
Development, Football, and Post-War Reconstruction: An Insight from the Aftermath of the Nigeria-Biafra War

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ABSTRACT

The role of sport in the processes of state building, development, and post-conflict reconstruction is a subject of considerable debate and disagreement. This article engages with this debate with attention to a case study of how a football club—Enugu Rangers International FC—helped to advance reconstruction and state building after the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War, which ended in 1970. It argues that sport can be a significant catalyst in establishing the conditions necessary for the pursuit of development.

INTRODUCTION

Less than seven years after attaining independence, Nigeria, a country comprising over 389 ethnic nationalities and more than 500 language groups, descended into internal armed conflict.² This conflict centered on a region dominated by the Igbo, Nigeria's third largest ethnic group, and its

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efforts to proclaim a sovereign homeland of Biafra. Biafra declared secession on May 30, 1967 but armed conflict did not begin until July 6, 1967 and ended on January 15, 1970.⁴ The Biafran War, as the Nigerian Civil War would come to be known, overlapped with the Six-Day War in the Middle East, the Tet Offensive in the Vietnam War, and the Prague Spring in what was then Czechoslovakia. It is credited for its enduring legacy on post-colonial humanitarianism.⁵ Estimates of the casualty count at the end of the war exceed 3 million, including at least 1.5 million lost to starvation.⁶

Although mostly defined in geo-ethnic terms, the Biafran War was fought over the terms of post-colonial state formation and development in Nigeria. George Kieh argues that “the secessionists believed that the establishment of an ethnically distinct, independent, and sovereign state was the *sine qua non* for bringing development to the Igbo people.”⁷ At the end of the conflict, their eastern homeland was in ruins. The Nigerian government pronounced a policy of “no victor, no vanquished,” which was followed by a widely touted program of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction, and Reintegration (3-Rs).⁸ This was regarded as “a farce” by many of the survivors of the war in the southeast.⁹ Further reinforcing post-conflict alienation and undermining reconstruction, the government prohibited open discussion of the war and its aftermath, denying survivors “the right to tell their own truth and expose the wounds of the past, which remain hidden in Nigeria’s body politic.”¹⁰

With limited avenues for pursuing effective reconstruction, the people of the Biafran enclave stumbled on an alternative post-war reconstruction narrative that remains largely untold even today. As the present author has written elsewhere,¹¹ the rebuilding of Igbo dignity and identity at the end of the ruin of war was emblemized in the rise and story of Enugu Rangers International,” a football club whose exploits in the immediate aftermath of the Nigerian Civil War have been credited with placing the Igbo “back into the Nigerian scene.”¹² Jim Nwobodo, who led the board of the club during this period, before parlaying that record into a successful career in politics, would later affirm that:

At home, the club had not only restored our people’s hopes, the football club built bridges across the Niger, the Benue and through football the war damage was in many ways ameliorated. Rangers pushed our people’s education, promoted our international commerce in Africa and beyond. More than any other Igbo institution, the Rangers International became a veritable instrument of Igbo Diplomacy. Rangers FC was the key tool in the final process of our people’s rehabilitation, reconstruction and return to Nigeria.¹³

This article seeks to contribute to the debate on the role of the social and cultural assets of sport in development, reconstruction, and peace. In existence for over three decades now, the global Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) movement seeks to deploy “sport as a socio-cultural tool to reduce social tensions and promote reconciliation and reconstruction, notably in post-conflict contexts.”¹⁴ In February 2001, the United Nations secretary-general designated a Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace “to reach out to the world of sport in order to promote understanding and support for the work and ideals of the United Nations.”¹⁵ Underlying SDP is the controversial assumption that sport plays an important role in development. While the sporting phenomenon that is the subject of this study predates the SDP initiative, this article nevertheless tests claims about “sport and physical education as a means to promote education, health, development and peace.”¹⁶ Specifically, it seeks to identify what factors predispose sport to such a constructive role. It explores the role of football in Nigeria’s reconstruction at the end of the Biafran War and particularly seeks to call attention to any lessons that may be adaptable for the purposes of state building and post-conflict reconstruction.

STATE-BUILDING, DEVELOPMENT, AND SPORT

Development is a complex and elusive concept, whose pursuit is nevertheless a priority of states and institutions globally. Opinions diverge as to where development should place its emphases: advancing economic progress, enhancing the frontiers of human agency, growing the institutional capacities of the state, the quality of leadership, or a synthesis of all these factors.¹⁷ In this debate, the agency of the state is central. Despite the doctrinal foundation of international law and relations in the sovereign equality of states, the capacities of statehood are unevenly developed globally. Sundhya Pahuja points to the role of development discourse in “the creation and maintenance of a scalar, or graduated, organization of states secured by positing an ostensibly universally attainable end point in the status of ‘developed.’”¹⁸ Irrespective of where a state lies in this notional spectrum, conflict or absence of peace and security is not conducive for the pursuit of development.¹⁹

The states called “developing” or “third world” have mostly emerged since the onset of the age of decolonization at the end of World War II.²⁰ Ali Mazrui explains that upon independence, nearly all of them confronted the twin challenges of civic integration and political legitimacy. Integration was a problem of hewing together often diverse peoples and communities

into mutual coexistence and shared recognition of common citizenship. The challenge of legitimacy addressed the problem of establishing acceptance of the post-colonial political leadership's authority to rule the peoples and citizens of the newly formed states.²¹

Given this reality, state-building is inherent in the project of development. When the project of state-building fractures, the result can be instability or conflict, which sets back the pursuit or realization of development. The role of social and cultural pursuits, such as leisure or sport, in this undertaking of state-building—including its reconstruction after instability, fracture, or conflict—is underestimated at best or disregarded altogether. Laurenz Langer asserts that there is no available evidence to support or refute the idea that sport has a positive impact on development, arguing that “the promotion of sport as a development intervention can best be described as faith-based.”²² Barbara Keys dismisses evidence of the constructive effect of sport on peace as “sparse and weak”²³ and John Hoberman calls such claims mythical.²⁴

These differences reflect divergence in methods and perspective, and possibly of privilege. Much of the evaluation of the role of sport in development or peace has been done in, or by scholars from, the Global North. Their focus and methods assume that feelings of national and internal coexistence need to be amenable to empirical proof, and they do not seem to credit narrative and cognitive claims by affected people. This leads to accusations that they are mostly privileged, neo-colonial voices perpetuating domination and dependence over “unheard stories and subjugated knowledge.”²⁵

Sport in this context is an element of leisure that is recognized in international law as a human right.²⁶ Harold Perkin has argued that “the history of sport gives a unique insight into the way a society changes and impacts other societies it comes into contact with and, conversely, the way those societies react back to it.”²⁷ Derek Shearer makes a case for sport as a tool of soft power in international diplomacy.²⁸ However, what role sport can or does play in this process or project of state-building as a foundation for development is contested. Football, the leading sport in the former Yugoslavia, has, for instance, been blamed as being the trigger for its break-up.²⁹ It is also widely seen as a fertilizer of nationalism and violence,³⁰ the linkage that emerges between sport and violent nationalism in European narrative is almost reflexive.³¹ In this context, Allen Sack and Zeljan Suster assert that “soccer provides opportunities for thousands of spectators to collectively reaffirm their commitments to beliefs, values, and myths that underlie their cultural identity.”³² In Liberia, Charles Taylor co-opted sport

into his campaign as warlord-president, proclaiming himself “Chief Patron of Sport.”³³ This study questions the presumption of universality to this negativity, arguing that the role of sport in any society is not to be taken for granted. Whenever a claim is made asserting a constructive influence for sport, as in the case of Enugu Rangers FC after the Nigerian Civil War, it deserves attention.

LEISURE AS A RIGHT: SCOPE AND RATIONALES

The framing of leisure in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was firmly anchored in both the recognition of its multi-dimensional character and in the affirmation of its close conceptual and etymological associations with dignity and labor. The interaction of people with leisure throughout history has been mediated by structures of othering, including status, class, race, and gender.³⁴ The institutions of both slavery and colonialism, especially during the period after the onset of the first Industrial Revolution, illustrate the interplay among agency, labor, rest, and leisure. Slavery was characterized by the commodification of the human being; the transition to capitalism in the first Industrial Revolution produced the commodification of labor³⁵ and colonialism targeted the agency of colonized peoples.³⁶

The institution of slavery, for instance, sought to eliminate both dignity and agency, which are symptomized in the capacity to decide on the exercise of leisure.³⁷ The cycle of slavery—from the purchase of the slave through transportation to their enslavement into forced labor in the plantations—did not afford the slave any opportunity for renewal, free time, or sport. Instead, the labor of the slave in the plantation economy was essentially the currency that purchased the leisure of the slave owners and their families. Female slaves suffered the additional jeopardy of being used as objects of leisure and sexual violence by their slave owners.³⁸ In a groundbreaking study on four millennia of sex and punishment, Erik Berkowitz recalls that “from the earliest times, female domestic servants have been viewed as snacks for the sexual appetites of their masters.”³⁹ In a contemporary disposition on the matter, the Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) confirmed that the female slave “does housework and is at the ‘master’s’ service. He can, at any time, day or night, have sexual relations with her.”⁴⁰ Precisely because of the exclusions with which it has been historically associated, access to leisure (including sport) has therefore been a measure of humanity on the one hand, and simultaneously, a site of fierce resistance on the other.⁴¹

Similar to the institution of slavery, the denial of both choice and agency and, by extension, dignity were at the heart of the colonial project. The paternalism of pigmented privilege that underwrote colonialism was largely founded on attitudes forged in slavery. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (as the highest court of imperial Britain for its colonies and dependencies was called) created jurisprudence to legalize such prejudice and dehumanization, claiming that “some tribes are so low in the scale of social organization that their usages and conceptions of rights and duties are not to be reconciled with the institutions or the legal ideas of civilized society” and, therefore, “[i]t would be idle to impute to such people some shadow of the rights known to our law.”⁴² The Covenant of the League of Nations, adopted almost contemporaneously with this decision, spoke similarly of “peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world,” whose tutelage “should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility.”⁴³

Unsurprisingly, as Mahmood Mamdani points out, colonialism was characterized by segregation, which was designed to control and eliminate the agency of colonized peoples to exercise the most basic human faculties, including movement and leisure. These consequences continue to linger even into the 21st century.⁴⁴ Indeed, the exercise of leisure by colonized people in many places under colonial rule was criminalized.⁴⁵ As recalled by Mamdani, the system of colonial segregation also enforced forced labor and deployed criminal law against the exercise of agency by colonized populations.⁴⁶ Goolam Vahed recalls in the context of pre-apartheid South Africa that “[s]port and recreation were strictly segregated racially and were definitely not mediums of cross-cultural and cross-racial contact.”⁴⁷ If leisure and sport were in these ways mechanisms adapted to achieve indignity, dehumanization, denial of agency, and exclusion, it is not entirely outrageous to suppose that they can equally be adapted in pursuit of the opposite goals of advancing dignity, inclusion, agency, and capability. Thus, not at all far-fetched, an investigation into the role of sport or football in development is both logical and necessary.

EMPIRE AND ITS AFTERMATH: FOOTBALL IN AFRICA

European missionaries are largely credited with having introduced football into pre-colonial Africa before the colonists then appropriated and dispersed it under their watch.⁴⁸ The idea that sport forms character and is foundational to leadership skills was well established in Victorian England

at the time of the 1885 European partition of Africa in Berlin.⁴⁹ According to John Hoberman, this was represented in a “doctrine that physical fitness was essential to both individual health and to the welfare of the body politic.”⁵⁰ Europe’s other colonial powers in Africa quickly warmed to this idea.⁵¹ Sport was thus an essential element of colonial education across Africa, and football emerged early in the continent’s encounter with empire as the dominant sport for this purpose.

The continent’s earliest documented football match reportedly occurred in 1862 between “white colonial bureaucrats and soldiers in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, South Africa.”⁵² Peter Alegi narrates that:

Western-style education brought football, alongside the Bible, collared shirts, and Shakespeare, into African boys’ lives. In the British colonies, Victorian men and women carried with them a belief that sport forged physically fit young men of sound moral character. The French and other imperialists soon warmed to modern sport’s potential to advance the self-ascribed ‘civilizing mission’ that is, to teach Africans the virtues of Christianity, capitalist commerce, and Western civilization.⁵³

From these early origins, football would become part of the armory of the colonial method through the vehicle of physical education in schools for young Africans. The establishment of the continent’s earliest cities at the beginning of the 20th century saw the sport adapt to become an instrument of organized urban leisure and social connections. This led to the establishment by Africans of some of the continent’s leading football clubs, including Al Ahly (Cairo, 1907), Hearts of Oak (Accra, 1911), Espérance (Tunis, 1919), Canon and Tonnerre (Yaoundé, 1930 and 1934), Young Africans and Simba (Dar es Salaam, 1935 and 1936), Orlando Pirates (Soweto, 1937), and TP Mazembe (Lubumbashi, 1939), as well as the establishment of inter-city and inter-communal competitions.⁵⁴ Empire and its institutions deployed football and sport as means of “inculcating respect for the values of time, discipline and authority within the minds and spirits of the colonized.”⁵⁵ Having made its appearance on the continent largely as an educational tool or regimental pastime, the introduction of inter-city and inter-communal competitions by the inter-war years easily transformed football in colonial Africa into a mechanism of inter-communal identity formation.

In colonial Nigeria, the game served multiple functions, both as a metaphor for anti-colonial resistance and as a site for constructing narratives of national unity.⁵⁶ Intent on exploiting the sport for the latter purpose, colonial governor Arthur Richards established the Governor’s Cup in 1945,

to be competed for by football clubs from across the country. In that year, only thirteen clubs mostly from the Colony of Lagos participated.⁵⁷ Fifteen years later, on the eve of Nigeria's Independence, the competition attracted entries from clubs in seventy-nine cities across the country and it was said that "there is hardly a man, woman, or child in the whole country who has not been, in some way or another, connected with the magic" of the competition.⁵⁸ The competition fostered a sense of community identity around the respective cities and, simultaneously, of healthy rivalry among the different identities that inhabited these various cities.

Franklin Foer suggests that it is possible to use sports generally and football in particular "as a way of thinking about how people would identify themselves."⁵⁹ Far from being a lightning rod invented exclusively for stoking violence among different identity groups within various countries, however, football by the end of colonialism in Africa had emerged to embody two potentially contradictory ideas. On the one hand, it was widely regarded as a site of constructive identity formation or a "cultural unifier."⁶⁰ On the other hand, many of the continent's leading clubs were also sites for "alternative conceptions of nationhood."⁶¹

THE SOFT POWER OF ENUGU RANGERS INTERNATIONAL

The narrative curve of Enugu Rangers International Football Club fits into the intersection between these contradictions.⁶² Unlike most of the best well-known brands in African football that were founded in the period before World War II, Enugu Rangers International Football Club emerged from the ashes of the Biafran War. Toward the end of that war, as the Biafran side was depleted in both morale and material, and it began to consider its options, Timothy Onwuatuogwu, a Major in the Biafran Army, assembled a collection of young men who were supposed to undertake mobile warfare operations behind enemy defenses. Initially known as the "Strike" or "S Force," survivors from this squad formed the core of what became the Rangers International at the end of the war. The team made Enugu, the capital of the then East Central State of Nigeria, its home, becoming known as "Enugu Rangers International" with the motto "never say die!"⁶³

The club embodied what was widely regarded as the desire of the Igbo in the aftermath of the war for a rediscovery of collective and community dignity.⁶⁴ On May 30, 1970, also the third anniversary of the declaration of Biafra, Enugu Rangers played their first match. The military government threatened its founders with treason, but soft-pedaled after accepting their explanation that the date was entirely coincidental.⁶⁵

Until their emergence, no club had managed to dominate the Football Association (FA) Cup competition, which began life in 1945 as the Governor's Cup. Within three years of its formation, Enugu Rangers made up the core of the Nigerian national football team at the All Africa Games in 1973. The team then dominated the national league and FA Cup competitions in the 1970s and would go on to win continental competitions during the decade. Rediscovering pride in the sporting accomplishments of the Enugu Rangers, Igbos returning to different parts of Nigeria from the traumas of the war found a sense of dignity and self-belief, which enabled them to navigate reintegration with the rest of the country.⁶⁶ Three things contributed to this.

First, the most influential medium for disseminating the club's accomplishments was the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria owned by the government, at the time the dominant medium of public communication and information in the country.⁶⁷ It enabled the rest of the country to follow the narrative curve of the club's emergence into national consciousness. In this project, it has been said that the emergence of the club was assisted by "a unique brand-builder in Ernest Okonkwo, then the leading sports journalist and football commentator in the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), who made urban legend of the exploits of the club and its leading players, ensuring that they were etched in the consciousness of the country."⁶⁸ Second, at a time when Nigeria was renewing its regional credentials as a continental force following a brutal war that sapped its international goodwill, the emergence of the club onto the continental scene gave the country an opportunity to quickly rally behind it as a national project transcending the divides that led to the conflict. Third, by providing the core of Nigeria's national football team, which emerged into continental dominance in the decade immediately following the conflict, the club gave all parts of Nigeria reason to claim ownership of its achievements, fostering a sense of national cohesion beyond the football field.

Just one decade after the end of the war, as Nigeria transitioned to elective rule in October 1979, the national football team that won the African Cup of Nations in 1980 was led by the captain of the Enugu Rangers International and nearly half of the squad traced their origins to the enclave against which Nigeria had fought a brutal civil war until the beginning of 1970.⁶⁹ Nigerians had something to cheer. This was more than a narrative of what has been called ninety-minute patriotism.⁷⁰ As this author has recalled elsewhere:

To crown it all, the songs that serenaded the Green Eagles on their way to victory were nearly all originally coined in support of the Rangers

on their march to football conquest of the country. Nigeria had willingly learnt to commit them to heart and sing them too in Igbo. Where the violence of the war had failed, the soft power of the indomitable spirit of the Rangers International had persuaded Nigeria into a love affair with their origins.⁷¹

The inter-communal rivalries engendered by the competition between the club and its peers across other communities in Nigeria came to symbolize the narrative of a country rediscovering coexistence and harked back to the healthy competition for development among Nigeria's diverse regions in the immediate aftermath of independence. According to Ugochukwu Ekemezie, "Igbo identification with the victories of the Rangers was vital both for psychological healing and stirring a 'no vanquished' spirit and attitude among the defeated Igbo people for reintegration to be possible."⁷²

At the end of the war, a leadership class among the Igbo was hardly in existence. Many had died or been killed during the war. Their livelihoods were ruined, their stature diminished, and their self-belief and judgement were in question. The regimental leadership of the secession was in exile and what was left in the country lacked confidence. A new leadership cadre was desperately needed, but it was difficult to know where to find it. As Nigeria returned to civil rule in 1979, Jim Nwobodo, the chair of the club, who won acclaim for his work in turning it into a national force, converted that record into political capital, winning election into the influential office of state governor.⁷³ In so doing, he built on the foundations of the county's earliest post-colonial leaders while simultaneously advancing a model of social and political capital for future Nigerian politicians.⁷⁴ This illustration of the capacity of sport to contribute to the emergence of legitimate leadership is an often overlooked dimension to its wider social impact and another reason why its role in development deserves more than casual dismissal.⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

Development discourse remains very much a relatively recent enterprise dominated by Northern voices speculating about the Global South. In the predominant orthodoxy of this division of labor, sport hardly qualifies as a major force in development. This insight may reflect a particular disposition or point of view, but it by no means disposes of the inquiry into the role of sport in development.

To the extent that development engages state capacities and concerns mostly countries that emerged on the international scene after World War II, development discourse is very much tied to narratives of state forma-

tion. In this, sport played a critical role before the end of direct colonial rule and has continued to do so thereafter. In different settings in Africa, sport, especially football, was a contributor to leadership and identity formation, inter-communal coexistence, sub-national chauvinisms, and narratives of national unity. Across different countries and at different times, the role of football has not necessarily always been constructive or sanguine. In every case where beneficial outcomes are claimed, an inquiry would be justified and presumptive conclusions ill-advised. However, it is far from the case that proof of such claims must always be shown by means of faux-empiricism.

In fractured societies emerging from conflict, sport may be catalytic in post-war reconstruction, depending on how its capabilities in this respect are deployed.⁷⁶ The model of state-sponsored or supported interventions in this sphere can feel artificial or enforced, lacking the spontaneity that sport thrives on without necessarily eschewing the mutual suspicions that are naturally to be found on different sides of societies emerging from conflict. This is arguably a design flaw that underlines the model of Sport for Development and Peace, which could limit its effectiveness.

The appearance of confectioned experimentalism that underlies Sport for Development, which encourages ideas of dependency, may have a lot to do with its limited success. By contrast, the model of post-war reconstruction embodied by the narrative of Enugu Rangers is underpinned by an organic and autochthonous outlook that seems anchored on notions of both dignity and agency, imbuing it with an authenticity that enabled it to inspire in-group bonding without necessarily endangering the self-belief of other communities who were secure in their feelings of post-war triumph. To the extent that it contributes in this way to reconstructing capability within fractured communities, it is hard to suggest that football as sport is unproven as a factor in the development narrative of emerging countries.^f

ENDNOTES

- 1 Throughout this paper, football refers to soccer.
- 2 A version of this study was initially presented to the inaugural edition of the “*Nkata Umu Ibe*” Forum of the Centre for Memories and Enugu Sports Club in Enugu State, southeast Nigeria, in May 2018. See Magnus Eze, “Day Memories of Biafra Re-Echoed in Enugu,” *The Sun*, May 16, 2018, <https://sunnewsonline.com/day-memories-of-biafra-re-echoed-in-enugu/>. The author acknowledges the initial support of Ben Etiaba, former chair of Enugu Sport Club as well as the helpful comments and historical insights of Nnanna Anyim-Ude of the Centre for Memories, Enugu, Nigeria and of Nkoli Anyaoku. The author also acknowledges the helpful assistance and comments on earlier drafts by Chepkorir Sambu, Fletcher MALD ’23; Marilia Ramos de Alencar Feitoza, Fletcher MIB ’24; and Agnes Ebo’o of the Citizens Governance Initiatives

- (CGI) in Cameroon. The opinions contained herein are personal to the author and do not reflect the official policies or positions of any institutions or entities with whom he is or has previously been affiliated or of any of the persons acknowledged.
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 - 4 See Phillip Effiong, *Nigeria and Biafra: My Story*, (Princeton, NJ, Sungai Books, 2003) 181-182 and Eghosa Osaghae & Ebere Onwudiwe, "General Introduction: The Relevance of the Nigerian Civil War" in Eghosa Osagie et al., eds., *The Nigerian Civil War and its Aftermath* (Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd, 2002), 4.
 - 5 Lasse Heerten, *The Biafran War and Postcolonial Humanitarianism: Spectacles of Suffering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 107.
 - 6 See Auberon Waugh and Suzanne Cronjé, *Biafra: Britain's Shame* (London: Michael Joseph, 1969), 11; Alexander Madiebo, *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980), 388 and Ifi Amadiume, "The Politics of Memory: Biafra and Intellectual Responsibility," in Ifi Amadiume & Abdullahi An-Na'im, eds., *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice* (London: Zed Books, 2000), 38; George Kieh Jr., "Civil Wars in Africa: Now and Then," in Eghosa Osagie et al., *Ibid.*, 11.
 - 7 George Kieh, *Ibid.*, 10.
 - 8 Chidi Anselm Odinkalu, "Between the Force of Reason and Reason of Force: Legacy of Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu," in Chuks Iloegbunam, ed, *General of the People's Army* (Awka: Eminent Biographies, 2021), 421.
 - 9 *Ibid* and Simon Okeke, *Just As I Am: An Autobiography* (Lagos: Change Publications, 2006), 155.
 - 10 Ifi Amadiume, "The Politics of Memory: Biafra and Intellectual Responsibility," 41.
 - 11 Chidi Anselm Odinkalu, "Between the Force of Reason and Reason of Force: Legacy of Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu," 421.
 - 12 Ugochukwu Ekemezie, "Rangers FC Should Play us Back into the Nigerian Scene: Igbo Identity and Rangers FC of Nigeria, 1970-1990," *Major Papers* 204 (2022).
 - 13 Jim Nwobodo, "Introduction," in Edwin Eze and Emma Okocha, *Rangers International Football Club: History of a People – The Greatest African Clubside* (Lagos: Gomslam International Ltd, 2017), xix.
 - 14 Virginia Harrison and Jan Boehmer, "Sport for Development and Peace: Framing the Global Conversation", *Communication and Sport*, 8, no. 3 (2020), 293; Richard Giulianotti, "Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the 'Sport, Development and Peace' Sector" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (2010): 207.
 - 15 United Nations, "Secretary-General appoints Adolf Ogi, former president of Switzerland, Special Adviser for Sport, Development and Peace," Press Release, SG/A/768, 28 February, 2001, <https://press.un.org/en/2001/sga768.doc.htm>. Adopted in February 2003 by the first International Conference on Sport and Development, the Magglingen Declaration and Recommendations on "Creating a Better World Through Sport" affirmed a role for sport "as a key cultural medium for international values in the context of globalization" advocating for its integration into "more fundamental strategies aimed at alleviating famine, poverty, warfare, forced migration." See "The Magglingen Declaration and Recommendations," *Sport and Development International Conference*, February 2003, https://www.sportanddev.org/sites/default/files/downloads/18__the_magglingen_declaration.pdf.
 - 16 UN General Assembly, Resolution 58/5, Sport as a Means to Promote Education, Health, Development, and Peace, A/RES/58/5 (Nov. 17, 2003), preamble.

- 17 See H.W. Arndt, "Economic Development: A Semantic History," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 29, no. 3, (1981): 457; Kenichi Ohmae, *End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), 21; Hernando De Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (London: Blackswan, 2000), 5; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 36; Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (London: Profile Books, 2012), 41-44; Stefan Dercon, *Gambling on Development: Why Some Countries Win and Others Lose* (London: Hurst and Co, 2022), 32 and Sundhya Pahuja, *Decolonising International Law: Development, Economic Growth and the Politics of Universality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 241.
- 18 Sundhya Pahuja, *Ibid.* 46.
- 19 UN General Assembly, Resolution 51/240, Agenda for Development, A/RES/51/240 (Oct. 15, 1997), ¶ 4.
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- 30 Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization* (New York, London: Harper, 2006), 5.
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- 72 Ugochukwu Ekemezie, "Rangers FC Should Play us Back into the Nigerian Scene': Igbo Identity and Rangers FC of Nigeria, 1970-1990," 4.
- 73 Ibid., 29.
- 74 Nnamdi Azikiwe, who became Nigeria's governor-general at independence and later the country's first president, used football to build the foundations of his political brand in the 1930s. See Emeka Obasi, "Zik Joined Ogboni in Lagos," *Vanguard*, March 18, 2023, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2023/03/zik-joined-ogboni-in-lagos/>. Similarly, Moshood Abiola, who won the election for office of president in Nigeria in June 1993, built his political brand mostly from being the proprietor of the best-known football club in the country at the time, called "Abiola Babes." See Johnny Edward, "How Abiola Changed Face of Nigerian Football – Ayinla, Disu," *The Punch*, June 12, 2022, <https://punchng.com/how-abiola-changed-face-of-nigerian-football-ayinla-disu/>.
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