea-Bissau and Mateus with Cape Verde. See Appendix A.
135. “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar—DN sätter betyg” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
136. “Bäst och sämst i allsvenskan” *Aftonbladet* 16 July 2007.
137. “Succéköp och bottennapp: Allsvenskans alla utländska importörer de senaste 10 åren” *Aftonbladet* 21 July 2006.
138. “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar—DN sätter betyg” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
139. Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomons, “Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture” *The British Journal of Sociology* 50 (3; 1999): 435; Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White*, 49.
140. “Postorderproffsen” *Aftonbladet* 31 March 2003; “Här är den sjuka sanningen” *Aftonbladet* 30 Sept. 2006.
141. For an exception, see “Allsvenskan bättre än någonsin” *Aftonbladet* 6 Aug. 2005.
142. “Skräckscenariot” *Aftonbladet* 23 Jan. 2003.
143. “Pontus Kåmark ger Sportbladet rött kort” *Expressen* 24 Jan. 2003.
144. Simon Bank, “Invandrarboomen—så här många är de. Spelarimport är i grunden inte alltid positivt—idrotten är i grunden nationalistisk” *Aftonbladet* 24 April 2004.
145. Hasse Borg, director of football operations Malmö FF, as cited in “Utländskan” *Aftonbladet* 18 April 2003, and Martin Dahlin, agent and former Swedish international, as cited in “Talangerna talar ut” *Offside 2* (2008): 74. See also Lennart Johansson, *I fotbollens tjänst* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2008) 209.

146. Lars-Åke Lagrell (chairman Swedish Football Federation), Lars Lagerbäck (head coach Swedish National Team), and Ola Andersson (television commentator) as cited in “50 procent fler utlänningar i år” *Aftonbladet* 17 Aug. 2002.
147. Stefan Thylin, “Utvecklingen är alarmerande” 19 Sept. 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010. See also Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nulägesanalys* 2010 (4): 23–24. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.asp accessed 2/2/2012.
148. Jonas Cederquist, *Stockholms fotbollshistoria 1880–2010* (Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag, 2010) 136–37; “Jakten på Afrikas Stjärna” *Offside* 2 (2012): 82.
149. John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 283.
150. Joseph Maguire and Bob Pearton, “Global Sport and the Migration Patterns of France ’98 World Cup Finals Players: Some Preliminary Observations,” in Jon Garland et al. (eds.), *The Future of Football: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 180. See also European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 39–40. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
151. Roland Andersson, assistant coach Swedish National Team, as cited in “Allsvenskan borde minskas till 12 lag” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 March 2006; Magnus Edlund, Swedish Football Federation, as cited in “Magnus Edlund” undated <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
152. Jörgen Lennartsson, head coach U-21 National Team, as cited in “Svenska målskyttar kan bli en bristvara” *Svenska Dagbladet* 26 Oct. 2007; “Talangutveckling i elitföreningarna—analys” 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/13/2010.
153. Joachim Björklund, former Swedish International, as cited in “Liv i solen efter fotboll i skuggan” *Dagens Nyheter* 23 March 2007; Glen Hysén, former Swedish international, as cited in “I’d love to play for Sweden” 12 May 2008 <http://www.thelocal.se> accessed 7/26/2010.
154. For a specific illustration, see Patrick Amoah as cited in “Utvandrarna” *Offside* 2 (2008): 60–61.
155. “Talangerna talar ut” *Offside* 2 (2008): 71.
156. Jonny Rödlund, Enköpings SK, as cited in “Enköpings SK—åter i allsvenskan” *Svenska Dagbladet* 18 March 2003; Anders Svensson, IF Elfsborg, as cited in “Jag hatar fejkningar av skador” *Svenska Dagbladet* 16 March 2009.
157. Fiona Miller and Steve Redhead, “Do Markets Make Footballers Free?,” in John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 142–47; Roman Horak and Matias Marschik, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Austria,” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Berlin: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 48–52.
158. Magnus Erlingmark, spokesperson for the Swedish Association of Professional Football Players, as cited in “Allsvenskans utländska toppar och floppar” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 Oct. 2009.
159. Maguire and Pearton, “Global Sport and the Migration Patterns of France ’98 World Cup Finals Players,” 180.
160. For a specific illustration, see Mats Björklund, Chairman Örgryte IS, as cited in “Skräckscenariot i fotboll” *Aftonbladet* 23 May 2003.
161. Bengt Madsen, Chairman Malmö FF, as cited in “Klubbarna tycker till om Cotonou-avtalet” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 21 March 2007. In a survey conducted with *Allsvenskan’s* 14 directors of football operations, 8 out of the 14 stated that the influx of too many

- foreign players might scare away fans and corporate sponsors. "Allsvenskan—en smälare nålsöga för våra talanger" 5 July 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
162. Jörgen Lennartsson, Swedish U-21 team, as cited in "U21-kaptenen oroar" *Svenska Dagbladet* 5 Nov. 2006; Stefan Thylin, "Utvecklingen är alarmerande" 19 Sept. 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
 163. "Skräckscenariot i fotboll" *Aftonbladet* 23 May 2003; "Alfelt: Själv mordet påskyndas allt mer" *Aftonbladet* 29 Nov. 2006.
 164. A poll of *Allsvenskan's* 14 head coaches revealed that none of them wanted to formally limit the number of foreign imports on each team, and in the opinion of 12 coaches, the rising number of foreign players did not yet constitute a threat to the league. "Den nya heta utländskan" *Aftonbladet* 1 April 2006.
 165. "HIF värvar fler afrikaner—utmanar Förbundet" *Sydsvenskan* 21 March 2007.
 166. Sune Hellströmer, general secretary Swedish Football Federation, as cited in "Snart fram för icke EU-spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 29 March 2007; Lars-Åke Lagrell, chairman Swedish Football Federation, as cited in "Svensk fotboll öppnar gränserna" *Sydsvenskan* 7 Dec. 2007.
 167. Sten-Inge Fredin, chairman Helsingborgs IF, as cited in "HIF om utlänningsboomen—'Svenska spelare är för dåliga'" 21 March 2007 <http://www.fotbolldirekt.se> accessed 2/1/2011; Fredin as cited in "Snart fritt fram för icke EU-spelare i allsvenskan" *Dagens Nyheter* 29 March 2007.
 168. "Cotonou-avtalet" 31 March 2007 <http://www.gronvitasidanupp.blogspot.com> accessed 1/30/2011; Markus Berensson, "Allsvenskan ser döden i vitögat" 3 April 2009 <http://www.skick.se> accessed 10/11/2010.
 169. Post by "hallee," 20 March 2007 "Silly season inför och under säsongen 2007 [Allsvenskan]" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/30/2011; Örjan Briand, "Krönika: Väntat besked från förbundet" 24 March 2007 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 1/25/2011.
 170. "Supercupen" 1 April 2007 <http://martini.blogg.se> accessed 1/31/2011. At the time, Lagrell was still the chairman of the Swedish Football Federation.
 171. Post by "Bä\$tuz," 4 Oct. 2006 "Elaka ramsor! (?)" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012. Presumably these chants are mostly meant to provoke the police, but it is still notable that Helsingborg's fans were the only ones to sing these songs.
 172. "Ödesfrågan som splittrar allsvenskan" *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 21 March 2007.
 173. "Nu öppnas gränserna" *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2007.
 174. "Perspektiv: 'Var inte så rädd, Lars Lagerbäck!'" *Svenska Dagbladet* 22 April 2007.
 175. "Den blågula idyllen kommer aldrig tillbaka" *Svenska Dagbladet* 27 Aug. 2002.
 176. Stefan Alfelt, "Alfelt: 'Det här innebär nya möjligheter—och nya hot'" *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2007.
 177. Lars Lagerbäck, head coach Swedish National Team, as cited in "Framtiden anfaller" *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 April 2007; Lars-Åke Lagrell, chairman Swedish Football Federation, as cited in "Svensk fotboll öppnar gränserna" *Sydsvenskan* 7 Dec. 2007.
 178. Andreas Alm, "Alm: 'Varför ta hit det vi redan har?'" 17 July 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010; Stefan Thylin, "Thylin: 'K-märkta begrepp väg till framtiden'" 25 Oct. 2007 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
 179. Post by "Truls Olterman" 20 March 2007 "HIF värvar fler afrikaner—utmanar Förbundet" <http://www.sydsvenskan.se> accessed 2/1/2011.
 180. Post by "Andreas" 1 April 2007 (reader comments), "Supercupen" <http://martini.blogg.se> accessed 1/31/2011; "Lagrell är helt fel ute" 8 Nov. 2007 <http://tankaridetgulahuset.bloggagratiss.se> accessed 1/31/2011.
 181. Posts by "TopDawg" and "Zach," 20 April 2005 "Begränsa antalet utländska spelare i de inhemska ligorna?" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 10/10/2010; post by

- “Not4u” (reader comments), “Bangura avgjorde—på stopptid mot BP” 8 Aug. 2010 <http://www.expressen.se> accessed 10/10/2010.
182. Posts by “Hirvi,” “r_ahman,” and “Huttunen,” 25 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011.
 183. Post by “taags,” 30 March 2007 “Silly season inför och under säsongen 2007 [Allsvenskan]” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/30/2011.
 184. Post by “KeanouManu,” 25 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011.
 185. Post by “Stopskott,” 25 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011; “Att vara eller inte vara eu-spelare” 19 Sept. 2007 <http://greenmile.blogg.se> accessed 1/31/2011.
 186. Ted Egger, “Krönika: Svensk fotbolls framtid står upp mot Svenska mästarerna” 8 July 2008 <http://www.svenskafans.com/forboll> accessed 1/22/2011; post by “Fohl” (reader comments), “Bangura avgjorde—på stopptid mot BP” 8 Aug. 2010 <http://www.expressen.se> accessed 10/10/2010.
 187. Post by “Smuts,” 26 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011; post by “Nina Hartley,” “Silly season inför och under säsongen 2007 [Allsvenskan]” 30 March 2007 <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/30/2011.
 188. Posts by “Joakim Johnsson” and “Kallekula” 20 March 2007 (reader comments), “HIF värvar fler afrikaner—utmanar Förbundet” <http://www.sydsvenskan.se> accessed 2/1/2011; post by “Huusmann,” “Cotonou-avtalet” 26 March 2007 <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011.
 189. Post by “Biskop,” 25 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011; “Att vara eller inte vara eu-spelare” 19 Sept. 2007 <http://greenmile.blogg.se> accessed 1/31/2011.
 190. Post by “pres@live.se” 9 March 2007 <http://www.hif1907.se> accessed 4/21/2011; post by “Leif R. Jönsson” (reader comments), “HIF värvar fler afrikaner—utmanar Förbundet” 20 March 2007 <http://www.sydsvenskan.se> accessed 2/1/2011.
 191. Post by “Hankie,” 25 March 2007 “Cotonou-avtalet” <http://www.forum.fmsweden.se> accessed 1/30/2011.
 192. Lars Lagerbäck, head coach Swedish National Team, as cited in “Svensk landslaget” *Aftonbladet* 4 Sept. 2002; Lars-Christer Olsson, former UEFA official, as cited in “Utrotningshotade” 3 Dec. 2007 <http://www.svenskfotboll.se> accessed 8/17/2010.
 193. “Regeringen struntar i spelaraffärer” 31 July 2009 <http://www.idrottesaffarer.se> accessed 3/25/2011.
 194. “Utlänningarna går till anfall” *Svenska Dagbladet* 2 April 2008.
 195. Andersson, *Kung Fotboll*, 327.
 196. Tomas Peterson, *Den svenska modellen. Svensk fotboll i omvandling under efterkrigstiden* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 1993) 137–272.
 197. “Utlänningarna går till anfall” *Svenska Dagbladet* 2 April 2008.
 198. “Galloway klar för Djurgården” *Dagens Nyheter* 12 June 2009. Galloway is black Briton with a past as a player for both Crystal Palace and Djurgårdens IF. These days he is also a Swedish national.
 199. Eric S. Einhorn and John Logue, “Scandinavia and Globalization” *Scandinavian Studies* 74 (4; 2004): 511; Jonathan Ngeh, *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation: African Migrants in Sweden* (Umeå: Umeå University Dept. of Sociology, 2011) 2.
 200. Katarina Mattsson and Mekonnen Tesfabuney, “Rasism i vardagen,” in Ingemar Lindberg (ed.), *Det slutna folkhemmet. Om etniska klyftor och blågul självbild* (Stockholm: Agora, 2002) 32. See also H. L. Wesseling, *The European Colonial Empires 1815–1919* (New York: Longman, 2004) 125–27.
 201. Bart Vanreusel, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium,” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Berlin: Meyer &

- Meyer Verlag, 1996) 62; Harald F. Moore, "Immigration in Denmark and Norway: Protecting Culture or Protecting Rights?" *Scandinavian Studies* 82 (3; 2010): 357–62.
202. William Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945 to the Present* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002) 424–34; Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 198–204.
203. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 2003 (3): 21. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010; Ngeh, *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation*, 1–10, 147–51.
204. "Främlingsfientlighet i Sverige" 2010 <http://www.migrationsinfo.se> accessed 10/20/2010.
205. In my research, I only found two examples of this. Please see Per Welinder, "Hej Dixon, välkommen till världen!" 6 Dec. 2006 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 5/17/2011, and Linus Sunnervik, "Allsvenskan: Mutumba and trojörarna gav fotbollen en seger" 1 Nov. 2009 <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 6/2/2011.
206. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Globalization of the 'Serious Life'" *British Journal of Sociology* 55 (4; 2004): 545–68; James Rosenau, "Governance in a Global Order," in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002) 70.
207. Carl-Gustaf Scott, "Djurgårdens Fina Grabbar: Local Identities, and the Cross-National Transfer of Spectator-related Football Violence" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 45 (90; 2012): 221–44; Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001) 156–58.
208. Torbjörn Andersson, *"Spela fotboll bondjävlar!" Del 1* (Stockholm: Symposion, 2011) 63, 183.
209. Christos Kassimeris, "Football and Prejudice in Belgium and the Netherlands" *Sport in Society* 12 (10; 2009): 1333; Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture" *The British Journal of Sociology* 50 (3; 1999): 420–38.
210. Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensman, *Gaming of the World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010) 31–32, 320; Ben Kerste, "KSK Beveren: Belgiens 'neue Diamanten,'" in Karin Guggeis (ed.), *Fussball, Ein Spiel—Viele Welten* (Munich: Arnoldsche, 2006) 235–36.
211. Nuri Kino, "Misshandeln av Assyriskas spelare avslöjar rasismen inom svensk fotboll" 11 Nov. 2009 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 4/4/2010; "Fotbollens konstruktiva och destruktiva sidor—två sidor av samma mynt" 20 Dec. 2009 <http://www.assyriskase.se> accessed 4/4/2010. See also post by "Herr.Stålig" 4 Nov. 2009 "Assyriska—Djurgården (KVAL) TV4 Sport [STREAMINGSNACK=TILLSÄGELSE //Mod]" accessed 10/4/2011.
212. For a specific examples, see posts by "Martin312," 21 Dec 2008, "Theboyisback," 4 Jan. 2010, and "Kessler," 14 July 2010 "Elaka ramsor! (?)" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 1/9/2012.
213. "Haningebuss-norrköping premiär 2008" uploaded 2 June 2008 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Qjgi8wWQjc> accessed 1/2/2013.
214. Here it should be added that openly racist sentiments have at times also come into full view in conjunction with the club's hockey games. For instance, during a derby against the club's crosstown rivals (AIK) in late December 2010, a number of the club's "high-risk supporters" were notably observed yelling "fucking suicide bomber" and "fucking blatte" at the opposing fans. Post by "Warg" 22 Dec. 2010 "AIK—Djurgården—supporter misshandlad på läktaren" <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 11/11/2011.

“Blatte” and “Svartskalle” are two derogatory terms that are commonly directed against people that are perceived to be non-Swedish.

Chapter 9

1. For two specific examples, see Mårten Paulsson, “På plan är europeisk fotboll ett framgångsrikt integrationsprojekt” *Dagens Nyheter* 16 Oct. 2012, and Oisín Cantwell, “Läktarkulturen i AIK—mer integration än våld” *Aftonbladet* 11 April 2013.
2. Daniel Burdsey, “They Think It’s All Over . . . It Isn’t Yet!,” in Daniel Burdsey (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Football* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 3–5.
3. Tobias Hubinette et al., “Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige. Inledning,” in Tobias Hubinette et al. (eds.), *Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige* (Botkyrka: Mångkulturellt Centrum, 2012) 12–15.
4. Mike Cole, “Race, Racism and Nomenclature: A Conceptual Analysis,” in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Berlin: Meyer & Meyer Verlag, 1996) 11. Cole argues that the use of “non-positive nomenclature reinforces non-positive thoughts and actions, and vice versa.”
5. Henrik Larsson, Henok Goitom, and Daniel Nannskog as cited in “Kwame Karikari hamnade mitt i rasismdebatt” *Expressen* 10 Oct. 2012; Amadou Jawo as cited in “Amadou Jawo kallades ‘negerjäväl’” 10 Oct. 2012 <http://www.svergiesradio.se> accessed 10/17/2012.
6. For two specific illustrations, see Jeffery Aubynn as cited in “Derbyhjältarna spelade under hot” *Expressen* 4 May 2006, and Martin Mutumba as cited in “Mutumba svarar Bosse Larsson” *Dagens Nyheter* 9 Oct. 2012.
7. For two recent illustrations, see “Bangura anklagar HBK-kapten för rasism” 15 July 2011 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 3/3/2012, and “Rasistiska glåpor mot Accam” *Helsingborgs Dagblad* 13 Dec. 2013.
8. This situation is by no means unique to Sweden, for the same observation can also be made about many other Western European countries. Bart Vanreusel, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium,” in Merkel and Tokarski (eds.), *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football*, 64–65; Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001) 159.
9. Ariel Scaparro as cited in “Männen det blåser om” *Dagens Nyheter* 13 April 2002. According to Scaparro, approximately 50 percent of the referees in the lower tiers of the Swedish league system have foreign origins, but at the start of the twenty-first century, there was not a single one in either *Allsvenskan* or *Superettan*.
10. Torbjörn Andersson, “Fotbollen i Södertälje” 2 Nov. 2005 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 10/10/2010. See also “Rittos,” a member of the Uppsala-based Greek football club Hieraklis, as cited in Arne Järtelius, *Invandrare och Idrott* (Stockholm: Tidens Förlag, 1983) 71–72.
11. Colin King, *Playing the White Man* (New York: Berg, 2004) 1–74. See also Simon Kuper and Stefan Szymanski, *Soccernomics* (New York: Nation Books, 2009) 97–112.
12. Jacco van Sterkenburg, Jan Janssens, and Bas Rijnen (eds.) *Football and Racism: An Inventory of the Problems and Solutions in Eight West European Countries in the Framework of the Stand Up Speak Up Campaign* (Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media, 2005) 122; Sine Agergaard and Jan Kahr Sorensen, “The Dream of Social Mobility: Ethnic Minority Players in Danish Football Clubs,” in Kausik Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Why Minorities Play or Don’t Play Soccer: A Global Exploration* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 80.
13. Tomas Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” in Göran Rydstad and Svante Lundberg (eds.), *Att möta främlingar* (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 2000) 157–60; Centrum för

- idrottsforskning, *Vem platsar i laget? En antologi om idrott och etnisk mångfald* (Stockholm: SISU Idrottsböcker, 2012) 57–58.
14. “IFK-MFF: Rosengård tattare” uploaded 26 May 2009 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fIM9BIRbLK4> accessed 1/2/2010. See also Andreas Kjäll et al., *Vi som är från Göteborg åker aldrig hem med sorg* (Göteborg: Supporterklubben Änglarna, 2014) 274–75.
 15. Hubinette et al., “Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige. Inledning,” 24–25.
 16. “Dulle har knullat era horor” uploaded 24 Aug. 2010 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAlkaX0JTBg> accessed 10/11/2011.
 17. “AIK—Lech Poznan: ‘Martin har rånat era kiosker’” uploaded 4 Aug. 2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t_gCmMIINJ4 accessed 1/2/2013. “Crush DIF” refers to AIK’s main cross-city rival, Djurgårdens IF.
 18. “AIK-spelare kallades ‘svarting’ i direktsändning” 7 Oct. 2012 <http://www.dn.se/sport> accessed 10/14/2012.
 19. Hansson as cited in “För mig är svarting inget nedsättande” *Aftonbladet* 8 Oct. 2012.
 20. “AIK stänger ute Bosse Hansson” *Svenska Dagbladet* 8 Oct. 2012.
 21. Strandberg as cited in “Vad har Strandberg mot negrer?” *Aftonbladet* 12 May 1990.
 22. Henok Goitom as cited in “Goitom: Släng ut honom” *Aftonbladet* 8 Oct. 2012; Zlatan Ibrahimović as cited in “Zlatan: Det hör inte hemma någonstans” *Aftonbladet* 19 Oct. 2012.
 23. For specific illustrations, see Ann-Charlotte Marteus, “Tyck så lagom synd om Bosse Hansson” *Expressen* 11 Oct. 2012, and “Virtanen: Den som skriker PK först förlorar” *Aftonbladet* 13 Oct. 2012.
 24. See, for instance, Tommy Engstrand as cited in “Tommy Engstrand: Bosse Hansson är inte rasist” *Dagens Nyheter* 9 Oct. 2012.
 25. Hegerfors as cited in “Kollegorna tycker till” *Aftonbladet* 9 Oct. 2012.
 26. “Arne Hegerfors ordval blev för mycket” *Expressen* 27 April 2010.
 27. Göran Zachrisson as cited in “. . . Men han försvaras av kollegan” *Aftonbladet* 8 Oct. 2012; Ingvar Oldsberg as cited in “Kollegorna tycker till” *Aftonbladet* 9 Oct. 2012.
 28. Mats Olsson, “Olssons lista” *Expressen* 9 Oct. 2012; “Patrick Ekwall: Våga ta ställning mot idiotin” *Expressen* 13 Oct. 2012.
 29. Robert Laul, “Bosses journalistpolare är motbjudande” *Aftonbladet* 9 Oct. 2012; Erik Niva as cited in “Niva hyllad på Twitter efter ‘svarting’ debatten i tv” *Aftonbladet* 14 Oct. 2012.
 30. Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008) 19. For a specific illustration, see “Why Always Mario?” *Time Magazine* 12 Nov. 2012.
 31. Jesper Fundberg, “Dribbla inte bort damernas Zlatan” *Expressen* 13 July 2011.
 32. “Den vita sportens fall” 22 Aug. 2008 <http://www.fokus.se> accessed 2/28/2012; “Unga stjärnor i skilda världar” *Svenska Dagbladet* 14 Nov. 2010.
 33. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 52–53. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
 34. Jesper Högström, *Blågult. Fotbollslandslaget genom 100 år* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2008) 170. See also “Svenska Folket: Älska Landslaget” *Aftonbladet* 7 June 2005.
 35. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nulägesanalys* 4 (2010): 22–23, 28. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.asp accessed 2/2/2012.
 36. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of

- the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 11, 52–53. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
37. Mette Andersson, “Multikulturelle representanter mellom nasjonal og global toppidrett” 12 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 1/1/2010; Neil Farrington et al., *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2012) 20–23.
 38. Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring: En Svensk Kulturhistoria*, 3rd edition (Stockholm: Dialogs, 2005) 406–8.
 39. For specific examples, see Martin Dahlin and Jean-Paul Vonderburg as cited in “Vad har Strandberg mot negrer?” *Aftonbladet* 12 May 1990, and Mats Olsson, “Han sköt oss” *Expressen* 14 Oct. 1993.
 40. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). The year in parentheses indicates what year each player made his debut for the senior Swedish national team.
 41. “Tjejernas samtal har fått mig att byta telefon nummer” *Aftonbladet* 20 May 2000; “Teddy Lucic på hemmaplan” *Göteborgs Posten* 5 Oct. 2005.
 42. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 3 (2003): 23, http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010.
 43. “Daniel Majstorović,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=6539> accessed 1/3/2012.
 44. “Behrang Safari,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=25880> accessed 1/3/2012.
 45. “Emir Bajrami,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=38039> accessed 1/3/2012.
 46. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nulägesanalys* 4 (2010): 23. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.asp accessed 2/2/2012. Again, in official Swedish government statistics, anyone with at least one foreign-born parent is classified as an “immigrant.”
 47. “Jimmy Durmaz,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=44608> accessed 1/3/2012.
 48. “Jilaoan Hamad,” <http://www.national-football-teams.com/v2/player.php?id=44162> accessed 1/3/2012.
 49. “Pappa var gerillasoldat och slogs mot Saddam” *Aftonbladet* 21 Jan. 2011; “Durmaz i landslaget: ‘Jag är chockad’” *Expressen* 1 Feb. 2011.
 50. *Swedish People of Black African Descent* ([n.l.]: Books LLC, 2010). The year in parentheses indicates what year each player made his debut on the Swedish national team (at either the junior or senior level).
 51. For a specific example, see Martin Dahlin and Henrik Larsson as cited in “World Cup ’94: Dahlin Is Swedish Player First, Pioneer a Distant Second” *New York Times* 10 July 1994.
 52. In some instances, this is because these players and their families came to Sweden as political refugees from somewhere in the Middle East. See, for instance, Behrang Safari as cited in “‘Vi ska fan vinna i år.’ Behrang Safari om genombrottet i allsvenskan, sitt ursprung och drömmen om Blågul” *Aftonbladet* 21 March 2008, and Jilaoan Hamad as cited in “Pappa var gerillasoldat och slogs mot Saddam” *Aftonbladet* 21 Jan. 2011. While Safari’s parents came to Sweden to escape the new Khomeini regime in Iran, Hamad was born in the former Soviet Republic Azerbaijan to two Kurdish Guerilla fighters fleeing Saddam Hussein’s Iraq.
 53. Zlatan Ibrahimović, *Jag är Zlatan Ibrahimović. Min historia berättat för David Lagercrantz* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2011) 63–81.
 54. For a specific illustration, see Ibrahimović as cited in “Har stämplat som kaxig, ibland rättvist och ibland felaktigt” *Aftonbladet* 8 Oct. 2010.

55. “Changing the Stereotype of Nordic Football” 29 June 2009 <http://socccernet.espn.go.com> accessed 9/6/2009.
56. Mats Franzén och Tomas Peterson, “Football Involvement and Male Ethnic Differences among Soccer Youth in Sweden,” paper presented to the Nordic Sociological Association Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, 15–17 Aug. 2002 (unpublished paper courtesy of Tomas Peterson), 2. See also Emir Bajrami, Swedish international, as cited in “Jokern” *Offside* 5 (2011): 85–86.
57. “Changing the Stereotype of Nordic Football” 29 June 2009 <http://socccernet.espn.go.com> accessed 9/6/2009.
58. Agneta Furvik, “Om fotboll och dess förstådda gemenskaper” (Malmö University, D-Uppsats, Dept. of Culture and Society, 2004) 90–91. For a specific illustration, see Mattias Karlsson, the Swedish Democrats’ party spokesperson on immigration, as cited in “Zlatan är inte svensk” *Expressen* 7 March 2007.
59. For specific illustrations, see post by “Quintus Zebra,” 30 March 2009 “Varför detta jäkla tjafs om att ‘ta seden dit man kommer?’” <http://www.familjeliv.se> accessed 3/22/2011, and “Zlatan pissar på rasisterna” 15 Nov. 2009 <http://www.tolftespelaren.se> accessed 3/27/2013.
60. Högström, *Blågult*, 197.
61. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald inom svensk elitidrott—om förändring över tid och en nulägesanalys* 4 (2010): 22–23. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_13408/ImageVaultHandler.asp accessed 2/2/2012. For a specific illustration, see Swedish international Kim Källström as cited in “Det här var de nog inte nöjda med, idioterna” *Aftonbladet* 15 Nov. 2012.
62. For a specific illustration, see Ibrahimović as cited in “Vad SD säger klarar inte mig någonstans” *Expressen* 25 Dec. 2012.
63. John Marks, “The French National Team and National Identity: Cette France d’un ‘bleu métis,’” in Hugu Dauncey and Geoff Hare (eds.), *France and the 1998 World Cup: The National Impact of a World Sporting Event* (New York: Routledge, 1999) 47–48.
64. Geoff Hare, *Football in France: A Cultural History* (New York: Berg, 2003) 119, 135.
65. For two specific illustrations, see Isobel Hadley-Kamptz, “Fotboll är framtiden” *Dagens Nyheter* 28 April 2002; Ola Billger, “Idrottens fostrande roll viktigare än på länge” *Svenska Dagbladet* 20 Sept. 2010.
66. Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 42; Marks, “The French National Team and National Identity,” 53–55.
67. For two specific illustrations, see “Birro: Zlatan—den nya folkhemshjälten” *Expressen* 1 June 2009, and Anders Löwdin, “Enda gången jag är det minsta lilla nationalist” 24 Jan. 2011 <http://razmatazuz.blogspot.com> accessed 5/5/2011.
68. Jesper Fundberg, “Invandrare och Idrott. Om att skapa kategorier och normalitet,” in Bo G. Nilsson (ed.), *Idrottens själ* (Uddevalla: Nordiska Museet, 2000) 279; Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?” 141.
69. For specific examples, see “Zvensk som Zlatan” *Expressen* 17 Oct. 2009, and “Zlatan och Sverigedemokraterna” 17 Sept. 2010 <http://www.dagenskommentar.wordpress.com> accessed 2/3/2011.
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71. For specific examples, see post by “FGGME” (reader comments), 11 Aug. 2010 “Förbannade smygrasister (OBS även fotboll)” <http://blogg.aftonbladet.se> accessed 10/10/2010, and posts by “Vivoli” and “Adam211,” 29 April 2011 “Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/2/2012.

72. For specific illustrations, see “Zlatan kommer att förfölja sd” *Sydsvenskan* 13 April 2007; Gellert Tamas, “För Sverigedemokraterna är Zlatan inte svensk” *Dagens Nyheter* 17 Sept. 2010.
73. Mattias Karlsson as cited in “Zlatan är inte svensk” *Expressen* 7 March 2007; Jimmie Åkesson as cited in “Sverige för svensker” 15 Oct. 2009 <http://www.aftenposten.no> accessed 10/10/2010.
74. Hare, *Football in France*, 133–34.
75. For a specific illustrations, see Mats Olsson, “Han sköt oss” *Expressen* 14 Oct. 1993; and “Sveriges Stolthet” *Aftonbladet* 15 Nov. 2012. See also Gustav Fridolin, “Rasismen kring Tysklands framgångsrika fotbollsspelare finns även i Sverige” 14 June 2010 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 8/4/2010.
76. Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 104–6, 163–66, 171; Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 42.
77. “‘Sverige, stå upp mot rasismen!’ Stjärnornas väjdan inför valet” *Aftonbladet* 19 Sept. 2010.
78. Behrang Safari and Pontus Wernbloom as cited in “Förvånad att see SD i riksdagen” *Aftonbladet* 10 Oct. 2010.
79. Ibrahimović as cited in “Vad SD säger kliar inte mig någonstans” *Expressen* 25 Dec. 2012.
80. Ibrahimović as cited in “Zlatan: Jag har inte tagit något beslut ännu” *Dagens Nyheter* 12 Nov. 2009.
81. Hamad and Ranégie as cited in “Det här var de nog inte nöjda med, idioterna” *Aftonbladet* 15 Nov. 2012. See also Pontus Wernbloom as cited in “Landslaget tystade Sverigedemokraterna: ‘Zlatan kan förena landet’” 15 Nov. 2012 <http://www.fotbollskanalen.se> accessed 1/1/2013.
82. See, for instance, “Sverige utan Zlatan” *Dagbladet* 16 Nov. 2012; “Vissa veckor är särdeles bra veckor för Sverige” *Dagens Nyheter* 18 Nov. 2012.
83. For specific illustrations, see Zakia Kahn, “En ny sorts patriotism kan bekämpa rasismen” 15 Nov. 2012 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 1/2/2013, and Lasse Lingman, “Zlatan—En Förebild!!!!!!” 16 Nov. 2012 <http://lasselingman.wordpress.com> accessed 1/2/2013.
84. For a specific example, see “Zlatan är ett unikum” 15 Nov. 2012 <http://www.guliganerna.se> accessed 1/2/2013.
85. For a specific example, see the following discussion thread entitled “Är Zlatan Svensk?” 11 June 2008–11 July 2009 <http://www.fragbite.se> accessed 3/3/2010.
86. Post by “ljus framtid,” 15 Sept. 2007 “Negrer + fotboll?” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 2/11/2011; post by “natogandalf,” “Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen” 29 April 2011 <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/2/2012.
87. Post by “Chrille2” (reader comments), 13 July 2011 “Expressen landserar hard kritik: Svenska damlandslaget för svenskt” <http://www.friatider.se> accessed 2/11/2012.
88. Post by “hagen13” (reader comments), 21 Jan 2011 “Pappa var gerillasoldat och slogs mot Saddam” <http://www.aftonbladet.se/sportbladet/fotboll/landslagsfotboll/landslaget/article12504522.ab> accessed 1/22/2011; posts by “Niklas” and “Jeppe” (reader comments), “Djurgården fotboll firade derbyvinst med afrikansk sång” 4 Nov. 2011 <http://www.nationell.nu> accessed 2/2/2012.
89. Posts by “AdoIf,” “MoogBeat,” “Oboro,” “knullklasson,” and “taags,” 29 April 2011 “Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 12/12/2012.
90. Posts by “Engström” 5 Sept. 2007 and “Spiken,” 30 Oct. 2007 “Negrer + fotboll?” <http://www.nordisk.nu> accessed 2/11/2011. For additional examples, see Chapter 8.
91. For a specific example, see “Fotboll—EM 2008: Grekland-Sverige” 10 June 2008 <http://imittsverige.blogspot.se> accessed 8/8/2010.

92. Posts by “Bortagen,” “Strypa,” and “Sociopat,” 22 June 2006 “Rasism under VM?” <http://www.whoa.nu> accessed 3/8/2011.
93. Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Press, 2000) 180; Dubois, *Soccer Empire*, 253–55.
94. Post by “Micke666,” 4 May 2009 “Allsvenskans sämsta utlänning alla kategorier på 2000-talet” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 3/12/2011; post by “MoogBeat,” 29 April 2011 “Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 12/12/2012.
95. Posts by “Håkan,” “Peter H,” and “Daniel” (reader comments), 27–29 Jan. 2011 “Eritrean blev svensk i Sveriges Television” <http://www.realisten.se> accessed 2/2/2011. In this particular instance, the reference is to Henok Goitom, who none of the authors apparently consider to be sufficiently “Swedish.” For a similar illustration regarding Zlatan, see posts by “f3ven” 23 Aug. 2008 and “Barney S,” 30 Aug. 2008 “Är Zlatan Svensk?” <http://www.fragbite.se> accessed 3/3/2010.
96. Post by “leif w-n” 6 May 2011 (reader comments), Damon Rasti, “Diskrimineringen finns även inom svensk fotboll, Lagrell” <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 2/21/2012; Posts by “SPdir” and “McHarony” (reader comments), 13 July 2011 “Expressen landserar hård kritik: Svenska damlandslaget för svenskt” <http://www.friatider.se> accessed 2/11/2012.
97. William Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945 to the Present* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002) 424–34; Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 177, 193, 198–204.
98. Billy Ehn, Jonas Frykman, and Orvar Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1993) 260–61; Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 282–83.
99. For specific examples, see Henrik Johansson, “Zlatan gör mål—då vaknar rasmedvetenheten” 11 June 2004 <http://henrik.motpol/nu> accessed 3/3/2011, and Jonas de Geer, “Att svensk fotboll knappt fanns före Zlatan” 29 Sept. 2010 <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=885> accessed 2/20/2011.
100. Post by “creulstein,” 29 Aug. 2005 “Fler svartkallar att representera Sverige” <http://www.flashback.org> accessed 2/10/2011; post by “1000kgtung,” 23 Aug. 2008 “Är Zlatan Svensk?” <http://www.fragbite.se> accessed 3/3/2010.
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102. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 4.
103. John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.), *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994) 284; Dubois, *Soccer Empire*, 126–30, 157–59, 177–80.
104. Zeijko Vidakovic, “‘De hoppar och skuttar när vi vinner!’: En kvalitativ studie om integration genom idrott” (University of Gothenburg, C-Uppsats, Dept. of Social Work, 2008) 21; Furvik, “Om fotboll och dess förställda gemenskaper,” 38.
105. For specific illustrations, see Martin Mutumba as cited in Alexandra Pascalidou et al., *Svartkallar—så funkar vi* (Uppsala: Uppsala Publishing House, 2003) 23, and Selehatin Mermer as cited in “Hej Södra Sidan” *Södra Sidan* 2 June 2012.
106. Patrick Mignon, “Le Francais Feel-Good Factor,” in Mark Perryman (ed.), *Hooligan Wars* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 2001) 170.
107. Jesper Fundberg, “Vi vs Dom: Idrottens förmåga och problem med integration” 26 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 2/2/2013.
108. “Bollplaner i Rosengård” *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 June 2006. See also Chapter 3.

109. Högström, *Blågult*, 197. See also “Erik Niva: I landslaget har Zlatan underpresterat” *Aftonbladet* 15 June 2012.
110. Furvik, “Om fotboll och dess förstådda gemenskaper,” 53–71, 92–93; Fundberg, “Vi vs Dom: Idrottens förmåga och problem med integration” 26 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 2/2/2013. See also Pär Andersson and Lotta Venhagen, “Zlatan är Zlatan. Ett arbete om hur Zlatan har bevakats av pressen” (Gothenburg University, B-Uppsats, Dept. of Journalism and Communication, 2003), and Johan Blomqvist and Per Palmqvist, “SVENSKA HJÄLTAR—En jämförelse av pressens bild av Björn Borg och Zlatan Ibrahimovic” (Gothenburg University, B-Uppsats, Dept. of Journalism and Communication, 2006). According to all these studies, the press has often been among the main offenders in this regard—this despite its purportedly pro-multicultural stance.
111. For specific illustrations, see posts by “bob” and “Demento,” 22–23 June 2006 “Rasism under VM?” <http://www.whoa.nu> accessed 3/8/2011, and post by “Quintus Zebra” (reader comments), 30 March 2009 “Varför detta jäkla tjafs om att ‘ta seden dit man kommer?’” <http://www.familjeliv.se> accessed 3/22/2011. See also “Zlatan pissar på rasisterna” 15 Nov. 2009 <http://www.tolftspelaren.se> accessed 3/27/2013.
112. Dave Hill, *Out of His Skin: The John Barnes Phenomenon* (London: WSC Books, 2001) 83–90; Vanreusel, “Football, Racism and Xenophobia in Belgium,” 67–69.
113. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 3 (2003): 7–8, 23. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010. This report further notes that at the junior level boys with immigrant backgrounds (which again is defined as a person that has at least one foreign-born parent) constitute 80 percent of all the participants in training camps held by both the Swedish national team and the elite clubs.
114. “Ingen Zlataneffekt i svensk toppfotboll” *Svenska Dagbladet* 16 May 2007.
115. For specific illustrations, see “Kelim” and “Elie” as cited in Riksidrottsförbundet, *Etnisk mångfald och integration—visar idrotten vägen?* 3 (2003): 17–18. http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/Images/id_132/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx accessed 10/10/2010, and posts by “Real Madridista #9,” “iHala Madrid,” “Elias,” and “Jadu” (reader comments), 9–10 March 2010 “Goitom: Jag kommer aldrig få en chans i landslaget” <http://www.svenskafans.com> accessed 3/3/2011.
116. Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line*, 192.
117. “Fransk fotbollsrasism” 5 May 2011 <http://www.fotbollsverige.se> accessed 3/28/2012. Here it might be added that some fans have stated that they would like to see the same type of ethnic/racial quotas be implemented on the Swedish national team. Posts by “Lanky” 30 April 2011 and “Squeaky,” 1 May 2011 “Frankrike vll förvita fotbollen,” accessed 12/12/2012; post by “leif w-n” (reader comments), 6 May 2011, “Damon Rasti, ‘Diskrimineringen finns även inom svensk fotboll, Lagrell’” 6 May 2011 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 2/21/2012.
118. “Idrottsrörelse utan mångfald” *Svenska Dagbladet* 28 May 2006.
119. “Ingen Zlataneffekt i svensk toppfotboll” *Svenska Dagbladet* 16 May 2007.
120. “Idrottsrörelse utan mångfald” *Svenska Dagbladet* 28 May 2006.
121. “Idrottsrörelse utan mångfald” *Svenska Dagbladet* 28 May 2006. In 2006, women represented 40 percent of the people on the board of directors in the two top women’s divisions.
122. “Unga stjärnor i skilda världar” *Svenska Dagbladet* 14 Nov. 2010.
123. “Vi skickar fel signaler nu” *Svenska Dagbladet* 12 Nov. 2010.
124. “Etnicitet en ickefråga vid styrelsesammansättning” *Svenska Dagbladet* 12 Nov. 2010.
125. Statsrådsberedningen, *Föreningsidrott, folkhälsa, jämställdhet och integration* (SOU 59 2008): 11–12. <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/10/66/71/bc89126c.pdf> accessed 1/2/2013.

126. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Vilka är idrottens valda makthavare?—Om rekrytering till styrelser inom svensk idrott* 6 (2009): 7. <http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx> accessed 11/11/2011.
127. “Bottenlöst dåligt av RF” *Svenska Dagbladet* 12 Nov. 2010. According to this article, in 2010 less than 5 percent of *Riksidrottsförbundet*'s staff had non-Swedish origins.
128. Damon Rasti, “Diskrimineringen finns även inom svensk fotboll, Lagrell” 3 May 2011 <http://www.newsmill.se> accessed 2/21/2012.
129. Those few people with foreign roots that have actually held high-ranking positions in Swedish sports are well aware of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, which they attribute to structural discrimination. See, for instance, Shadrach Odhiambo as cited in “Den vita sportens fall” 22 Aug. 2008 <http://www.fokus.se> accessed 2/28/2012, and Mervi Karttunen as cited in “Vi skickar fel signaler nu” *Svenska Dagbladet* 12 Nov. 2010. Odhiambo was born in Uganda but came to Sweden in 1976 and later boxed for Sweden in two Olympic games. Karttunen, meanwhile, was born in Finland, and as of 2010, she was the only member of the Swedish Olympic Committee that had foreign origins.
130. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Racism, Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion of Migrants and Minorities in Sport: A Comparative Overview of the Situation in the European Union” Oct. 2010, 42–43, 47, 58–59. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Report-racism-sport_EN.pdf accessed 11/11/2010.
131. Karin Mattsson Weijber, chairwoman *Riksidrottsförbundet*, as cited in “RF:s projekt totalt fiasko” *Svenska Dagbladet* 12 Nov. 2010; Mikael Santoft, general secretary of the Swedish Football Federation, as cited in “Mångfald—men inte i ledningen” *Svenska Dagbladet* 14 Nov. 2010.
132. Riksidrottsförbundet, *Vilka är idrottens valda makthavare?—Om rekrytering till styrelser inom svensk idrott* 6 (2009): 19–20. <http://www.rf.se/ImageVault/.../ImageVaultHandler.aspx> accessed 11/11/2011.
133. Kristin Walseth, “En problematizering av idretten som arena for integrasjon av etniske minoriteter” 27 Jan. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 1/2/2010; Daniel Burdsey, *British Asians and Football: Culture, Identity and Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 48–50.
134. Centrum för idrottsforskning, *Vem platsar i laget?*, 58.
135. Peterson, “Idrotten som integrationsarena?,” 159. See also Andreas Alm, “Alm: ‘Varför ta hit det vi redan har?’” 17 July 2007 <http://svenskfotboll.se> accessed 10/5/2010.
136. Fundberg, “Vi vs Dom: Idrottens förmåga och problem med integration” 26 Oct. 2004 <http://www.idrottsforum.org> accessed 2/2/2013.
137. Anita Göransson (ed.), *Maktens Kön. Kvinnor och män i den svenska makteliten på 2000-talet* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Nya Doxa, 2006) 525–62.
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