

T.C.
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**TURKISH FOOTBALL LEAGUES AND THEIR
ATTRACTIVENESS TO AFRICAN FOOTBALLERS:
THE CASE OF CAMEROONIAN PLAYERS (2006-2016)**

MASTER'S THESIS

Aristide FONGANG TCHEWONPI

Department: Cultural Studies

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Orhan TEKELİOĞLU

JANUARY – 2018

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"This thesis has been approved unanimously on 31/01/2018 by the following jury"

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCON	: African Cup of Nations
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
CAF	: Confederation of African Football
CAS	: Court of Arbitration of Sport
CV	: Curriculum Vitae
FC	: Football Club
FCFA	: Cameroonian currency (Franc de la Coopération Financière en Afrique)
FECAFOOT	: Fédération Camerounaise de Football (Cameroon Football Federation)
FIFA	: Fédération Internationale de Football Association
IFAB	: International Football Association Board
PT&T	: Professional Football and Transfer
SK	: Spor Kulübü (Sport Club)
TFF	: Turkish Football Federation (Türkiye Futbol Federasyonu)
UEFA	: Union of European Football Associations

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Title of the thesis: Turkish Football Leagues and their Attractiveness to African Footballers: The Case of Cameroonian Players (2006-2016)

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This thesis examines the various factors linked to the growing interest of Cameroonian players to perform in the Turkish football leagues. In this contemporary world, sport in general and football in particular is no longer merely a leisure activity, but a whole business sector in which managers and players are in a permanent quest of better opportunities. Therefore, to analyse the mobility of Cameroonian football players to Turkey, empirical data have been collected from various professionals, amateurs, and talent scouts through different methods of qualitative research, notably interviews and examination of secondary sources of information. With an analysis based on migration theories, four key findings have emerged. First, following the neoclassical micro-economic theory, the lucrative Turkish football leagues may explain the increasing number of Cameroonian players in Turkey. Second, there are different push-pull factors that interact and lead to the movement of Cameroonian sportsmen to Turkey. Third, diverse personal factors intervene also in the choice of players' destinations, taking into consideration their personality, their background or previous experiences, and their ambitions. Finally, diverse networks can influence the decision of players to migrate. Through intermediaries such as the media and scouts, players get informed about the area of destination and yet they start experiencing the realities of the host country once they land there.

Keywords: Turkish football leagues, Cameroonian football players, football business and management, choices and motivations, migration theories.

Tezin Başlığı: Türk Futbol Liglerinin Afrikalı Futbolcular için Çekiciliği: Kamerun Örneği (2006-2016)

Tezin Yazarı: Aristide FONGANG TCHEWONPI **Danışman:** Prof. Dr. Orhan TEKELİOĞLU

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Bu tez, Kamerunlu futbolcuların Türk futbol liglerinde oynamaya artan ilgisıyla alakalı çeşitli faktörleri incelemektedir. Günümüzde spor özellikle de futbol, artık sadece bir boş zaman etkinliği değil; menajerlerin ve oyuncuların sürekli olarak daha iyi fırsatlar peşinde olduğu ticari bir sektörüdür. Bu bağlamda, Kamerunlu futbolcuların Türkiye'ye hareketliliğini analiz etmek için başta mülakatlar olmak üzere nitel araştırma yöntemlerinin farklı süreçleri eşliğinde profesyonellerden, amatör futbolculardan ve yetenek avcılardan empirik veriler toplanmış ve ikincil kaynaklar incelenmiştir. Çalışmada göç kuramları temel alınarak dört önemli bulgu sunulmaktadır. İlk olarak, neoklasik mikro-ekonomi kuramı takip edildiğinde, yüksek kazançlı Türk futbol ligleri Kamerunlu futbolcuların Türkiye'deki artışını açıklayabilir. İkincisi, Kamerunlu sporcuların Türkiye'ye göç etmesine neden olan, birbirleriyle etkileşim halinde farklı itme-çekme faktörleri mevcuttur. Üçüncü olarak, futbolcuların kişiliği, arkaplanları ya da deneyimleri ve hırsları da onların Türkiye'yi tercih etmesinde etkili olabileceği için kişisel faktörler de dikkate alınmalıdır. Son olarak, iletişim kanalları oyuncuların göç etme kararını etkileyebilir. Oyuncular, medya ve yetenek avcıları gibi aracılıar hedef ülke hakkında bilgilendirilse de, ancak oraya vardıklarında ev sahibi ülkenin gerçeklerini yaşamaya başlayacaklardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk futbol ligleri, Kamerunlu futbol oyuncular, Futbol işletme ve yönetimi, seçimler ve motivasyonlar, göç kuramları.

INTRODUCTION

In some countries this sport is called “football” while in others it is called “soccer”; the two words refer to the same reality, the same game. Both in Turkey and in Cameroon, the most used term is “football” and it is that same word that will be used throughout this research work. Thus, this first part focuses on the basic information of the study such as the statement of the problem, the objectives, the significance, the main assumptions, the scope and delimitation of the study.

Statement of the Problem

The history of football in Turkey is made up of two important periods namely the late Ottoman Empire (1875-1919) and the Turkish Republic (1920-to date) (Konukman and Demirhan, 2016: 114). According to Cüneyd Okay (2002), Sultan Abdulhamid II who took the power in 1876 wanted to modernise the Ottoman Empire in terms of technological development of all the sectors of social life such as schools, hospitals, etc. Therefore, he was opposed to the European cultural values and would like to keep the conventional Ottoman values. Within this context, “football was regarded as a representation, or expression of a foreign, western, European and unwanted culture and was therefore discouraged” (Okay, 2002: 3). That is the reason why football developed first of all among the Levantines¹ and the non-Muslim communities in cosmopolitan cities like İzmir, which was a harbour city as well. In 1890, the British, who are also the inventors of modern football, were the first group to play that game in İzmir. Cem Atabeyoğlu (1985) explains that in 1897, a mixed team made up of British and Greek minorities from İzmir had played a football match in İstanbul against another mixed team composed of British and Greek minorities from İstanbul. The İzmir team won 3-1 and after that match, football started to develop fast in İstanbul, the capital city of the

¹Levantines refer to the Europeans of French, Italian, German, English, Catalan, Spanish, Polish, and Dutch origins who settled in the Eastern Mediterranean region for trade as from the 12th Century. In the 16th Century, international shipping companies were known as the *Levant* while their representatives or employees were called *Levantines*. But after the 16th Century, the term *Levantines* made reference to the residents of coastal region in Anatolia, Greece, and the Middle East. As time went on, the term was applied to Europeans people who were born and raised within the Ottoman borders and they were also the first to be involved in football activities in the empire. The cities where Levantines settled such as İstanbul and İzmir were favourable for trade thanks to their warmth, safe and peaceful environments (Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, 2014).

Ottoman Empire, especially amongst the Greek population under the headship of the British. It is only at the beginning of the 1900s that the Turks themselves started to show an interest in football. Fuad Hüsnü Bey, a student at the Naval Academy, is known to have been the first Turk who played football. Fuad Hüsnü Bey is also known as the man who established the first Turkish football team with his friends. He became the only Turkish player in the Kadıköy Football Club, the first football club formed in İstanbul (Suad Hayri, 1913). British put in place other teams like İmogene and Moda Clubs. In 1905, the three teams (Kadıköy, İmogene, and Moda football clubs) started to play at the League of İstanbul Clubs (İstanbul Kulüpleri Ligi) in İstanbul and the first champions of this football tournament were İmogene. Later on, the Turks increasingly identified themselves with football and started to follow it with a great interest, particularly when Turkish teams like Galatasaray (1906) and Fenerbahçe (1907) joined the league (Okay, 2002: 4). It is worth mentioning here that one of the first sport clubs established by Turkish people themselves is the Beşiktaş Gymnastics Club (Beşiktaş Jimnastik Kulübü) in 1903. The various sporting activities carried out by the youngsters in this club included the horizontal bar, parallel bar, wrestling, weight lifting, and gymnastics. In August 1911, a football section had started operating officially within the club. After the year 1910 (Sultan Abdulhamid's reign ended in 1908), Muslims began to play the "Friday League" on Fridays and non-Muslims the "Sunday League" on Sundays. In 1913, they founded the İstanbul Football Association (Okay, 2002: 12).

Football in the young Turkish Republic is marked by the creation of the Union of Turkish Sports Clubs (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı) in 1923 which was an autonomous organisation made up of 16 clubs (Konukman and Demirhan, 2016: 117). The Turkish Football Federation (TFF) was also established in 1923 (April 23) and the first President of the federation was Yusuf Ziya Öniş². The same year on May 21, 1923, the TFF became the 26th member of the FIFA. In 1936, the Turkish Sports Institution (Türk Spor Kurumu) was established following the model proposed by the German Carl Diem, who was the General Secretary of the organising committee of the 1936 Olympics (Şenyuva and Tunç, 2015: 570). In 1938, the General Directorate of Physical

² Born in İstanbul in 1892, he played for Galatasaray and the Swiss club of Servette. He had been the President of TFF from 1923-1927, as well as President of Galatasaray during two different periods: 1922-1924 and 1950-1952. He died on October 12, 1960.

Education (Beden Terbiyesi Umum Müdürlüğü) was founded and this institution governed all sport activities in Turkey, including football, up until 1986. Meanwhile, professionalism in football started through a legislation adopted on September 24, 1951 (Şenyuva and Tunç, 2015: 569). Şenyuva and Tunç argue also that “it was only football, surpassing all other sporting disciplines in terms of both spectatorship and participation that made it the most popular sport in the country”. Many commentators claim that because a lot of young sportsmen were particularly concentrated in the football section of sport clubs, the leaders of the country had taken various measures to make other sports popular and had established policies to draw the attention of athletes in those sports.

Many analysts assert that modern football is a sport invented in Europe, whose Latin America made an art and Africa a religion. “Football has been the most prominent sport in many African countries ever since it was introduced in colonial times” (Alegi, 2010: 1). Actually, the introduction of football in Africa in general had been achieved during colonisation led by the main European powers present in the continent, such as France and Great Britain. In Cameroon, the history of football starts at the beginning of the 20th Century in Douala, a harbour city (like İzmir), which is also the core of the economic activities in the country. As from 1884, Cameroon became a German colony. After losing the First World War (1914-1918), Germany lost also all its territories in Africa and Cameroon became a League of Nations Mandate under the British and French rules (Verkijika, 1999: 282). Despite the fact that British were the inventors of modern football, it is rather French who brought football first in Cameroon in the 1920s (Bairner, 2001: 13). In the 1920s, those who played football in Cameroon were the merchants or the naval vessels who were visiting the country. For example on March 23, 1929, a match opposed the European *Sporting Club* of Douala to the French cruiser team *Duquesne* (Clignet and Stark, 1974: 410). Other groups of people who were playing football in Cameroon in the 1920s were the teachers, the missionaries, the soldiers, and the colonial settlers (Armstrong and Julianotti, 2004: 8-7). In fact, there was a kind of discrimination between Europeans and local populations; Europeans did not allow “natives” to participate in their sport or to play against them. Consequently, several early clubs had a European and “indigenous” teams (Vidacs, 2000: 104). Clignet

and Stark (1974: 410) give the example of *Etoile Sportive of Yaoundé*³ which had a European team and an African team, with players who were mostly expatriates. Thus, the first football clubs in Cameroon were created during the 1930s and 1940s (Nkwi and Vidacs, 1997: 124).

As a result of the double colonisation of the country by the British and French, football developed differently in the two parts of the territory. The first football league consisted of two separate tournaments in the two Cameroons. The clubs from the two sides only played against each other during the “Cup of Cameroon” competition. The two separate tournaments continued up until 1972, the year the two states decided to join and form a single state (Pannenborg, 2008). Meanwhile, French Cameroon became independent in 1960 while British Cameroon got its independence one year later in 1961. FECAFOOT, the Cameroonian football association was created in 1959 and joined the biggest world football association FIFA in 1962. Also, the first three decades of the national league is by far dominated by the clubs from Douala (Oryx, Caiman, Union) and Yaoundé (Diamant, Canon, Tonnerre). The leadership of these two cities over the Cameroonian football throughout that period is explained by the fact that it is in these cities that football developed first in Cameroon. Moreover, at that time, they were the two main urban areas in Cameroon while most of the other parts of the country were still rural. Pannenborg (2008: 23) notes that “ever since its introduction in the 1920s, football has been the number one sport in Cameroon. There is no other sport that comes even close to being as popular”.

In addition to the history of football in Cameroon, another phenomenon developed alongside colonisation: the migration of Cameroonian football players towards European clubs. Actually, “the recruitment of African players by professional European clubs extends back to the colonial era” (Darby et al., 2007: 145). Raffaele Poli adds that “the history of the presence of African players in Europe is not as recent as one might think. Already in the 1930s, French recruited players from the Maghreb” (2006: 395). In the same way, in 1954, Eugene N’Jo Lea, a football striker, was playing with the French squad of Saint-Etienne and was one of the first Cameroonian footballers who performed in Europe. This also leads to the role played by the talent scouts in the migration of

³ Yaoundé is the capital city of Cameroon.

African and Cameroonian footballers towards European clubs. According to Poli, et al. (2002: 47), “historically, the first football agents were scouts who touted players on behalf of clubs”. In fact, French clubs were conscious of the tremendous potential of football players in African colonies where football had developed fast and as from the end of the Second World War, they began to prospect there (Poli, 2006: 395). This is to say that in Cameroon and in Africa in general, scouting had most of the time been the job of people who were working for specific European clubs (and still continues nowadays). The work of scouts has been rendered easier in Cameroon these days with the spread of football academies which are found almost everywhere in the country. For Jonas Scherrens (2007: 14), “the proliferation of football academies might even more become an important alternative for clubs who are looking to find players that rank high on a price/quality scale”. Scouts from European clubs sign agreements with these football schools and the contractual links allow them to follow the best talents without any difficulty and to hire them also without any problem at a better price when they are in need. Furthermore, the football’s recruiting world witnessed on April 18, 2007, the launching ceremony in Qatar of the “Aspire Africa Football Dreams” programme. The administrators of the programme claimed that “the scale of this project surpasses any organised scouting for talent up to today” and that it is “the largest football talent search project in history” (Aspire, 2007). Andreas Bleicher, the German Sport Director at Aspire clearly asserted that:

Everyone in football is aware of the significant talent that exists in Africa, and also of the challenges that can prevent this talent reaching its full potential. Aspire will offer a new window of opportunities for those players who have the talent and dedication necessary to succeed at the highest levels of professional football (Aspire, 2007).

Nowadays, ten African countries are parts of this programme: Cameroon, Senegal, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry and Mali. This is how scouting in general is carrying out in Africa, that is, through solid and powerful football structures which send their talent scouts to the field to detect the best players.

For many observers, the fact that countries which had a significant imperial presence in Africa were the main beneficiaries of African migrant talent should not be a surprise. For instance, according to the statistics established by Constant Wicherek (2015), at the

beginning of the 2015-2016 season, there were 119 African footballers registered in French clubs of first division. The first six countries most represented were distributed as follows: Senegal and Cameroon: 17 players each; Ivory Coast: 12 players; Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco: 8 players each. All these countries have a common history with France, related particularly to colonisation. However, many football players from former colonies also perform in European countries which do not have any colonial links with their home countries. One of the best illustrations of this evolution is Senegal. According to Stanley Kwenda of BBC (2016), at the beginning of the 2016-2017 season, Senegal had the largest contingent of African players both in the British Premier League (8/47 Africans) and in the Italian Serie A (14/54 Africans), though Senegal had not been under colonial domination of Great Britain or Italy. With the huge stakes and interests of the contemporary football, the stakeholders involved in this sport, especially the players, go beyond the framework of history and allow themselves to discover new realities and engage in new challenges.

Turkey is a country that started to attract Cameroonian footballers in the 1990s. In fact, up to the season 2005-2006, 16 Cameroonian footballers played at the Turkish *Süper Lig* (see Appendix 2) and even two of them got the Turkish citizenship: Gustave Mbangue Bebbe Anilet became “Alper Aydin” and Alioum Boukar, “Ali Uyanik”. The latter is the former goalkeeper of the Cameroonian national team; he won the 2000 and 2002 editions of the African Cup of Nations (AFCON), the most prestigious football competition in Africa. As from the 2006-2007 season to the 2016-2017 season, a total of 39 Cameroonian footballers were actively engaged in different teams of the *Süper Lig* (see Appendix 3). This shows a growing interest of Cameroonian footballers towards the Turkish football league. This increasing attention to the Turkish football could not be limited to professional players only; many amateur footballers who game in Cameroon would also be ready to ply their service in Turkey if they have the opportunity. Regarding the mobility of footballers, Lafranchi and Taylor (2001: 86) argue that a distinction should be done between players who move with or without the ball. They explain that players who move with the ball are those who migrate to Europe with the only objective to make football their profession; playing football is their unique goal. In the other hand, the players who move without the ball can be considered as immigrants with other objectives, but who also end up being professional footballers.

This research work will analyse whether Cameroonian amateur football players who wish to play in the Turkish football leagues want to move with or without the ball. Overall, the problem this study aims to uncover is the one related to the migration of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey. In Lee's (1966) formulation, there are two key steps in migration, the decision to migrate and the process of migration itself. Laying emphasis on the decision to migrate essentially, this study analyses the reasons that motivate Cameroonian football players to choose Turkey.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research work is to understand the choice of Turkey made by Cameroonian footballers; in other words, to comprehend what encourage them to target at the Turkish football leagues. Specifically, this study aims to:

1. Describe both the Turkish and Cameroonian football history and football culture;
2. Understand the reasons that lead some Cameroonian footballers to choose Turkey;
3. Understand the relationships between these professional players and their teams' fans;
4. Analyse their life experiences during their stay in Turkey;
5. Understand the interest of Cameroonian amateur footballers towards the Turkish football leagues;
6. Discuss what these amateur players think they need to do to become successful footballers in Turkey.

Significance of the Study

For many years, Turkey was not a traditional destination for professional football players originated from Cameroon, who rather chose to show their talents in countries like France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, or Spain. The fact that the number of Cameroonian footballers playing in Turkey has significantly increased during this last decade draws the attention. Thus, it seems necessary to analyse the migration of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey and discuss the reasons which can justify their growing interest to play in that country.

The figures show that during the 2006-2007 season, just three (3) Cameroonian footballers were present in the Turkish Super League. Subsequently, since that season up until 2017, there has been an average of nine (9) players from Cameroon per season involved in the main Turkish football league (see Appendix 4). In the same way, when it comes to evaluate the presence of Cameroonian footballers in comparable football leagues such as the Dutch Eredivisie, Chinese Super League, Russian Premier League, Portuguese Premeira Liga, or Greek Super League since 2006 (see Appendices 5 to 9), it is obvious that Turkey is the most targeted league. But why Turkey?

Moreover, the fact that many amateur footballers who are living in Cameroon would target at the Turkish football leagues is considerable. For a country like Turkey which was considered as an exotic destination for footballers, it is remarkable to observe that youngsters as well see in the Turkish football leagues a suitable arena to express and develop their football skills. Thus, this study is also important because it analyses the enthusiasm of young people on the idea to play in a particular European football environment like the one of Turkey.

It is important to mention here that the choice of Turkish football clubs by some popular Cameroonian footballers who were, or who are still parts of the national team, has an impact not only on their careers, but also on the Cameroonian who are all fans of the national team. Therefore, in playing the Süper Lig for instance, Cameroonian footballers lead also the whole fans of the Cameroonian national team to be more interested in what is happening in that Turkish league because they follow the performances of the players of the national team. That's why it is essential to examine the choices of these players.

Besides, it seems imperative to remind here that the first Cameroonian to sign a contract with Turkish clubs of the Süper Lig were Bernard Samuel Tchoutang and Alioum Boukar (Ali Uyanık). Both of them were key players and among the most influential of the Cameroonian national team at that time. The left winger Bernard Tchoutang performed with Van Büyükşehir Belediyespor until the 1996-1997 season and in 78 appearances, he scored 9 goals. On his side, the goalkeeper Alioum Boukar realised his whole professional career in Turkey and has been member of different squads such as Samsuspor, İstanbulspor, Atiker Konyaspor and Altay. Since 2015 to

date (2017), he is member of the technical staff of the Cameroonian national team and occupies the position of goalkeepers' trainer.

Main Assumptions of the Study

This study is based on the following assumptions which are related to the reasons that can explain the choice of Turkey made by Cameroonian footballers:

1. Turkey is a suitable destination for footballers who want to give a new perspective to their careers;
2. Turkey is the place to be for players who would like to play in a major European football league and perform in the European arena as well;
3. Turkish football leagues are an appropriate framework for Cameroonian amateur players who are at the beginning of their careers, who want to become professionals and play later on in bigger clubs;
4. The quota system currently in force in Turkey is generous and favourable for talented foreign players;
5. Football in Turkey is financially lucrative.

Method, Scope and Delimitation of the Study

The framework of this study is the Turkish football leagues and Cameroonian football players. Actually, this research work focuses on the Cameroonian professional footballers who performed in the Super League between the seasons 2006-2007 and 2016-2017. So, it takes into account the past ten years of the Super League and the presence of Cameroonian footballers in that competition. The study starts with the season 2006-2007 because during that season, only three Cameroonian footballers were present in the teams of the Super League: Souleymanou Hamidou (Denizlispor), Rigobert Bahag Song (Galatasaray), and Gustave Mbangue Bebbe Anilet (MKE Ankaragücü). Ten years later, during the 2016-2017 season, there were thirteen (13) football players from Cameroon in the teams of Turkish Super League: Dany Nounkeu (Kardemir Karabükspor), Pierre Webo (Osmanlıspor), Marc Kibong Mbamba (Atiker Konyaspor), Aurelien Chedjou (Galatasaray), Charles Itandje (Gaziantepspor), Léony Léonard Kweuke (Çaykur Rizespor), Mballa Etame (Antalyaspor), Samuel Eto'o Fils (Antalyaspor), Jean II Makoun (Antalyaspor), Landry Nguemo (Akhisar Belediye

Gençlik ve Spor and Kayserispor), Vincent Aboubakar (Beşiktaş), Jean Armel Kana-Biyik (Kayserispor), and Franck Mbia Etoundi (Kasımpaşa). From these figures, the growing of Cameroonian professional footballers in Turkey is remarkable.

It is important to mention here that the Super League is the major football tournament organised by the TFF throughout a season. This tournament is made up of eighteen (18) teams. In addition, during each season, players from the Super League teams are involved in another competition, the Cup of Turkey. Teams from lower divisions participate to this tournament as well. The best teams at the end of the season have the possibility to perform in the European arena through the UEFA Champions League and the UEFA Europa League. Furthermore, this work deals also with young amateur footballers who are living in Cameroon; they are in football academies or youth teams of some clubs and they would like to play in Turkey if they have the opportunity, whatever the division (*Süper Lig, 1. Lig, 2. Lig, 3. Lig*, etc.).

Organisation of the Study

This work is made up of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction; it gives general information related to the topic of the study. It puts the study in its context, sets up the problem, and establishes the objectives and the significance of the research. In this part, the main assumptions, the scope and the delimitations of the study are also detailed.

The second chapter deals with the literature review; it is a critical discussion of some works which have been previously realised. It begins with the commercial aspect of contemporary football, and then presents the TFF which is the main governing body of football in Turkey. Laws and regulations in the Turkish football are reviewed as well as the significance of football upon the socio-economic life of Turkish people. In addition, it is important to revisit the relationships between overseas players and Turkish fans and to describe the football culture in Africa. This part is concluded with an evaluation of migration of African footballers and the question of development.

The third chapter concerns the methodology; it states all the procedures and techniques utilised to collect and analyse the data. It also clarifies the research questions of this work as well as the qualitative approach that have been adopted for this work.

Explanations about the theoretical framework, samples, and samples coding are also included in this part.

The fourth chapter discloses the findings of all the data that have been collected from the primary and secondary sources. Professional and amateur football players who migrate to Turkey or who plan to do so have been questioned and this part revealed their various motivations.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to the discussion and the analysis of the data that have been gathered. And the final chapter constitutes the conclusion; it summarises the key findings and states some directions for the future researches dealing with the migration of African footballers in Turkey.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The popularity of football in Europe and in Africa, in Turkey and in Cameroon is clearly established and in these places, football is considered as the “king sport”. Various topics linked to football in Turkey and in Cameroon have been discussed by several scholars and commentators, as well as the issue of migration in sport. Thus, it is important to re-evaluate some of these works. This chapter contextualises the study through a thematic literature review. First of all, the business industry symbolising football in this contemporary era will be tackled. Then, a brief presentation of the TFF and a description of some laws and regulations in the Turkish football will be done. While the significance of football upon the social-economic life of Turkish people will be evoked, it will be also necessary to talk about the relationships between foreign football players and Turkish fans, football culture in Africa, the migration of African footballers and the issue of development.

1.1. Football: A Whole Business Industry

Nowadays, football is by far different to what it was in the 20th Century and earlier. At that time, the accent was not emphasised on profit, business, and market as it is in the contemporary world; football became a whole industry alongside the performances of players on the pitches. Everyday, the richest football clubs develop new strategies to gain more and more revenues and buy the best players as much as possible. According to the CIES Football Observatory (2017), the squads of the big five (England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and France) have spent €742 million during the winter transfer market of the 2016-2017 season. This is a record at that period of the season. Without surprise, clubs from the English Premier League are the ones who spent more money for their transfers (€443 million) followed by French clubs (€225 million). Since 2010, tremendous sums of money have been spent during the winter transfer market by the clubs of the big five and this is reported by CIES Football Observatory (2017) as follows: 2010: €147 million; 2011: €523 million; 2012: €285 million; 2013: €406 million; 2014: €383 million; 2015: €495 million; 2016: €494 million; 2017: €742 million. These figures show what football today looks like; indeed it is a considerable business.

Furthermore, the prices of the most valuable football players in the world today have reached incredible levels. In its Weekly Post N° 197 of October 2, 2017, the CIES Football Observatory releases the transfer value trends of the most expensive players in the world following some criteria such as their performances (minutes played, goals scored, etc.), their characteristics (age, contract, etc.), the indicators on the employment club and the potential recruiters. The results are the following:

1. Neymar Junior (PSG, 25 years old): €239.6 million;
2. Dele Alli (Tottenham, 21 years old): €179.8 million;
3. Lionel Messi (Barcelona, 30 years old): €170.5 million;
4. Paulo Dybala (Juventus, 23 years old): €161 million;
5. Romelu Lukaku (Manchester United, 24 years old): €158.5 million
6. Paul Pogba (Manchester United, 24 years old): €153.1 million;
7. Antoine Griezmann (Atletico Madrid, 26 years old): €150.4 million;
8. Kylian Mbappé (PSG, 18 years old): €145.8 million;
9. Luis Suarez (Barcelona, 30 years old): €145.2 million;
10. Harry Kane (Tottenham, 24 years old): €139.2 million;

It can be observed that the less expensive footballer in this top ten costs almost €140 million, something that was unthinkable few decades ago. In that list published by the CIES Football Observatory, the most expensive African footballer is the Egyptian Mohamed Salah (25 years old in 2017). According to them, the right winger of the Premier League team Liverpool is valued at €98 million. All this reflects the economic evolution of football and today, more and more businessmen invest in football because of the tremendous revenues and interests generated by this sport. According to the CIES Football Observatory (2016), “the development of football as part of the entertainment industry, with the notable introduction of pay television, has allowed most clubs to increase their revenues and widen the scope of their recruitment”. Turkish clubs have also spent much money to acquire the services of African players. Here is the list of the ten most expensive African players bought by Turkish teams:

1. Emmanuel Emenike (Nigeria): €13 million, from Spartak Moscow (Russia) to Fenerbahçe;
2. Mousa Sow (Senegal): €10 million, from Lille (France) to Fenerbahçe;
3. Younes Belhanda (Morocco): €8 million, from Dinamo Kiev (Ukraine) to Galatasaray;
4. Stephan Appiah (Ghana): €8 million, from Juventus (Italy) to Fenerbahçe;
5. Mamadou Niang (Senegal): €8 million, from Marseilles (France) to Fenerbahçe
6. Badou N'Diaye (Senegal): €7.5 million, from Osmanlispor to Galatasaray;
7. Kader Keita (Ivory Coast): €7.5 million, from Lyon (France) to Galatasaray;
8. Aurelien Chedjou (Cameroon): €6.75 million, from Lille (France) to Galatasaray;
9. Issiar Dia (Senegal): €6.5 million, from Nancy (France) to Fenerbahçe;
10. Demba Ba (Senegal): €6 million, from Chelsea (England) to Beşiktaş.

The economic growth in football is the result of strategies put in place by the managers of clubs, strategies that target at the supporters and fans who motivate and support their teams in purchasing different gadgets and other merchandises sold by their clubs. This is the view of Emir Güney (2014) who believes that fans are one of the key factors that can explain the economic successes of football clubs. For him, “the foundations of modern day football rest on the economic input of the fans”. Football is a mass spectator sport and without the participation of fans, it would be something completely different. For Güney (2014), “football is now a billion-dollar industry with commercial contracts, broadcasting revenues, sponsors, huge stadiums, and so on”. He explains the technique used by clubs leaders to develop their squads: “Clubs and associations thrive on people’s love of football by selling them tickets to the games, merchandises, and digital broadcasting and making revenues to buy better players to reach their ultimate goal: Success”. This seems to be the method used by many clubs managers to achieve their dreams and the dreams of their supporters.

1.2. TFF: The Core Football Management Body in Turkey

The TFF, which is member of FIFA since 1923 and of UEFA since 1962 and whose headquarters is in Ankara, is the sole legal entity authorised to organise and regulate the sport of football at national level and to represent Turkey domestically and

internationally for matters relating to football. Article 2 Paragraph 1 of the TFF Statutes clearly defines the objectives of the federation:

- a) To organise, regulate and monitor all football activities within Turkey;
- b) To promote the development and expansion of football throughout the country;
- c) To ensure the proper implementation of the rules set by the governing bodies of FIFA and UEFA. Set up all domestic regulations and represent Turkey abroad on subjects related to football;
- d) To make plans, programmes, arrangements, and agreements of any kind related to football activities both domestically and abroad and to take the necessary measures to achieve successful results;
- e) To organise and regulate competitions at all levels and take all necessary steps to ensure the admission and participation of its representative national and club teams in international competitions;
- f) To ensure that its own members, clubs, football players, officials, managers, head coaches and trainers, medical staff, players' agents, match agents, and all other related people comply with the statutes, regulations, and directives set forth by FIFA, UEFA, and the TFF as well as the decisions adopted by the competent organs and bodies of these governing bodies;
- g) To fight against violence, match fixing, illegal performance incentives, racism, doping, and any kind of discrimination;
- h) To conduct and regulate all kinds of football activities, ensure the improvement and promotion of the game of football throughout Turkey, and adopt and carry out all such arrangements and decisions as TFF may think proper in the light of unifying, educational, cultural, and humanitarian values, particularly through youth and development programmes;
- i) To ensure that any and all national and international football rules and regulations in force are applied, and represent Turkey abroad in all football-related matters;
- j) To observe the principles of loyalty, integrity, and sportsmanship in accordance with the rules of Fair Play and the code of Ethics of both FIFA and UEFA;

- k) To comply with the Laws of the Game as laid down by the International Football Association Board (IFAB) as well as any other laws of the game as issued by FIFA and UEFA;
- l) To abide by the statutes, regulations, and decisions of FIFA and UEFA;
- m) To recognise the jurisdiction of the judicial bodies described in the statutes of FIFA and UEFA and the jurisdiction of the Court of Arbitration of Sport (CAS) as specified in Articles 59 and 60 of the FIFA Statutes and Paragraph 1 of Article 59 of the UEFA Statutes;
- n) To protect the interests of all parties involved in football;
- o) To ensure that all illegal methods or practices which might jeopardize the integrity of matches or competitions or give rise to abuse of football are prevented;
- p) To provide both financial and in-kind support to amateur sport clubs, associations and including the sports associations for the disabled involved in football, with a view to improving the game football.

These are the sixteen objectives which guide the daily actions of the TFF. Thus, who can be member of the TFF? According to Article 9 of the TFF Statutes, the members of the federation are:

- a) Clubs of the Turkish Professional Leagues;
- b) Amateur Sport Clubs Confederation;
- c) Professional Footballers' Association;
- d) Turkish Football Trainers' Association;
- e) Turkish Association of Active Football Referees and Observers;
- f) Disabled sports associations involved in football;
- g) Individuals who are serving on the Executive Committee of FIFA and UEFA;
- h) Individuals who served actively on the committees of FIFA and UEFA for a period of at least ten years;
- i) Individuals who served as President of the TFF in person;
- j) Other individuals admitted into membership by the Congress.

This study lays emphasis on the Cameroonian professional football players who performed in the Turkish Super League during the last ten years. It is important to

mention here that apart from the Super League, the TFF organises many other competitions throughout a season as it is described in the Article 72 Paragraph 1 of the TFF Statutes:

- a) Super League;
- b) Championship of the 1st League, 2nd League, and the 3rd League;
- c) Amateur League competitions;
- d) National Cup competitions;
- e) Youth competitions for different age groups;
- f) Women's competitions;
- g) Disabled competitions;
- h) Futsal competitions;
- i) Beach football competitions;
- j) Regional competitions;
- k) Veteran competitions.

Concerning the Laws of the Game, the TFF and each of its members and associations play football in compliance with the laws of the game issued by IFAB. Only IFAB may regulate and alter the laws of the game (Article 6). This means that the Turkish football respects the international standards in the practice of this sport. As far as the management of clubs is concerned, in Cameroon for instance, a same individual can lead two football clubs during the same period of time. In Turkey, such a thing is forbidden by the law as it is stipulated in the Article 76: No natural person or legal entity (including holding companies and subsidiaries) shall manage or have control over more than one club in any manner that would jeopardize the integrity of any match or competition.

1.3. Laws and Regulations in the Turkish Football

It is generally accepted that laws and rules are established to prevent anarchy in the society. In the world of football too, institutions such as FIFA, UEFA, and TFF have put in place a good number of regulations to secure the practice of this sport. For that reason, Anil Gürsoy (2008: 20) explains that as the exclusive authority for football in Turkey, with the power from the Law of Establishment and Objectives of Turkish

Football Federation, the TFF enacted many international regulations. The Regulation for Professional Football and Transfer (PF&T) for example has various objectives such as to ensure that clubs form professional teams, to improve football and to set the principles of professional football. Also, the relations between clubs and professional players are controlled under this regulation. This PF&T regulation of the TFF encompasses many articles that describe clearly the rights and obligations of players and clubs and this is applied on all different categories of footballers gaming in Turkey: national, foreign, professional or amateur players. The TFF's regulations are compatible with the ones of UEFA but Anıl Gürsoy (2008: 19) notices that there are few differences with some European countries: "According to most of the legislations throughout Europe, professional players' contracts are subject to the Labour Law. On the contrary, in Turkish legislation, sportsmen are excluded from the Labour Code". These information are important and show the context in which home-grown and overseas footballers perform in Turkey.

Moreover, in most of the countries where football is very popular, violence inside and outside the stadiums has always been a preoccupation for the sport and administrative authorities. To address this problem, football institutions have taken various measures. But sometimes, the circumstances require the States to adopt entire laws to fight against violence in sport. In the case of Turkey, Adem Sağır (2012) examines the Law No 5149 that has been adopted by the Turkish State to prevent violence in sports. This law, entitled "The Draft Law Amending the Law on Prevention of Violence and Disorder in Sports Matches", comprises 33 articles and came into force on April 28, 2004. This is one the very first laws adopted by the Turkish State to prevent violence in sports. However, this law was not rigid enough because after its adoption, violence had continued and had compelled the authorities to vote another law. The Law No 6222 entitled "Law on Prevention of Violence and Disorder in Sports" was approved on March 31, 2011. Adem Sağır compares the two laws and establishes their strengths and weaknesses. He concludes that despite the dispositions of this new law, violence has not stopped in football principally, and even re-brought onto the agenda the necessity to prepare again a new law.

Hence, football in Turkey is based on national and international laws whose aims are to secure its practice. Clubs managers, players, and supporters are all concerned by these regulations. This reminder is important for the present study for it will be useful in the process of understanding the choice of Turkish leagues made by Cameroonian footballers.

1.4. Significance of Football on the Socio-Economic Life of Turkish People

Turkish fans, wherever they are, are extremely attached to their favourite teams. Nina Szogs (2014) describes how Turkish fans, especially those of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray express their love and loyalty to their teams, despite the fact that they are living in Vienna in Austria, far from their homeland Turkey. These fans demonstrate that Turkish football culture matters also abroad and they use all the available means to follow the latest news related to football in their country: “Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans who are living in Vienna, rarely have the opportunity to attend live matches. As a result, internet, smartphones, and television have become essential tools in facilitating participation in the club’s fan culture” (Szogs, 2014: 1). Turkish fans who live in Vienna are proud of their teams and to express this love, they always wear the jersey of their clubs. Nonetheless, Szogs uses partially Hall’s encoding/decoding theory in the sense that she recalls the three key positions from which Stuart Hall claims readers can decode the encoded message (the dominant-hegemonic position, the negotiated position, and the oppositional position) but these are not clearly matched with the case of football fans. Consequently, this leads to a partial understanding of the Turkish fan culture in Vienna. Nevertheless it remains a good illustration of the dynamic Turkish football culture in general and abroad in particular.

One of the key elements in football culture, not only in Turkey but all over the world, is the rivalry amongst certain historical teams. The rivalries between FC Barcelona and Real Madrid in Spain, Manchester United and Manchester City in England, or Paris Saint Germain and Olympique Marseilles in France, just to name a few, are well known. In Turkey, the most rival teams are Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray. Through an ethnographic study, Nina Szogs (2013) reports what the fans of these two clubs think about each other. The remarkable aspect in this situation is the fact that in the same club, in one side, there are ultras and fanatics who hate the opponent team and in the

other side, there are fans who are more flexible and who are able to support the rivalry team when they are playing European competitions. A Galatasaray fan who was going to the stadium to support Fenerbahçe during a qualification match of UEFA Champions League at Salzburg (Austria) explains why he does so:

It's because it is a Turkish club. Galatasaray is better of course, and you have to attend a Galatasaray match too; the fans are louder. But, of course, I support Fenerbahçe when they are playing the Champions League. Though, I would never wear a Fenerbahçe jersey. I brought my jersey of the Turkish national team instead (Szogs, 2013: 7).

It means that Turkish fandom is made up of people with different state of mind even within the same club. Some can support the rival team in particular circumstances while others will never. The main problem in this article is the lack of a theoretical framework which could critically sustain the development of this important topic of fan culture.

Furthermore, the results of major football teams have a significant impact over the economic and financial activities in Turkey. Actually, according to Berument, Ceylan, and Öğüt-Eker (2009), the victories of the three main Turkish football teams namely Galatasaray, Beşiktaş, and Fenerbahçe (which are all located in the same city of İstanbul) have a positive influence on the İstanbul Stock Exchange activities. In other words, “wins are associated with higher returns” (Berument, et al., 2009: 596). On the other hand, their defeats produce the reverse effect, that is, when these teams lose matches, it has a negative influence on the İstanbul financial market. In the similar way, Berument and Yucel argue that there is a social and psychological connection between the success of a top level Turkish team and the performance of workers in the industry. In fact, when a major Turkish football club wins or loses a match, it has a direct impact on the productivity of the fans. In other words, when the favourite teams of people are successful, they get in a better mood and become more productive, claim Berument and Yucel. It means that in Turkey, football is neither a joke nor a simple entertaining activity because it has considerable repercussions over people and over the activities in the society.

1.5. Relationships between Foreign Football Players and Turkish Fans

Many researchers in their academic works, while dealing with the relationships between sportsmen and fans, used to mainly focus on racism and “hate speech” which partly

characterise some fans when they express their anger and even their hatred towards certain players. Burcu Sunar (2014) does not think that this methodological approach could be fruitful in the fight against racism in sport; rather, it produces the opposite effect and increases the spirit of hatred and racism. Thus, in a constructivist perspective, Sunar discusses the “love speech” in the Turkish football culture. To illustrate her method, she lays emphasis on some foreign football players who have been adopted by Turkish fans and by Turkey in general. As examples, she talks about the Brazilian Alex, the Romanian Hagi, and the French Pascal Nouma, who symbolise the vivid expression of love and tolerance of Turkish fans towards foreign players.

Burcu Sunar goes further and talks about some foreign footballers who got the Turkish citizenship, such as Marco Aurelio (who became “Mehmet Aurelio” and played several international matches with the Turkish national team), Uche Okechukwu (who became “Deniz Uygur”) and Steve Komphela. They were respectively Brazilian, Nigerian and South African and after enjoying the Turkish football culture and Turkish way of life, they decided to adopt that culture and became Turkish citizens. This shows that “football in Turkey does not pay homage to the nationalistic clichés when it comes to the individual players” (Sunar, 2014: 54). Nonetheless, Sunar reminds that it “does not mean that there is no implicit or explicit nationalism in Turkey”. She argues that dealing with the delicate issue of racism in academic research in focusing only on the “hate speech” whose players are victims constitutes a partial analysis. According to her, it is important to tackle the topic from all the sides. Showing that foreign players are also loved by the fans can produce positive effects and can lead some fanatics to appreciate the value of players as human beings first, even when the performances expected from them are not fulfilled.

Sunar makes a slight mistake in saying that Pascal Nouma has Senegalese origins (2014: 153). Rather, he has Cameroonian origins. Apart from that mistake, Sunar uses an effective approach that allows viewing the relations between foreign football players and fans from another angle which is not always mentioned by other academics in their analyses. This study aims also to evaluate the relationships between some Cameroonian professional footballers and the public of their respective Turkish teams. In fact, talking

about Cameroonian and African football players means that in Africa, there is also a vibrant football culture.

1.6. Football Culture in Africa: An Overview

National teams in Africa are one of the best elements that must always be mentioned when attempting to describe the football culture in the continent. When they have good results on the pitches during international competitions, African national teams are able to transform their countries in the sense that they bring happiness in the hearts of people even in the periods of crises. In Africa, each national team has its particular nickname. The journalist Oluwashina Okeleji of Aljazeera (2015) argues that a nickname does not only give a sense of identity to the fans but also stimulates and gives footballers an air of superiority over their adversaries. For Okeleji, Europeans for example prefer to keep very simple nicknames: *La Roja* (The Red, Spain); *Sbornaya* (The National Team, Russia), *Tricolorii* (The Tricolours, Romania); *Oranje* (Orange, Netherlands); *Les Bleus* (The Blues, France); *Die Mannschaft* (The Team, Germany); *Azurri* (The Sky Blues, Italy). The nickname of the Turkish National team is *Ay-Yıldızlılar* (The Crescent Stars). However, Africa is a fertile ground for nicknames and this participates to the rich football culture in the continent:

- *Les Fennecs* (The Foxes, Algeria); they pay homage to the small nocturnal fox native to northern Africa.
- *Le Syli National* (Guinea Conakry); “*Syli*” is a word in *Sousou* (a Guinean language) which means “Elephant”. “*Syli*” was also the name of the country’s currency from 1971 to 1985.
- *Chipolopolo* (The Copper Bullets, Zambia); this word comes from the copper mines in Kitwe⁴. Formerly known as *KKII*, the team chose the frightening bullet nickname in 1993 to reflect an area of trade in the country.
- *Bafana Bafana* (Boys Boys, South-Africa); it was coined by the journalist Sibusiso Mseleku in 1992 after the country was re-admitted into the international competitions. Stepping out apartheid, chants “go boys, go boys” as expected motivated fans to have pride in the new boys.

⁴ Kitwe is a mining town and 2nd most populated city of Zambia after the capital city Lusaka.

- *The Indomitable Lions* (Cameroon); the national team was first called “The Lions” because these animals are present in the country and this nickname also symbolised the lion-preservation policy carried out by the government. In 1972, Cameroon hosted the edition of AFCON and finished at the third position. To revive the national pride, the President of the Republic Ahmadou Ahidjo promptly renamed the team “Indomitable Lions”, which was a psychological reawakening indeed.
- *The Pharaohs* (Egypt); it reflects the great dominance, civilisation, identity, culture and history of Egypt.

In Africa in general, animals are a great source of inspiration and most of the national teams’ nicknames come from them. This is because each of these animals symbolises a kind of power and strength and the fans would expect their players to transpose that power and strength on the pitches to win matches and competitions. Other national teams’ nicknames include: *The Super Eagles* (Nigeria); *Les Aigles* (The Eagles, Mali); *Les Aigles du Carthage* (The Eagles of Carthage, Tunisia); *The Scorpions* (Gambia); *Les Léopards* (The Leopards, DR Congo); *Les Panthères* (The Panthers, Gabon); *Les Eléphants* (The Elephants, Ivory Coast); *Les Eperviers* (The Sparrowhawks, Togo); *Les Lions de la Teranga* (The Lions of Teranga, Senegal); *Les Lions de l’Atlas* (The Lions of the Atlas, Morocco); *Les Fauves* (The Wild Beasts, Central African Republic); *Likuena* (Crocodiles, Lesotho); *The Zebras* (Botswana); *Palancas Negras* (The Sable Antelopes, Angola); *Les Hirondelles* (The Swallows, Burundi); just to name a few.

In addition, it is well known that during the FIFA World Cup 1990 in Italy, Cameroon had shown to the entire planet the capacity of African football teams to compete with the best national teams in the world such as Argentina or England and even to defeat them. Led by the 38-year-old striker Roger Milla, Cameroon during the opening match of its group defeated Argentina of Maradona (1-0); Argentina was the winning team of the previous edition in 1986 in Mexico. Also, the fact that Cameroon was the first African team to reach the quarter finals of this international competition gave more recognition and legitimacy to the African football. This is described by Bea Vidacs (2010) who gives more information about the football culture in Cameroon. She talks about the Cameroonian passion for football, the lack of adequate infrastructures, the

terrible pitches which are dusty during the dry season and muddy during the rainy season, the modest and unreliable earnings of players, mismanagement and corruption. She reports that “in spite of such daunting challenges, it is remarkable that football’s rituals and routines, rules and regulations, its structure and reality continue to offer Cameroonians a sense of hope, order, normality and predictability which is lacking everywhere else” (2010: 81). In Cameroon and in Africa in general, football is considered as a religion that unites people from different social and religious backgrounds and who share the same passion. Vidacs Bea admits that “football is also a way for people to envision how the world should be” (2010: 10). Her analysis of Cameroonian football is useful in this study to appreciate the incentives of some amateur football players who would dream to play in Turkey.

1.7. Migration of African Footballers and the Issue of Development

The phenomenon of migration in football has been discussed by various scientists who made use of different theories to critically explicate this trend. Matthew Taylor (2007) recalls for example some key theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (world system theory), Joseph Maguire (political economy of global soccer), Paul Darby (imperialism and neo-imperialism), and Rafaelle Poli (migratory trajectories through transnationalism and circulation). Focussing on a historical perspective, Taylor asserts that the flow of football players from countries to countries and from continent to continent is not just a product of economic and political relations of world football. Rather, this movement of sportsmen reflects a multifaceted set of linkages between specific countries, linkages that have profound social, cultural and historical roots. The relationships between former colonial master countries and former colonies could illustrate this approach. But in this study, it will be shown that the migration of players from one location to another one goes beyond the historical links that countries may have among them. Taylor also establishes three main determinants that lead to the movement of athletes. First of all, there are economic factors; football labour migration from economic periphery to the economic core. Secondly, there are socio-cultural factors, such as language, religion, colonial and post-colonial ties. And thirdly, institutional or structural factors which insist on the role of national football associations in controlling immigration, protectionism and restrictions based on nationality (quota systems).

Migration of African football players to European clubs is not a recent activity as it has been demonstrated in the history of football in Africa in the first part of this study; it had started during colonisation. Raffaele Poli (2006: 395) describes methodically this process of migration that he has divided into three main phases: 1930-1960; 1960-1980; 1980-to date. Through his ethnographic research, he follows the historical, geographical, and cultural approaches to explain the increasing number of African footballers who move to Europe. For him, there are two main factors which are more or less linked to the African continent: the “pull” factors (continuing colonial links, the search for new markets, the setting up of transfer networks, etc.) and the “push” factors (lack of structure in African football, football’s new status, increased attractiveness due to satellite television, etc.) (2006: 394). As an another illustration of push factor, Raffaele Poli presents the weakening in Africa of political restraints regarding the migration of players abroad, and as pull factor, the progressive softening of quota systems in Europe.

It is worth noticing here that the “Bosman Law” adopted in December 1995 by the European Union Court of Justice was an argument that legitimated the migration of African footballers and other foreign players to Europe according to Poli (2006). Actually, the “Bosman Law” rendered null the quotas limiting the number of foreign players who were holders of the community passport, that is, players from the European Union. In addition to the scouting activity realised by European clubs in Africa, the significant percentage of African players who migrate to Europe could also be explained through the business point of view. First, African footballers are cheap, and second, “they are part of a speculative strategy which aims at making profit by increasing the value of players and then selling them on to more financially powerful European clubs” (2006: 409). So, there are many reasons which could explain the migration of Cameroonian and African football players to Europe.

Beyond the 22 players who are on the ground and beyond the stadiums, football clubs are whole enterprises and business organisations. That’s why migration of African and other foreign football players to Europe cannot be separated from the notion of “globalisation”; Raffaele Poli, Loic Ravenel, and Roger Besson (2010) explain the mechanism that links migration of players and globalisation. According to them,

globalisation in the economic sector functions exactly in the same manner in sports and football milieu. They take the cases of three African footballers, Emmanuel Eboué (Ivory Coast), Michael Essien (Ghana), and Henri Camara (Guinea) to illustrate that phenomenon. They argue that “the migration of African footballers to Europe is realised through personal relationships between various types of actors who interact in the framework of transfer networks” (2010: 248). Furthermore, the economic conception of globalisation is also applied in football since African footballers are considered also as merchandises, and powerful clubs as gigantic enterprises: “Controlled from few global cities, very big enterprises do no longer look only for markets or raw materials in the Third World countries, but also a workforce which is cheap, numerous and disciplined” (2010: 237). Finally, for Poli, et al., football is a huge market where relationships between different actors, excluding players, are the keys of success and sometimes one could ask whether the pure sporty reasons still matter.

Many observers think that a good management of sport and football particularly could be an extraordinary source of development in the African continent. Mike Makaab, the South Africa’s first FIFA-licensed football agent and chief executive of sports agency Prosport International shares this view:

I think we have seen over many decades how sport, but on this continent football in particular, consistently has the ability to unite different cultures and to bring joy and hope to all those who participate. If we can take this phenomenon and harness the support that football commands throughout the continent, then the industry can be one of the most powerful vehicles for the development of the peoples of this wonderful diverse continent (African Business, 2016).

International football institutions are also aware of the potential of football to contribute to the development of the continent. FIFA for example, during their Development Seminar for African Member Associations at the 2013 FIFA Club World Cup that took place in Marrakech (Morocco), expanded on the developmental progresses realised in Africa since the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. They discussed the ways to use the success of that competition to determine visions for upcoming priorities to further football development in Africa.

As it has been shown in this part, different aspects of football culture in Turkey and in Africa have already been discussed by various academics and journalists. The present

research work aims at contributing to the literature concerning the migration of Cameroonian football players to Turkey. This chapter was dedicated to the thematic literature review of the Turkish football culture and Cameroonian/African football culture as they have been tackled by some scholars. It sets the frame of the study up and constitutes an important step in the process of understanding the reasons of mobility of players in football. The next stage will be consecrated to the methodology adopted in the study.



CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodological approach adopted for this study. It gives details about the research questions and the qualitative dimension of the work. It also outlines the theoretical framework and explains the methods used to gather and analyse the information, before proceeding to the presentation of samples and their coding. Bellenger and Greenberg (1978: 21) remind that “good research is empirical; it implies that research is related basically to one or more aspects of a real situation and deals with concrete data that provide a basis for external validity to research results”.

2.1. Research Questions

Bordens and Abbott (2011: 64) explain that developing good research questions consists both in asking answerable questions (kind of questions that can be answered through the scientific method) and asking important questions. In this same perspective, to better assess the factors that can justify the growing number of Cameroonian footballers in Turkey during the last decade, this research work answers the following questions:

1. What do motivate Cameroonian professional football players to choose Turkey and the Süper Lig?
2. How are their relationships with the fans of their clubs?
3. How these professional footballers did experience life in Turkey?
4. Why many young Cameroonian amateur footballers would be so interested to play in Turkey?
5. For those amateur footballers, what do they think they need to be successful players in Turkey?

These are the main research questions the present study seeks to provide answers in order to understand the increasing migration of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey.

2.2. Qualitative Approach

The design of qualitative research is appropriate for this study. In reality, “qualitative research is exciting and important. It is a highly rewarding activity because it engages us with things that matter, in ways that matter” (Mason, 2002). Yin (2011) develops five features to describe the qualitative research:

1. It studies the meaning of people's live, under real-world conditions. This research work analyses the experiences of Cameroonian professional footballers in Turkey as well as their socialization with the Turkish environment.
2. It represents the views and perspectives of the people in a study. This work tries to understand the choice of Turkey made by Cameroonian players and the direction they want to give to their professional careers in targeting at the Turkish football leagues.
3. It covers the contextual conditions within which people live. This work describes the context in which foreign players perform in Turkey as well as their relationships with the Turkish fans.
4. It contributes to the clear perception of existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behaviours. This work deals with the migration of Cameroonian footballers and the analysis of the data offers a better explanation about sportsmen originated from Cameroon who move to Turkey to play football or who wish to do so.
5. It strives to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone. In this study, information are collected from different sources in order to have a global view about the mobility of Cameroonian football players to Turkey.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) state that “qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible”. This work attempts to comprehend the phenomenon of migration of football players and qualitative design provides appropriate tools to carry out the research as well as the necessary means to go further in the analysis.

Additionally, this research work required a kind of proximity with some participants. Dean Whitehead (2013: 104) for example thinks that one of the most important characteristics of qualitative research is that it involves a close relationship between the researcher and the participants. This is relatively different from research realised within the quantitative paradigm, where there is frequently no direct contact with the informants. In fact, within the framework of this study, there was a direct contact with two Turkish talent scouts and with some amateur football players and discussions have

been engaged with them in order to get their point of views about the migration of African and Cameroonian footballers to Turkey. For that reason, measures have been taken to remain objective and to avoid bias. Whitehead claims also that participants in a qualitative research are those who are considered as having the knowledge sought by the researcher; they are thus called “knowers” or “participants”. Participants in this study have been selected on the basis that they were considered as key informants and whose experiences in that sport were very important for the development of the research. Another criterion that led to the selection of informants in this qualitative research is the fact that they were part of the phenomenon which is examined in this work. Dean Whitehead stresses that:

Qualitative research is designed to help us understand naturally occurring social events through exploring the attitudes, beliefs, meanings, values and experiences of research participants. The intention is to produce “rich” narrative (spoken or observed data) that allows us to interpret the “essence” of what it is that has been said or observed (2013: 105).

Many techniques and methods linked to qualitative research to collect and analyse data are used in this study as it is described further in this chapter. The aim is to produce a critical analysis to understand the increasing number of Cameroonian footballers in Turkey since the 2006-2007 season.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical thinking, claims Grant Jarvie (2006, 20), is “the rigorous and continual systematic attempt to make use of particular tools in order to interpret the world around us or solve a problem or provide for a programme of change, action, or critical thinking”. Focussing on the importance of theories in the analysis of sport activities, Coakley (2015, 26) argues that theories provide the means to see things from new angles and perspectives, to understand entirely the relationship between sports and social life, and to make informed decisions about sports and sport participation in peoples’ lives, families, communities, and societies. In this study, the use of three important theoretical approaches is necessary to analyse the phenomenon of migration of Cameroonian players to Turkey: neoclassical micro-economic theory, push-pull theory, and networks theory.

The neoclassical micro-economic theory

It is important here to differentiate the micro and macro approaches. The micro-level perspective lays emphasis on individuals, families, households, specifically on their behaviours and processes tied to this microsocial environment. The macro-level perspective on its part is related to the economic, social, and political circumstances, the context of which is the actual ground for the behaviour of individual migrants. Massey et al. (1993) explain that the neoclassical model functions at both the macro and the micro level. At the micro level, migration is the result of decisions taken by individual “rational actors” who weigh up the pros and cons of moving relative to staying, a choice based on abundant information related to the options.

Microeconomic model insists on the individual choice made by people to move to places where they can earn money more than other places. Borjas (1990) expatiates that potential migrants assess the costs and benefits of moving to alternative international locations and move to where the expected discounted net returns are greatest over some period. Moreover, neoclassical micro-economic theory refers to labour markets and assumes that individuals make rational cost-benefit calculations, not only about the decision whether to move or not, but also when considering alternative destinations (European Communities, 2000: 3).

According to Massey et al. (1993), individual rational actors decide to move because a cost-benefit calculation guides them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from their migration. International mobility is conceptualised as a form of investment in human capital. In taking into account their talents and skills, people decide to move to countries or locations where they can be most productive. Nevertheless, before reaching the higher wages which is associated with greater labour productivity, they must undertake certain investments, which comprise the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced while adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones.

Push-pull theory

Everett Lee (1966) explains that there are two key elements in the study of mobility of people namely the decision to migrate and the process of migration itself. The present

work lays emphasis on the decision to migrate essentially. According to him, factors associated with the area of origin (push factors), factors associated with the area of destination (pull factors), intervening obstacles and personal factors are all aspects that influence the act of migration (1966: 50). He argues that in every area (origin and destination), there are countless factors which act to hold people within that area or attract people to it, and there are other factors tending to keep them away.

Lee also thinks that knowledge of the area of destination does not always reflect the reality and that some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be appreciated while living there. So, there is always a degree of ignorance and mystery concerning the country of destination and that's why potential new comers are constantly full of uncertainty concerning how they are going to be welcomed (1966: 51). As far as personal factors are concerned, they affect individual thresholds and facilitate or delay mobility. Some of these factors are more or less constant during the life of the individual, while others are linked with stages in the life cycle. Furthermore, for Lee, personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere is taken into account while assessing the situation at the area of origin, and knowledge about the situation at the country of destination depends on personal contacts or sources of information which are not always available (1966: 51).

In its most limited form, the push-pull approach consists of a number of negative or push factors in the area of origin that cause people to move away, in combination with a number of positive or pull factors that attract people to a receiving area (European Communities, 200: 3). Based on Lee's theorisation of migration, Russell King (2012: 13) affirms that push-pull approach conceives migration as driven by a set of push factors operating from the region of origin, and pull factors, operating from the country of destination. Concerning personal factors, different people will react in a different way to diverse combinations of pushes and pulls, following their economic status, life-stage and personality.

For Castles and Miller (1998), push-pull theory is a modern expansion to the traditional neoclassical interpretation; combination of pull factors from receiving country (demand for labour, better social opportunities, political freedoms, etc.) and push factors in the sender country (demographic growth, fewer economic opportunities, political

oppression, etc.) drive individuals to make the rational choice to migrate. On their side, Kivistö and Faist (2010: 36) consider that modern push-pull theory does contend that migration is a reaction to certain exceptional factors that convince an individual to migrate despite a natural tendency towards inertia.

Networks theory

The network approach crosses a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, communication, social psychology, political science, economics, mathematics, and epidemiology (Katz *et al.*, 2004). In effect, a social network consists of a set of actors called *nodes* and the relations (*ties* or *edges*) between these actors (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). The *nodes* may be individuals, groups, organizations, or societies while the *ties* may fall within a level of analysis (for instance individual-to-individual ties) or may span levels of analysis (such as individual-to-group ties).

Network researchers have examined a broad variety of types of ties. These include communication ties (such as who talks to whom, or who gives information or advice to whom), formal ties (such as who reports to whom), affective ties (such as who likes whom, or who trusts whom), material or work flow ties (such as who gives money or other resources to whom), proximity ties (who is spatially or electronically close to whom), and cognitive ties (such as who knows who knows whom). Networks are typically multiplex, that is, actors share more than one type of tie.

Network researchers have also distinguished between strong ties (such as family and friends) and weak ties (such as acquaintances) (Granovetter, 1982). This distinction can involve a multitude of facets, including affect, mutual obligations, reciprocity, and intensity. Strong ties are particularly valuable when an individual seeks socio-emotional support and often require a high level of trust. Weak ties are more valuable when individuals are seeking various or unique information from someone outside their regular frequent contacts. This information could include new job or market opportunities.

According to Massey *et al.* (1993), migrant networks refer to sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non migrants in origin and destination locations through links of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. In effect,

they claim that networks facilitate potential migrants' decision to move by the provision of information and assistance, for example, with the regard to finding work and housing. For Arango (2004: 28), the dominant view of social networks in the migration literature is that they have the functions of providing information and contacts, directing people to particular destinations.

Migration networks contribute in three further significant insights into theorising the mobility process, thus claims Fussell (2012): (1) they contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of differential migration; (2) they help to foresee future movement, since networks reproduce migrants through time; and (3) they contribute to resolving a key theoretical distinction between the initial causes of mobility and its perpetuation and diffusion in time and space.

2.4. Methods of Data Collection

When examining literature within the framework of athletic migration, it is evident that the majority of work gives a priority to the motivations and experiences of migrant athletes (Maguire and Elliott, 2008: 486). The data collected in this study come from two different sources: primary and secondary sources. According to Kothari (2004: 95), "primary data" refer to data which are collected afresh and for the first time; thus they are original in character whereas "secondary data" are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have previously been passed through the statistical process. Examples of primary sources include observation (participant, non-participant), interviewing (structured, semi-structured), and questionnaire (mailed, collective). In the other side, documents, government publications, earlier researches, census, clients' histories, records (personal, office), articles, journals, books, periodicals, mass media (reports published in newspapers, in magazines, on internet, in radio and television) are some illustrations of secondary sources. Both primary and secondary sources of information are parts of the qualitative research design.

To comprehend the choice to move to Turkey made by Cameroonian professional football players, secondary sources of information are used. Actually, those players have been interviewed by various African and European media about their motivations

and these players gave more explanations on this matter. In this work, the following media have been consulted:

- *Foot Mercato*; a French online media specialised in the transfer market of football players over the world;
- *TRT Spor*; the sport thematic channel of the Turkish national television;
- Television channels of Turkish football clubs; it is worth noticing here that some clubs such as Galatasaray (GSTV), Fenerbahçe (FBTV), Beşiktaş (BJKTV), and Bursaspor (BSTV) have their own television channels;
- *Canal 2 International*; the first Cameroonian private television channel. They broadcast “Diaspo Foot”, a programme dedicated to Cameroonian footballers of the diaspora and “Griffe de Pro” (Claw of Professionals) which deals with Cameroonian footballers who started their careers as amateur players in football academies in Cameroon and who succeeded later on in Europe and in other parts of the world.
- *TurcoFoot.com*; a web television specialised on the issues related to African footballers playing in the Turkish football leagues;
- *Carré Sport*; a French website specialised in the matters of football and other sports.

These media have been chosen because some Turkish clubs officials, as well as many famous footballers who played with the Cameroonian national team and who opted for Turkey have been interviewed there. Cameroonian fans are fans of the national team, *The Indomitable Lions*, and they are always following the performances of their players in clubs.

In addition, semi-structured interviews (primary source) have been realised in order to gather data from some informants. Blandford (2013) asserts in this sense that “interviews are the best suited for understanding people’s perceptions and experiences”. In this research work, most of the interviews with amateur football players have been realised through the channel of telephone, that is, telephone interview. “The primary reason that one might conduct a qualitative telephone interview is to reach a sample population that is in geographically diverse locations” (Berg, 2001: 82). Telephone interviews have been adopted because the majority of the informants (amateur football

players particularly) were all living and residing in various cities in Cameroon and Turkey.

The interviews have been recorded with the prior permission of all the players and later on transcribed verbatim. According to Pickering (2008: 82), interviews and focus groups should be tape-recorded and transcribed, the transcription being the conversion of oral information into written ones which can then be analysed. One recalls here that “verbatim transcription” is the art of converting spoken words into text in such a way to capture exactly the message that has been spoken.

Furthermore, during interviews, open-ended questions have been asked to the participants (see Appendix 1) in order to allow them to share freely their experiences and to get the needed information from them. Open-ended questions have been chosen because they seek opinions, attitudes, and perceptions whereas closed questions are more useful for eliciting factual information (Ranjit Kumar, 2011). *ACR* is the application that has been used to record telephone conversations.

2.5. Methods of Data Analysis

Laying emphasis on the importance of data analysis in a research work, Speziale and Carpenter claim that:

Regardless of the methodological approach used, the goal of data analysis is to illuminate the experiences of those who lived them by sharing the richness of lived experiences and culture. The researcher has the responsibility of describing and analysing what is present in the raw data to bring to life particular phenomena (2007: 48).

The data of this study have been collected from two different sources as abovementioned. Thus, Content analysis will be used alongside the theories of migration to assess the motivations of professional and amateur footballers who opt for Turkish football leagues. Basically speaking, content analysis is the analysis of what is contained in a message. Qualitative content analysis can be described as a method of empirical, methodological, and controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models (Marying, 2000). For Patton (2002: 453), qualitative content analysis makes reference to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative

material and seeks to identify main consistencies and meanings. Content analysis is therefore useful when:

- The research questions are best analysed by organising the data in a thematic way;
- The research requires the gathering of narrative data from interviews, focus groups, or field notes;
- It is important to identify the context within which certain words and terms are used;
- The results do not need to be generalised to the wider population.

For Bryman (2004), qualitative content analysis is “probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents. It comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed”. In a more practical basis, in this study, the model of content analysis developed by Maryng (2002: 115) is used to analyse the information collected from different sources. In fact, Maryng establishes three distinct analytical procedures which may be carried out either independently or in combination, depending on the research questions: Summary, Explication, and Structuring. Only the first two will be used in this study:

- Summary; it is an attempt to reduce the material in such a way as to preserve the essential content and by abstraction, to create a convenient text which still reflects the original material. For this, the text is paraphrased, generalised, or abstracted and reduced.
- Explication; it involves explaining, clarifying, and annotating the material. As a first step, a lexico-grammatical definition is attempted, then the material for explanation is determined, and this is followed by a narrow context analysis, and a broad context analysis. Finally, an “explicatory paraphrase” is made of the particular portion of text and the clarification is examined with a reference to the total context.

2.6. Samples and Samples Coding

The sample population of this study is made up of seven professional football players originated from Cameroon. They have performed in the Turkish Süper Lig between the

seasons 2006-2007 and 2016-2017. These players have been selected because they were very famous with the Cameroonian national team. The fact that they came to play in Turkey has also encouraged the fans of the national team to more and more follow the Turkish football competitions. Also, ten amateur football players who were all living in different regions in Cameroon are also parts of this study. They are students in football academies in Cameroon or members of junior teams of some professional clubs and they would dream to game in Turkey if they have the occasion. Throughout the year, these amateur footballers participate to the national youth league organised by the Cameroon football federation. They take part as well to other tournaments organised by different institutions such as “Les Brasseries du Cameroun”.

A young African football player living in İstanbul has also been contacted within the framework of this research work. Alongside his studies at the university, he is very active in football activities in that city thanks to his skills and potential. Moreover, two Turkish talent scouts are key informants of this study and they participate to the process of understanding of the mobility of African footballers to Turkey. Their job is to follow up talented football players abroad, put them in relation with Turkish clubs which hire them subsequently. They know very well African football and African footballers and thanks to them, many African and other international footballers have signed contracts with various Turkish teams in different leagues.

To better exploit the data collected and to protect the identities of the informants, it was necessary to proceed to the coding of the participants' identities. Kothari (2004: 123) defines the word “coding” as the process of assigning numerals or other symbols to answers in such a way that responses can be put into a limited number of categories or classes. First of all, the seven professional footballers have played in seven different teams. These football clubs are coded as follows: ISTA1; ISTA2; ISTA3 (for İstanbul clubs); ANA1; ANA2; ANA3; ANA4 (for Anatolian clubs). Players themselves receive the following codes:

- PRO1: he is one of the best footballers Africa has ever known. He plays with ANA3 since the season 2015-2016;
- PRO2: he arrived in Turkey in 2011 and played with ANA4 during the 2016-2017 season, and then moved to another Turkish squad in a lower division;

- PRO3: he is one of the key players of the Cameroonian national team. During the season 2016-2017 he was part of the ISTA1's team;
- PRO4: Since the season 2013-2014, he has played with four different teams of the Turkish Super League and whose the last one was ANA1;
- PRO5: he has spent three years in Turkey (2011-2014) and played with ISTA2 plus another Anatolian club;
- PRO6: he is living in Turkey since 2008 and started with a team in the 2nd division (1. Lig). From 2013 to 2017, he has played the Super League with ANA2 and then moved to another Turkish squad in a lower division.
- PRO7: in 2013, this other *Indomitable Lion* signed a four-year contract with ISTA3 and remained faithful to his club up until the end of his agreement in 2017. Then, he signed a new contract with another İstanbul team of the Super League.

As far as amateur players are concerned, the following codes are attributed to them: AMAT1; AMAT2; AMAT3; AMAT4; AMAT5; AMAT6; AMAT7; AMAT8; AMAT9; and AMAT10. As mentioned earlier, they were all performing in Cameroon at the time the data have been collected.

In the presentation of the data, TAS1 and TAS2 will represent respectively the two Turkish talent scouts, while ISTAM will stand for the young African footballer who lives in İstanbul. Thus, personal names of informants and of Turkish clubs in relation with the informants will not appear in the next part, just the above codes.

CHAPTER THREE: FINDINGS

This part of the study is dedicated to the presentation of data that have been collected from primary and secondary sources in the perspective to analyse the growing migration of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey during the last ten seasons.

3.1. Professional Football Players

3.1.1. Move to Turkey: Between the Quest of a New Challenge, the Desire to Win Titles and to Participate to European Competitions

Professional footballers at a given point in time in their careers receive various propositions that come from different clubs from different countries and they are the only ones who must take the final decision after taking into consideration many factors. Thus, there are different reasons that lead players to opt for one squad or another. After signing a three-year-contract in 2015 with ANA3, PRO1 claimed: “ANA3 is in the continuity. I am at the end of my career, I am trying to have fun and it seems that in Turkey I have fun”. He also explains that one of the elements that convinced him to join that squad was the speech of the club managers and their project. In addition, the fact that many stars in the past have performed in Turkey and that some young foreign players have started their careers in Turkey lead PRO1 to assert that “the Turkish Super League must be respected and must be taken seriously”. For this player, Turkey represented the land of a new defy at a particular stage in his career.

PRO4 arrived in Turkey in 2013 when he was at the quest of a new challenge to enhance his young football career. In fact, he was playing in Greece when he received a proposition which was offering him an incredible challenge. The Turkish Super League, says PRO4, is “a high quality league made up of very good teams. In each team, there are two or three players coming from bigger leagues. The game is speedy, all for the attack; it is a very exciting league”. For having played previously in England, PRO4 feels comfortable in the Turkish football league: “it’s very exciting for a goalkeeper because we are solicited, and there are many contacts. This is what I love and it is not different to what I have experienced in England”. For him too, Turkey is the appropriate field to give a new chance to his career.

In 2011, PRO5 signed a contract with ISTA2 where he spent two seasons. Various elements justified his choice. First of all, he wanted to experience new things: “I really wanted to discover a new environment; the one of Turkey is different from many other countries because people here are very fond of football”. Furthermore, in coming to ISTA2, PRO5 wanted to win more competitions, something which would be extraordinary for his career, and to increase his visibility in the media in order to be more known in the world of football. To achieve his goals, he could count on the support of his teammates because many of them came from bigger European leagues: “mentally, tactically, and physically speaking, I will learn from the great players who are already in the club”. Thus, PRO5 settled in Turkey to experience something new, to upgrade his football level alongside well known players and gain popularity as well.

PRO3 is one of the key players of the Cameroonian national team. On loan from another European club, he joined ISTA1 in 2016 after understanding and appreciating the great ambitions of that club. Moreover, he would like to get forward and win competitions with ISTA1. Another important footballer of the Cameroonian national team, PRO2, came to play the Super League in Turkey. In joining an İstanbul club, he stated:

At a certain age, it is not time to reflect where to go as we say in my country; playing for the television and playing to win tournaments and cups. For me, there were priorities. So, I have chosen those who wanted me to play in their team and those who really strived for me. That's why I came to Turkey.

PRO2 spent two seasons in a club of İstanbul before reaching ISTA2 which was also more popular than his previous team. This was an important progression of the Cameroonian striker who explicated his choice to stay in Turkey:

ISTA2 was a dream because it is a big team and it was an opportunity to come back at the top level and play European competitions. I wanted also to play the first roles in the Super League. So, my objectives in signing with ISTA2 were to win the league and take part to the European tournaments.

PRO6 arrived in Turkey in 2008 and played the Turkish 2nd division league (1. Lig) with ANA1 for five years. From 2013 to 2017, he has performed in the Super League with ANA2. For him, money was not the most important aspect that prevailed when he opted to join Turkey: “I have put aside wage conditions; it was not a priority for me.

The priority for me was to play in a professional league”. His objective, he said, was to perform well and become a key player in this team of ANA2 before starting to think about something else. Hence, the preference of Turkey made by PRO6 was essentially for sporting reasons, based on the idea that succeeding in his club will open more important doors for him afterwards. On this issue of money, TAS2 understands the strategy adopted by some clubs in their recruitment of African players. Actually, for almost the same attributes or same levels with their African counterparts, European and South American players ask higher salaries. But African players, explains TAS2, when they come in Turkey for the first time from Africa, “they do not ask too much money, though their level is very high. That’s why this situation is very beneficial for Turkish clubs. Instead of the same amount of salaries for less skilful players, Turkish clubs prefer African players”. It means that African football players in general who discover new leagues far from their motherlands are less exigent on the amount of their salaries compared to other international players, not because they are less talented than them, but because some of them want to achieve their dream to play abroad.

Many other *Indomitable Lions* have played and continue to play in the Turkish football leagues. One of them, PRO7, has signed a four-year-contract with ISTA3 in 2013. He has joined that team because it is a big European club and unlike PRO6, the salary that was proposed to him has significantly influenced his decision to come to Turkey: “I have also taken into account the financial aspect when I took the decision because for me, football is first of all a passion, but it is also a profession”. His objectives with his team were to continue to win the league, to win many other Cups of Turkey and perform well in the European competitions. At the end of his contract in June 2017, he was recruited by another club of İstanbul of the Super League which offers him good wage conditions as well.

According to TAS1, financial aspect is one of the major factors that guide the decisions of footballers in choosing their clubs: “The main motivation is money, because of professionalism. Why do you play football? It is because you want to live from it, because you want to earn money. Young or old, everybody plays this game for money”. He illustrates his point of view with the case of a Brazilian footballer; when he was moving from Chelsea in England to China, this player said: “Don’t blame me; what I

came to do in England is what I am going to do in China (to earn money)”. TAS1 adds that big European clubs attract great players with money, not with the club’s name or with the club’s history. For him, this preference of good wage conditions is understandable because most of the professional footballers go to retirement around the age of 36; therefore, they need to earn much money to live well once they retire from professional football. All these elements explain the influence of wage conditions proposed to players in the choice of their next destinations.

In addition, TAS1 goes further in his explanations of the contemporary world of football where money plays an important role. Here, he takes the example of a football club from Democratic Republic of Congo called *Tout Puissant Mazembe* to show the power of money in the migration of football players: “*TP Mazembe* of D.R. Congo now pays big salaries to their players. Consequently, it becomes difficult to convince players to move from that club to another one because they are in a very good financial situation over there”. That is to say that players move from one club to another after making some calculations, to make sure that their income will be higher in their future clubs. If it is not the case, they don’t see the necessity to leave their good economic conditions in their current clubs.

Then, TAS2 argues also that African footballers choose Turkey for their career planning. For him, most of European and South American players, when they come to Turkey, they do not think to go to a better European country but African players consider that if they perform well in Turkey, they can reach different countries and make more money. That’s why they choose Turkey, for career planning. So, Turkey would be a suitable arena for African footballers in the perspective of their careers in the long run.

Administrators of football clubs who are highly implicated in the movements of sportsmen towards Turkey have their own motivations that lead them to hire African talents. For instance, during the winter market transfer of the 2016-2017 season and while recruiting an African star, the executive director of an İstanbul team of the Süper Lig explained that their new player, thanks to his experience and his popularity both in Europe and in Africa, is going to attract media attention to the club. It is well known that İstanbul is dominated by three historical clubs which are Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe, and

Galatasaray; many other clubs exist in the city (Kasımpaşa, İstanbulspor, Fatih Karagümrük, Eyüp, Vefa, etc.) but these three are the most famous, supported by a very solid fans base. Hence, almost one year after the recruitment of that African star, one of the objectives set by the managers of that other İstanbul team has been fulfilled since international media have extensively commented the performances of that player in releasing more information about his club. As a result, people worldwide started to accommodate themselves with the existence of that squad. Also, the executive director has explicated that their interest in African players is motivated by their tremendous talent and their reasonable prices as well. In the years to come, it is possible to expect more African players in this club because one of their official scouts is a former Cameroonian footballer who has been in Turkey for many years and played in four different teams of the Süper Lig.

Furthermore, the vice-president and press spokesman of an Anatolian club justified their preference of African players by the fact that they are hard working athletes and that their performances on the field are able to lead the team to victories. Besides, having been in Africa himself with his talent scouts to assess the profile of local players, the president of an Anatolian club has explained that he recruits African footballers for three main reasons. First, in balancing their talents to their prices, buying them is definitely a good affair; African footballers are profitable for his club both on economic and sporting plans. Second, they are not difficult to convince; this means that local players do not hesitate to seize any opportunity to migrate northwards in order to achieve their dream of becoming professional players. Third, tough regulations that are in force in other European leagues is an advantage for him as recruiter; actually, he remarked that scouts from all over the world know perfectly what Africa means in terms of reservoir of talent. Thus, different teams may want to buy the same players but due to the fact that some European leagues apply strong rules over foreign players, this constitutes an asset for his recruitment team to sign up easily good players. He takes the case of England; before gaming in the English league, a foreign player must have played with his national teams at least eleven times (football players need to have played in at least 75% of their country's senior international matches over the previous two years). Such a rule does not exist in Turkey. Consequently, if a player who does not fulfil this criterion but wants to game has to choose, he will certainly accept the

proposition of the Turkish team. All this demonstrates that managers of Turkish clubs are well informed about the intrinsic value of African athletes and make use of their strategies to also benefit from it.

3.1.2. Very Good Relationships between Players and Fans

Ebenezer Cobb Morley, the founder of British Football Association used to claim that “football has always been about the fans”. This is because fans play a considerable role in the daily life of their clubs and they can influence the performances of players as well through their behaviours. That's why most of the footballers try to build good relationships with the fans of their teams. PRO1 for example acknowledges that his relationships with the fans are excellent: “Seeing that the supporters will not see me all the time, I share these moments with them in granting them *selfies* and other similar things. Turkey is a football country; everywhere you go you meet football fans and football lovers”. Talking about violence in football, PRO1 affirms that one must not directly criticise the fans because the passion of football is found everywhere. Their disappointment due to the non-fulfilment of their high expectations leads them sometimes to adopt a particular behaviour. For PRO1, this (violent) behaviour of some fans does not mean that it is their daily behaviours: “We tell them that all of us have to support the team even when the results are not those expected”. Consequently, players always try to calm down the fans and remind them that football remains a game above all, a beautiful game with a positive side as well.

In many countries where football is a popular game, derbies among historical clubs are always an occasion for the fans to demonstrate to their players the importance of this kind of matches. PRO7 of ISTA3 explains that the derbies against ISTA2 are more than ordinary matches in Turkey: “Many more supporters than usual always attend our training sessions at the eve of these derbies; they want to show us that we should win these matches. For the fans, derbies are like battles”. This point of view is also shared by PRO5 who has understood the importance of derbies especially against ISTA3, showing the vivid expression of the passion of football fans. Conscious of the important role of fans, PRO5 took all the measures to establish good relationships with them and one of his biggest challenges when he joined that team of ISTA2 was “to make an effort to be loved by the fans because here if you are loved by the supporters, it's simply

amazing and this is an impetus that could help you to perform well”. As an illustration, he remembers the stadium full with 50,000 women and children when the supporters of his club had been banned and only women and children were authorised to go to the stadium. For him, “It is simply unbelievable. That’s football; it’s beautiful and that’s why we are here. Football is our passion and our passion is wonderful”. This is one of the specificities of the Turkish fans culture; football has no frontier and everybody is involved.

However, PRO5 has not forgotten this fear moment that he has witnessed, an incident created by the fans of an opponent team. This shows that the issue of violence in sport is still on today’s agenda. In fact, they had a match against an Anatolian team in Anatolia and that match was so violent according to him. From their arrival up to the exit of the city, they couldn’t train and rest peacefully. The fans of the opponent team didn’t allow them to sleep at the eve of the match: “During the whole night, they came and made a lot of noises close to our hotel”. PRO5 reports that even in their own dressing room the day of the match, there were many altercations with fans who succeeded to penetrate into their dressing room. For him, important measures must be taken in order to guarantee the security of players because in these conditions, athletes and staff members could be seriously injured in the future if nothing is done. In the same direction, this recalls the incidents that happened on August 6, 2017 during the Turkish Super Cup game between the fans of Atiker Konyaspor and those of Beşiktaş JK. The peak of the tensions among the supporters of the two teams has been characterised by the knife found on the pitch by a player. The situation was even worst at the end of the match, when the fans of Atiker Konyaspor (winners of the match) invaded the ground with the seats that they have removed from the stands of the stadium and started to attack the security staffs who were present, and then invited the supporters of Beşiktaş JK to fight. Indeed, it was a surrealist spectacle that happened the day of the final of an important national competition.

PRO3 in his side remembers the day he arrived in İstanbul: “I have been impressed by the warm welcome of the fans of ISTA1 at the airport in İstanbul”. For him, fans are very friendly and what is surprising is the fact that they are very cordial with the players. They do not hesitate to show how much they love their team and the players. In

the similar way, PRO2 affirms that Turkish fans are respectful and are very attached to their clubs; once they are on the playground, they give their best to perform well in order to allow their fans to go back home being happy. TAS2 argues that this good atmosphere that prevails between African players and fans may be one the incentives that lead them to come and ply their services in Turkey:

Turkish people really love African players and even in the streets, when they see Africans, they express this love. Racist behaviours against African players and foreign people, we don't have. And you can't see any racist behaviour in the stadiums against African players because fans love them.

On May 12, 2013 during the most electric Turkish derby between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray at Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium, some Fenerbahçe fans were waving bananas and the local media claimed that those fans were targeting at the then Galatasaray striker Didier Drogba from Ivory Coast. Even if the fans denied any act of racism through a press conference organised by Fenerbahçe officials, Didier Drogba released the following statement to Fenerbahçe fans in the social media:

You call me monkey but you cried when Chelsea beat Fenerbahçe in 2008; you called me monkey but you jumped in front of your screen when I won the Champions League; you called me monkey but you got mad when I became champion with Galatasaray. The saddest thing is you called me monkey and forgot that you jumped when my 'monkey' brother scored twice yesterday⁵...And you call yourself a true fan? Check all the Galatasaray fans comments and learn from them.

Nevertheless, Drogba had also published another message explaining that he was happy to live and perform in Turkey:

Please don't get me wrong. Being in Turkey for the last five months is the best thing that could have happened in my career. I'm already in love with Turkey and the Turkish people. I've been playing against many teams across the country and they were always respectful despite me playing for [Galatasaray]. That's why I can't and will never change my opinion about this beautiful country. Fatuous people are all around the world and it's up to us to educate them...Now, more than ever, I will continue to promote Turkish football everywhere in the world as much I can and represent my team the best I can.

⁵ Cameroon international Pierre Webo scored both of Fenerbahçe's goals in the victory over Galatasaray on that May 12, 2013.

Also, Didier Zokora, a footballer from Ivory Coast who played for Trabzonspor and Akhisar Belediyespor acknowledges that Turkey is a beautiful country but claims also that there are some bad people. In fact, using his Twitter account to welcome the new Galatasaray striker Bafétimbi Gomis to Turkey, he released a video on August 21, 2017 in which he was saying that Turkey is a nice country and that there are not racists. Then, he advised Gomis in these terms: “Just keep focused on your team and score more goals. Don’t focus on some crazy and bad people; don’t be confused. There are some bad people like Emre (Belözoğlu) who is racist, and some fans”. He said so based on his five-year-experience in Turkey. Nevertheless, all the professional players who are part of this study succeeded to create a very good relationship with the fans of their teams and even the players who left their former clubs are still loved by those fans. However, this cannot be generalised to all African footballers engaged in the Turkish football leagues because some of them have encountered difficulties during their stay in the country.

3.1.3. Life Experience in Turkey: Between Satisfaction and Disappointment

Professional footballers can discover and play in various clubs from different countries in the world. Some players adapt fast to the new environment whereas some other take more time or may encounter more difficulties. PRO1 moved from a European club to ANA3 in Turkey and did not face any problem in his new milieu: “I adapted well and fast in Turkey because my teammates and the whole staff helped me. Also, I can walk in many places in the city because I came here many times in the past. I don’t have any problem”. He mentions for example the “old city” that he knows well and that he likes much. The fact that he has been visiting that city when he was still playing out of Turkey certainly rendered easier his adaptation. At the end of his career as player, PRO1 would like to become a football coach. He got an opportunity to be coach-player in his club and it was an important moment in his life: “It was a great honour to be coach and player at the same time. It doesn’t happen all the time. I did it for six months, and it was not an easy task. Nevertheless, the results were positive”. This player started to realise one of his most important dreams in Turkey and it constituted an element that facilitated as well his integration in the country.

When some players adapt well in their leagues, they feel comfortable and the only thing they want to do is to extend their experience there. This is the case of PRO4 who wishes to stay in Turkey for long time: “Yes of course, it will be a pleasure for me to stay here in Turkey. I feel great in this football league so why not staying here for long time?” Also, though PRO5 has reached ISTA2 in a period particularly difficult for his new club, he has been able to accustom in the city and in his team: “I feel well here in İstanbul and people are extremely fond of football. Up to now, there is no problem and I really hope to continue like that for the good sake of my career”. İstanbul is one of the biggest cities in Europe in terms of demography and the practice of football. PRO5 who was coming from a smaller European city succeeded to adapt in his new metropolis.

The *Indomitable Lion* of ISTA1 admits that he did not face problem because everything had been put in place for his easy adaptation. Moreover, PRO3 was lucky to find in his team some overseas players with whom he played in the past in different leagues and this was a considerable advantage for his integration. As far as PRO2 is concerned, he arrived in Turkey in 2011 and has already played with three different Turkish teams of the Super League. He thinks that the first club he played with for two seasons (an İstanbul team) permitted him to well adapt in Turkey and it is in that team that he spent one of the most beautiful moments in his career: “With that team, I have scored many goals (he is the fourth best scorer in the history of that club). It was a small team (compared to other İstanbul teams), but we have achieved interesting performances. Thanks to that squad, I have joined ISTA2”. PRO2 considered his first Turkish team as a big family which permitted him to integrate the Turkish way of life. Consequently, he considers himself as an ambassador for that club.

In addition, PRO2 does not forget to thank Turkish people who have contributed to his easy integration in this new milieu he was discovering: “The kindness of Turkish citizens is amazing; they always want to help people and are always available to serve”. He adds that a good atmosphere with teammates and the staff is a good source of adaptation, that is, the respect to each other on the pitch and the positive comments of the staff toward players. He claims that the experienced players who came from bigger teams such as Liverpool or Chelsea knew what to say to welcome the new comers. All these elements were important to feel comfortable in his new club.

TAS1 believes that if a player gives everything on the pitch, he will be respected by his teammates. TAS2 in his side thinks that Turkish clubs recruit African players because of their rapid and easy adaption in Turkey compared to other international players. For him, when footballers from European, very developed and educated countries land in any region of Turkey apart from İstanbul, sometimes, they don't like. They consider those places as less developed and different from other European countries. But African players coming to Turkey for the first time don't care much about this issue. Thus, Turkish clubs hire young African players because they can be happy in Turkey easily without much bias: "African players don't have any cultural barriers when they come to Turkey" and they can accommodate with Turkish culture more easily than European players.

For some other footballers, adaptation may be more difficult especially when they are not able to communicate with people around them. "The language is a barrier but the most important is the mental", says PRO6. PRO7 also faced some problems with the Turkish language when he arrived in İstanbul in 2013 but the situation got better later on: "With the linguistic barrier it was not easy at all at the beginning. Apart from another Cameroonian player who was also a teammate, I didn't know anybody. I didn't have friends yet; everything was new for me. Today it's far better". Indeed, when it is not possible to express oneself because of the non-mastery of the language, it may be a big problem. Some other African football players experienced difficult moments in Turkey for different reasons. It is the case of the Cameroonian Stephane Mbia, who left Trabzonspor only six months after signing a three-year-contract with the Anatolian club. It had been reported that the delays in the payment of the player's salary was the main cause of this sudden breach of contract. Moreover, Emmanuel Eboué from Ivory Coast experienced a very complicated 2014-2015 season, when the Italian coach Cesare Prandelli sent him to the reserve team of Galatasaray. At the end of the season, he quit the club (his contract expired that year) and until today, he is still asking what was wrong. Another instance of African players who lived hard moments in Turkey is the Nigerian Emmanuel Emenike of Fenerbahçe; at many occasions, his tumultuous relationship with the fans have been exposed. For example, on March 22, 2015 during the victory derby (1-0) against Beşiktaş JK, he took his shirt off and requested to be substituted. Later on, to justify his deed, he affirmed to have been insulted by his own

fans and he couldn't continue playing in that atmosphere. These anecdotes show the complexity of football environment where players, fans, and clubs administration interact. While some sportsmen felt comfortable in Turkey, others kept sad souvenirs of their stay in the country.

3.2. Amateur Football Players

3.2.1. Turkish Football Leagues: Road to Bigger European Clubs, Professionalism, and Good salaries

Turkey hosts many Cameroonian professional footballers who have chosen that destination for various reasons. In the similar way, many young Cameroonian amateur footballers would like to play also in Turkey for different reasons. AMAT2 for example explains that previously, the football leagues of Indonesia and Thailand were at the same time a good front and exit doors toward bigger European leagues. Since a given time, problems of obtaining visas and others discouraged many European recruiters who are no longer able to reach Indonesia or Thailand. As a result, he says, Turkey has a double advantage; they have a professional football league and there is a not a problem of getting visas. In targeting at Turkey, he would like to benefit from the professionalism of Turkish football. His choice is also influenced by the fact that many famous Cameroonian footballers who performed in Turkey have increased the visibility of the Turkish football in Cameroon more than in the past. So, he wishes to try also his chance in going there.

For AMAT5, it is easier to find a club in Turkey than in France or in England or in Germany: "Turkey is in the perspective of my career". Generally, he clarifies, young players start in the leagues which are not in the world's top five, before getting forward: "It is not easy to start directly in the clubs like Real Madrid or Manchester United". He would like to play in a team with an average and normal level of game, something that will help him to integrate the new system and adapt to it. "Our 2nd division here in Cameroon is not much tactical; it's more physical. In going to Turkey, I would like to develop my tactical and technical skills and this will help me to upgrade my potential", he says. Hence, AMAT5 thinks that football leagues like the ones of Turkey allow

young players to gain experience and contribute significantly to their dream of playing in bigger leagues subsequently.

To build a refined CV, young players prefer starting progressively, that is, from a local team to a regional team, and then they can reach Angola or Tunisia and Turkey, argues AMAT10. All these steps allow players to have a good CV which would open the doors of a bigger club in the future. However, to be able to give full satisfaction to his club, he expects first of all a good welcome: “How are they going to welcome me? The team I am going to play with, will they be racist? I would like the managers of my club to reassure me that I will be like at home”. AMAT10 considers that if these conditions are not fulfilled, morally speaking he will be affected and when the morale of a player is down, automatically it has negative repercussions on his performances. So for him, the welcome in the team is very important. On this matter, TAS1 affirms that “Turkish people love foreign players; if you respect their culture and their language, they will love you very much”. The respect of a host country’s values is very important; this allows foreign people to understand local culture and familiarise with it.

Contemporary football is characterised by its business and marketing side as it has been shown earlier in this study. Football is a sector of activity where stakeholders talk about money from the beginning to the end of almost everything. Money has a significant influence in the selection of leagues players want to reach. AMAT4 states that money is the first element that justifies his choice of Turkey. He would like to earn money primarily because in Cameroon, football is not financially lucrative as it is in Turkey. “In order to get forward in my career, I need to gain also much money”, he asserts. In the similar way, AMAT9 claims that money is the main incentive that leads him to opt for Turkey because there, football is economically worthwhile: “There is money in Turkey and their currency is better than our own. Moreover, many famous professional footballers come to Turkey just to gain much money”. For him, football is firstly about money; the rest comes next.

Similarly, ISTAM thinks that the first motivation is the financial aspect because between playing in Africa and playing here in Turkey, there is a big difference. TAS2 has the same point of view and takes the case of an African country namely Nigeria where a player can earn €1,000 per month, while in Turkey the same player can earn ten

times more. “That player can make €150,000 in a year and that’s a huge amount for him”. So, according to him, many African players come to Turkey for financial reasons; football in Turkey being more lucrative than in other European countries.

According to ISTAM, coming to Europe at a young age allows players to develop their talent thanks to the well equipped facilities and they have the possibility to become better players in the future. A young footballer in Cameroon doesn’t dream, argues AMAT7, while in Turkey, he has the opportunity to play his game in a professional environment. Moreover, he states that in Turkey there is a good supervision and coaching of players, in addition to the appropriate infrastructures that help young people to play football, to have fun, and to get forward. Also, in Turkey and in Europe in general, players receive their salaries regularly, says AMAT7; accordingly, players have a very good financial situation. AMAT1 in his side claims that many young Cameroonian footballers would like to continue their football careers in Turkey because of the good quality of infrastructures that facilitate the practice of football.

AMAT3 would like to perform in Turkey because it is a Muslim country and being there, he can progress and support his family financially as well: “Turkey is a Muslim country, a country where people respect the rules of Islam. The dream of every footballer is to give the best of himself on the pitch, get forward in his game, and also help his family”. With all the difficulties players encounter in the local league in Cameroon, AMAT6 would like to play in Turkey because of its popularity. AMAT8 targets at Turkey because he wants to show his potential, express himself, and go far in football. For ISTAM, Amateur players need this kind of platforms (1. Lig and lower leagues) to discover a professional environment and high-level sport that will allow them to show their skills, make their mistakes and improve their game before moving to bigger European leagues. After all, young Cameroonian footballers have expressed various reasons to explain their desire to play football in Turkey.

3.2.2. Keys to Become a Successful Player in Turkey: Talent, Hard Work and Discipline

There are some foreign players who reach European leagues with incredible potential but who do not realise it and end up unsuccessful. Cameroonian amateur footballers

have their own idea about what they should do to become successful players abroad. AMAT2 says for instance that to succeed in Turkey, if “I am talented, what remains is hard work and discipline. I would say discipline particularly because even if we are not so talented but disciplined, we get forward”. For most of these players, the key of success is hard word. “The key word is work. I am a hard worker especially in the matters related to football”, says AMAT8. According to AMAT3, football is primarily about hard work and to succeed in any football league, one must train seriously in addition to strive to appear in the starting line up of official matches. AMAT6 claims the same thing; hard work:

For every footballer who wants to succeed, the first element is hard work. If I get to sign a contract in Turkey whatever the club and the division, for me it will be a matter of hard working. The most important aspect for a footballer is to work.

AMAT4 considers that working everyday to improve one's quality of game is the only option to be a successful player in the world of football:

Something is sure; when we decide to go to Europe, we are conscious that the level of the league over there is high. So, we should just work hard, keep the same rhythm of work and get forward every day in order to remain at an acceptable level.

In the same order of idea, AMAT5 argues he must exercise continuously during the training sessions and give his best to appear in the lists of the players who will participate to the official matches that hold every weekend. Moreover, once he arrived in Turkey, he says, he has to observe the best player of the league and in analysing his capacities, he will be able to know what and where he needs to work harder to be the best both in his club and in the league. As a striker, if after ten matches the top scorer of the league records nine goals and if he scores seven goals or so, it won't be bad. Consequently, the Turkish media would start talking about him, saying that there is a young Cameroonian player with remarkable performances who has joined the league recently. AMAT5 believes that once the media start talking about a footballer who plays well, this could enhance his career.

If a footballer who arrives in Turkey for the first time does not face basic problems like accommodation, explains AMAT10, he should give the best on the pitch. He should be able to stand out from others especially from those who play at the same position with

him. For AMAT7, once a young player arrives in Turkey, he needs accommodation and other basic elements. He adds that a young player cannot ask much money or little money; rather, a good supervision and follow-up will allow him to move forward in his game. In his side, AMAT9 thinks that a good adaptation may lead to success: “The most difficult thing is adaptation; many of us face a lot of problems to adapt in a new environment. If we succeed the adaptation, we will realise very good performances on the ground”. Almost all the African players have experienced a very tough first winter season after crossing the Mediterranean because of the extreme cold weather in some European regions, in contrast with the Sub-Saharan weather.

ISTAM, who is a young African footballer living in İstanbul since many years, claims that adaptation is an essential component that could help new comers: “You should adapt; adaptation matters a lot. The earlier you adapt to the system, the better for you”. According to him, most of the people generally arrive in Turkey just few weeks before the beginning of winter season and for some of them, it’s very difficult to accommodate with the cold weather. But, “If you put in your mind that you are not going to be distracted by the cold winter, that it’s like in Africa, and that you are just going to play and remained focused, it will be easier for you”, explains ISTAM. He goes further saying that adaptation has to be accompanied by determination: “You have to be determined to achieve your goals and be ready to resist all kinds of discriminative acts. When you start to reply the way some people behave towards you, it’s the beginning of problems for you”. For him, as from the moment you start behaving as if you are not different, that you don’t really care about what people do and say, and that you just work hard to succeed, then, your morale and motivations will always be high and you will not fail in Turkey or in Europe in general: “You will remain a A1 player (top player)”. ISTAM thinks that as an African player, if you know all those things before you come to Turkey, it will be very useful during the settling.

In addition, ISTAM considers that an African or any foreign player in Turkey may face communication problems because of the non-mastery of the language. In fact, in a team game like football, when a player is not able to dialogue with his teammates on the ground, it becomes complicated to build a winning and common strategy due to all mistakes which can be made: “This is not boxing. In boxing (which is an individual

sport), you don't need to talk. This is football and you have to communicate with your teammates". ISTAM explices that the translators mainly work with the coach; the translator won't tell to a player what his teammate is trying to tell him when they are on the field. He claims as well that after some months following his arrival in Turkey, a young African player should start learning the language because it is very important: "If you don't have any interest in the language, it will be a problem. All is that we must have an interest in learning that particular language". It is worth mentioning here that ISTAM has well learned Turkish and nowadays, he communicates fluently in that language.

A young foreign player has nothing to learn about the fundamentals of football in the Turkish leagues, asserts TAS1. Certainly, continues TAS1, he will gain much experience but an African footballer must know the basic elements of football called "the fundamentals". Moreover, he has to be very strong and know how to use his brain on the pitch: "You can be slim but if you are an intelligent player, you can succeed in Turkey. Intelligence and movement are the most important factors in the Turkish football". Football is not only on the pitch or about its physical practice adds TAS1; football is also about the organisation of one's whole life: "A football player has to be careful about what he eats and when he has to sleep because sleeping time is very important. He has to organise his whole life". According to him, this is the new rule of Turkish football: you have to work very hard. Young players, if you want to become successful professionals, you have to select a good role model and work hard.

Before coming to Turkey, African players should collect much information in order to have a broad idea about the country, recommends TAS2. They should not believe in every people's speech, idea or information: "May be those people who advice them may have witnessed bad experiences in Turkey. But it does not mean that everybody will live the same experiences. African players have to be neutral, neither positive no negative". However, once they land in the country, claims TAS2, they should develop their own ideas. For him, communication is essential: once they arrive in Turkey, African players should ask any question about any topic because Turkish people are always ready and pleased to help them. To avoid cultural shock and misunderstandings, he advises, those players need to ask questions about any phenomenon they may

observe. Something like black biscuits with the mention “Negro” may be interpreted pejoratively while for Turkish people it is not an offensive description against Africans. Thus, asking questions helps them to better understand the Turkish culture and environment, avoid bias, and facilitate their integration in the host society.

Furthermore, players have to be open-minded and ready to learn anything new, suggests TAS2. They should fulfil all the requirements of their clubs. Clubs are investing on them because they believe they have a good potential and they pay them considerable money: “If a player is not professional, automatically people will criticise him. Here in Turkey, there are good examples of African players who are professionals, and there are also bad examples”. In a nutshell, young players wishing to play in Turkey should be aware of some important aspects that could help them to accommodate with their host country and be successful in the league they will be performing.

3.2.3. Abroad: The “Eldorado”⁶ of Young Footballers and Land of Opportunities

In Africa and in Cameroon in particular, many young footballers dream to become professionals and play professional leagues in moving abroad. There are many reasons explaining this trend to privilege international leagues than local ones. For AMAT3, the “marginalisation” of players could be the main cause of their migration abroad. He explicates that local managers of football do not encourage players. At a given point in time, he states, the issue was to bring professionalism in the Cameroonian football; unfortunately it is not yet effective in the country. He also notices that players are even not able to have the strict minimum necessary for the training sessions while recovery sessions are almost nonexistent; in other countries, one does take care of players. That’s why many young footballers do not hesitate to fly away when they have an opportunity according to AMAT3.

For AMAT1, the experience has proved that Europeans detect easily the talent of footballers and materials for training sessions as well as other related equipments are at the disposal of players over there: “Unlike here in the country, we lack appropriate infrastructures; we do not have well equipped stadiums. After matches, recovery sessions are not intense, and there is not a massage session for the players”, complains

⁶ Ideal country

AMAT1. These are some factors that compel young Cameroonian footballers to migrate abroad. Many local players notice that in Europe for example, a player who games in the 3rd division is well supervised in terms of workload whereas back home, even those who play in the first division do not have the strict minimum. Another serious problem is corruption, thinks AMAT1: “There are many talented and devoted players who are never selected just because they don’t have ‘godfathers’. Less talented footballers play because their parents are very famous and perhaps because they gave money to see their children playing”. This context discourages young players and increases their desire to try their chance in a foreign country.

In Cameroon, remarks AMAT9, anybody no longer cares about the individual capacities of each player: “To get forward has become a matter of relationships. If you are a gifted player but do not have a ‘godfather’, nobody will look at you”. Once a scout detects a talent in other countries, he claims, that player is put in the best conditions to develop his skills and achieve his potential; that’s the reason why many young footballers want to migrate even if it is to play in the 3rd division elsewhere. Additionally, football in Cameroon is not well-paid: “A player of the 1st division goes to the training sessions every day but does not recover after trainings and the guy earns almost nothing. At the end of the month, he will not receive FCFA100,000 (€153)”, notes AMAT9. For him, in Cameroon, one cannot live from football as professional activity. He talks also about the harsh conditions in which football is practised.

“To be sincere, football in Cameroon is not encouraging. I am conscious that in playing abroad, I will have the opportunity to show my whole talent”, affirms AMAT8 while as for AMAT2, four reasons can justify the migration of young African footballers to other countries. First, the financial aspect; in Cameroon, the salaries of players are miserable. Football administrators in the country try to bring professionalism but still, the salaries of players are almost nonexistent, he argues. Second, the complex of inferiority; a footballer who plays in Europe for example is more appreciated than a footballer who plays in Cameroon. So, for any sportsman, saying “I have played in Europe” rather than “I have played in Cameroon” is a winning expression to gain more credit. Third, there is the desire to move forward because whatever the level of a talented player, he can’t progress in good conditions in Cameroon according to AMAT2. In Europe, you have

the possibility to grow up and develop your skills. Fourth, every football player wants to be among the best in the world and to reach that level, he needs a visibility: "This visibility which is not possible in our country is possible in bigger leagues". For this other player, abroad definitely is the Eldorado to fulfil one's dream.

For ISTM, players believe that if they perform in Turkey, they will be more respected than those who play in Africa. He observes that young people migrate abroad because they want to be remarked on time, they want to be known. In addition, many youngsters want to play abroad in order to come back home and play for the national team: "When you play abroad, you are recognised as an international player. So, carrying that title of international player gives you an extra respect among your fellow footballers in Africa and among other player in the national team". In fact, during competitions with national teams, most of the players who are called by technical directors are gaming in foreign football leagues. As a result, for those young players, making it abroad is a significant advantage they have upon other players performing in the local leagues.

More and more young people go across borders to play abroad because of the tough living conditions of footballers in Cameroon, argues AMAT4. For him, the environment is not fitting to envisage a good football career. There are many footballers, he clarifies, who participate to training sessions with their clubs but they are not paid; they play matches but they do not receive their money. At the end, all these have a negative impact upon the motivation of players and when a player is not motivated, he can't have a good performance on the field, says AMAT4. In Europe however, if you have the opportunity to integrate even a small amateur team, you will gain a monthly stipend which will motivate you and when you consecrate your life to football, it becomes like a profession.

For AMAT5, there are many talented players who generally come from middle class and modest families and their Eldorado is Turkey, Japan, and other foreign countries because in Cameroon they have the impression to be wasting their time. Every year, he complains, coaches and football managers appreciate their performances; every year they give their best. Unfortunately, they are even not able to get FCFA500 (less than €1) as bonus for training session. They do not have a match bonus of FCFA1,000 (€1.50), despite the fact that they have signed contracts which mention the sum of FCFA10,000

(€15.30) as bonus per match, with bonus for each training session of FCFA1,000 (€1.50). In the reality, the contracts are not respected and in such conditions, it becomes difficult for them to manage their daily life. Consequently, if these players get an opportunity in Turkey, in Angola, or even in Gabon which is a neighbouring country, they will seize it. In Gabon for instance, each player has training session bonuses of FCFA10,000 (€15.30). Using these figures, AMAT5 explains the strong desire of local players to migrate abroad. AMAT6 summarises the motivations of players in these terms:

The problems related to the training and supervision of players are the main reasons leading young talented players to go abroad; here, players are not followed up. Rather, they are neglected. Very few clubs take care of their players while few players earn their money as it is mentioned in the contracts they have signed. Also, few are those players who have a contract; there are many footballers who play in their clubs but do not receive their salaries regularly.

For AMAT10, there is a serious problem of management of football in Cameroon. According to him, many young footballers go abroad because over there, they have the possibility to support financially their families. In staying in the country, they will never have the means to offer something to their parents and relatives because families also put a kind of pressure upon their children; this pressure compels them to try an experience abroad in case of any opportunity. Furthermore, states AMAT10, though they don't have much money despite their talent, the media do not appreciate and do not valorise deserving players whereas in the neighbouring countries like Equatorial Guinea the reality is not similar. That's why if they find the occasion to go in a country where they can be valued differently, they will go. He continues: "In the neighbouring countries, media bring to light brilliant players. In the 1st division here in Cameroon, we do not know many players because the media do not mention them". AMAT10 criticises the fact that local media are more interested in broadcasting foreign leagues and young footballers dream to play in these foreign leagues they watch everyday. Thus, to have the chance to appear in the media, young players should go abroad and it is only there that they could gain more visibility.

AMAT7 simply notices that African footballers go abroad to look for everything lacking at home. In Cameroon, he observes, footballers are still playing the national

league in the dust and in the mud; stadiums are not suitable for the good practice of football. It's not easy to perform in these conditions. Whereas when you join a club in Europe, all the means are available: stadiums, materials for training sessions, equipments for players and the staff. So, all the conditions are gathered to play well and to realise your potential, explains AMAT7. According to TAS1, money is a capital factor that encourages players to move from one place to another:

In Turkey, taxes levied on footballers' salaries are very low. Furthermore, in *Ligue 2* (French 2nd division) for instance, some players earn €3,000 per month. When the same players come to the 2nd division in Turkey, they can earn €10,000 per month. There are also bonuses such as goal bonuses and match bonuses. For example, if you play a given number of matches, you can get extra money.

Moreover, Turkish football leagues are suitable for African players, says TAS1, in addition to the fact that African players are cheaper than their Turkish counterparts in terms of their transfer values. Turkish footballers play more physically whereas Africans play more tactically and they also have high quality physical and intelligence. That's why Turkish clubs buy them. Additionally, African players are easier to convince than their European, Asian, and Latin American counterparts, evokes TAS1. For instance, some European footballers used to say "I don't want to go to Turkey because there are bombings there, because there is desert", whereas some Africans used to say "please, guarantee my bank account to pay my salary and I will come". Actually, Africans are easy-going according to TAS1. He adds that there is a dream, like a tale in African countries; every boy, every kid who plays on the pitch or in the street follows that dream: "I will be a good and great footballer". If a scout goes to Africa and detects some talented players and if those players trust in the scout, it becomes very easy to get them from their families.

The current policy concerning the quota system applied on overseas players in the Super League is a good one according to TAS1. It is important to recall here that since the season 2015-2016, Turkish football clubs of the first division can contain 14 domestic and 14 foreign players in their 28-man squads. In a match day, each team is made up of 18 players and following the new rule, 11 can be foreigners plus 7 Turkish players. In the previous rules, every team could contain a total of 8 foreign players and only 6 could take part to the official matches. So, for TAS1, the current quota system is very

good for the Turkish football and young national players could select their model among all those foreigners:

Taking the case of a Cameroonian footballer who gamed for ISTA3; as a young player, there are a lot of things I can learn from him: he works hard, he is very intelligent, his relationships with the referees and with other players are respectful, he gives everything on the playground because it is his job and you have to respect your job. Foreign players are good role models for young Turkish footballers. They work very hard, not all of them but most of them.

Besides, foreign players bring competition among teams in Turkey and this competition increases the level of the Turkish football not only on the playground, but also in the understanding of football, thinks TAS1. According to him, Turkish clubs need to buy more foreign players because they will be useful for young Turkish players as well. Nevertheless, TAS1 observes that when they sign professional contracts, some African players sometimes have problems outside the pitch. At times, they lose to control themselves. For him, some African footballers are very emotional; a very good player should control himself and should not get angry easily because this is part of professionalism. In the future, he foresees, there will be better and more African players in Turkey because African football quality is increasing, intelligence of African players is increasing as well.

Talking about the migration of African footballers to Turkey in the future, TAS2 believes that in the upcoming years, Turkish clubs will set up football academies in African countries and they will develop their own African players. Those young players will start coming to Turkey at the age of 12 or 13. For him, it is clear that the number of African players in the Turkish football leagues will increase thanks to the Turkish clubs investments in African countries through football schools (academies). Moreover, if the quota system is more softened in the lower leagues in Turkey, clubs will automatically sign more African players, affirms TAS2. Currently in the Third and inferior divisions, international players are not allowed to compete. But if the rules are modified, TAS2 is pretty sure that clubs of these divisions will begin signing contracts with African players. Overall, there are so many factors that could explain the increasing number of Cameroonian football players in Turkey; these factors will be discussed critically.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

This part of the study consists in the analysis of data that have been collected and presented in the previous chapter. Having the neoclassical micro-economic theory, the push-pull theory, the personal factors, and the network theory as theoretical basis, four main points will be tackled in the analysis: the influence of money, the push-pull factors, the various personal factors, and the impact of network in the decision of Cameroonian footballers to migrate to Turkey.

4.1. Money: A Key Factor in the Migration of Cameroonian Footballers to Turkey

In his explanations of neoclassical micro-economic theory of migration, Borjas (1990) argues that potential migrants evaluate the costs and benefits of moving to alternative international locations and move to where the expected discounted net returns are greatest over some time horizon. In the same perspective, for Massey et al. (1993), individual rational actors come to a decision to move because a cost-benefit calculation guides them to look forward to a positive net return, usually financial, from their migration. According to them, international flow is conceived as a form of investment in human capital. Conscious of their skills, people decide to move to places where they can be most productive. Thus, football is considered by players as a profession as any other professions. Consequently, they have to live from this professional activity and benefit from all its advantages such as a good salary. So, many Cameroonian footballers target at Turkey because the Turkish football is financially lucrative. Whatever the division you perform in and following your potential (talent), Turkish football clubs propose considerable salaries to foreign players compared to many other European countries. Therefore, in opting for the Turkish leagues, Cameroonian players may earn money that they cannot earn in Cameroon and in other countries.

According to Bowman (2011), surely, economic inequalities between employment in European leagues and African ones have contributed to the mobility of Africa's professional footballers "northwards". Actually, very few players of the first division in Cameroon can get a minimum wage of €200 per month. At the same time, players in lower divisions in Turkey receive better salaries and this difference in remunerations of

sportsmen encourages Cameroonian to migrate towards Turkey. Darby (2009: 153) has well summarised this situation: “Wealthy European clubs offer economic opportunities to skilled players that simply don’t exist in Africa”. Despite the fact that there are some African leagues which are well structured and where clubs offer good salaries to their players like in South Africa, Algeria, Morocco, or Egypt, in most of the other cases, including Cameroon, the salaries received by local footballers are not comparable at all with what their counterparts receive in Western countries.

Still on an economic perspective, Wright (2002: 70) affirms that the main transnational companies no longer seek only markets or raw materials from southern countries, but they look also for a labour force that is cheap to buy, abundant, and well disciplined. This rule can be transposed in the world of football too. Turkish and other Western clubs are conscious of the best price/performance ratio of African players in the football labour market. Most of them are physically strong, intelligent, hard workers, disciplined, and are able to change the destiny of a game at any time. With all these characteristics, they remain cheap compared to their European, Asian, or Latin-American counterparts. For those who perform well, their transfer values increase and they are sold at a higher price later on to other clubs. This strategy is used by many clubs administrators, including Turkish ones, who would like to benefit also from this work force that may help them to win titles and gain money as well.

Another economic phenomenon that may justify the growing mobility of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey is the low taxes imposed on players’ salaries. According to the Turkish online newspaper *Daily Sabah* (June 16, 2015), “Turkey is Europe’s football tax haven”. The article points out that Turkey levies a 15 percent tax of footballers playing in the *Süper Lig* and collects the second-lowest tax from footballers among European countries, at the same rate with Lithuania and after Bulgaria where footballers are levied at 10 percent. The article also emphasises on the fact that while footballers of the Turkish Super League pay a 15 percent tax, those who play in lower league clubs pay 10 percent and those who play in other clubs pay 5 percent; the tax rate imposed on football managers represents 35 percent of their gross salaries. Compared to other European countries, the levy of taxes on footballers’ salaries is extremely attractive. For example in Sweden, the country that imposes the highest tax on footballers in Europe,

footballers pay **56.9** percent of their incomes. In some other European countries, the rates of taxes pay by footballers of the first division are very high: Portugal: **56.5** percent; Denmark: **55.6** percent; Belgium: **53.7** percent; France: **50.3** percent; Italy: **47.9** percent; Germany: **47.5** percent; and England: **45** percent. To illustrate this situation with figures, it means that if there are three footballers in the top football leagues in France, Germany and Turkey who earn each a gross salary of €10,000 per month for instance, after levies, they will get approximately €4,970, €5,250, and €8,500 respectively. Consequently, financially speaking, Turkey is by far more lucrative than the two other countries.

Furthermore, Massey et al. (1993) explicate that before reaching the higher wages which is associated with greater labour productivity, people must undertake certain investments such as the effort in learning a new language and culture. In general, this could refer to “adaptation” to the new environment. Indeed, learning the culture of the host country facilitates the integration of players. As it has been shown in the presentation of data, meaning and signification of cultural objects vary from one country to another and if not aware, the misunderstanding of these cultural elements could be interpreted as offensive and generate a cultural shock. The case of biscuits with the inscription “Negro” has been mentioned; it may be interpreted differently by a Cameroonian or any other African players whereas for the Turks, it is not an insult. That’s why TAS2 insisted on the necessity for new players in Turkey to be open-minded and ask any question to avoid bias and facilitate their interaction with the fans. Apart from that, learning the Turkish language and adapting with the weather, especially during winter, have also been pointed out as significant steps to follow in order to ease one’s integration in the Turkish society. Indeed, the success of these steps may accompany foreign players toward good performances and justify the wages they perceive.

4.2. Push-Pull Factors: Two Different Socio-Professional Worlds between Turkey and Cameroon

In its most limited form, the push-pull approach consists of a number of negative or push factors in the area of origin that cause people to move away, in combination with a number of positive or pull factors that attract people to a receiving area (European

Communities, 2000: 3). For Castles and Miller (1998), a combination of push factors in the sender country (demographic growth, fewer economic opportunities, political oppression, etc.) and pull factors from receiving country (demand for labour, better social opportunities, political freedoms, etc.) drive individuals to make the rational choice to migrate. Thus, there are factors associated with the area of origin (push factors) and factors associated with the area of destination (pull factors) that influence the decision to migrate (Lee, 1966: 50).

Many push factors compel young talented Cameroonian footballers to look for better opportunities elsewhere. One of the most serious issues is the lack of adequate infrastructures to practice this sport. In fact, many clubs in Cameroon don't have their own facilities and in some localities it is very hard to find a standard playground where players can game properly. As a result, these players don't have another choice than to perform on dusty grounds during dry seasons and on muddy grounds during rainy seasons. After hosting the AFCON⁷-Women in 2016, some Cameroonian cities benefited from modern infrastructures and since Cameroon will host again that tournament in 2019 for men category, one may think that more modern infrastructures will be built for the good sake of millions of Cameroonian footballers who practice that sport. Next to the lack of good facilities, players do not have all the required materials necessary to carry out training sessions in good conditions. As a result, they are obliged to train with the small equipments they have.

Moreover, many players in Cameroon sign contracts with their employment clubs as it should be normally but unfortunately, those contracts are not always respected. For instance, it may be mentioned in the signed contracts that players will earn a given sum of money as bonuses (training bonuses, victory bonuses, etc.). Players do not always receive the same sum mentioned in the contracts and some of them do not get a regular monthly wage, despite the fact that those salaries are very modest and do not reflect the talent and the performances of the players. This negative factor is linked to the serious problem of management of football clubs in the country. Players are not motivated by their managers and sometimes they feel "marginalised": no good follow-up, neither intensive recuperation, nor massage after training sessions. Definitely, this environment

⁷ AFCON, Africa Cup of Nations, is the most important and the most popular football competition organised in Africa.

is very harsh for the players and constitutes a strong motivation to move to other countries in order to keep their chance to develop their talent and get forward in a better atmosphere.

While push factors compel many sportsmen to migrate because of the lack of various important elements necessary to carry out a professional career in Cameroon, pull factors attract them to Turkey. In effect, almost all the aspects that are absent in the Cameroonian football leagues are found in the Turkish ones and that's what they are looking for. Players estimate that in Turkey, there are good and modern infrastructures and there is a good follow-up of players who receive their salaries regularly. In one word, many Cameroonian players migrate to Turkey or want to do so because it represents an ideal arena where all the conditions are gathered to realise their potential. They are motivated by the idea of becoming professionals and they believe they have the talent and dedication to achieve their dream. What they are looking for is the right opportunity to seize. They are confident that they can succeed in professional football in Turkey and as TAS1 and players themselves have explained, the only thing they need to do is to work hard and be disciplined because professional world has its own constraints.

Another significant pull factor that attracts Cameroonian footballers to Turkey is the quota system applied on overseas players in the Super League. Actually, up until the end of the 2013-2014 season, the “6+5 rule” was applied in the Turkish first division (6 domestic plus 5 foreign players in the starting line-up). The rule had changed for the first time during the 2014-2015 season with 6 foreign players on the pitch and 4 in the stands. The rule has changed again at the beginning of the 2015-2016 season and it authorized 11 overseas players in the match day list made up of 18 man per squad. With that quota ruling, a coach has many options in the setting up of his team and one of them is to align 11 foreign players in his starting line-up during a match of the Super League. Also, every 28-man squad must contain a maximum of 14 foreign players plus 14 domestic players. Out of the 14 domestic players, 4 must have been raised in Turkey and 2 must have been developed at the club. Players of Turkish origin who play for another national team are not counted as domestic players. 7 players out of the 18-man match day squad have to be domestic ones and this must include a Turkish goalkeeper.

Compared to some other countries, the quota policy on foreign players in force in Turkey is very attractive. In Russia for instance, every team in the first division (Russian Premier League) must contain a maximum of seven overseas players while in the Chinese Super League the law is harder: no more than three foreign players per team. It means that if a player has to choose, he will certainly opt for Turkey because at the same time he will earn considerable money and will have a higher probability to game every week thanks to the quota rule which is more flexible than in the aforementioned countries. In other European leagues such as Spanish *La Liga* or German *Bundesliga*, the quotas are also very flexible. Thus, some Cameroonian footballers prefer Turkey because it represents a springboard to gain more experience in playing regularly and later on target at a bigger league. Martin Büdel (2012: 1) argues in this sense that a lot of African players try to find away into European football via Turkey, as it could prove to be the stepping stone for their future careers. Turkey in that perspective could be viewed as a “transit country” for many footballers and for people coming from all over the world. İçduygu and Kirişçi (2009) therefore remark that since some years, Turkey has become a key transit destination for migrations from countries of the global south.

4.3. Various Personal Factors

As far as personal factors are concerned, they affect individual thresholds and facilitate or delay mobility. Some of these factors are more or less constant during the life of the individual, while others are linked with stages in the life cycle (Lee, 1966: 51). Based on Lee’s theorisation of migration and about personal factors specifically, Russell King (2012: 13) argues that different people will react in a different way to diverse combinations of pushes and pulls, following their economic status, life-stage and personality. In opting for Turkey, some Cameroonian players want to give a new orientation to their careers. In fact, they are at the quest of a new challenge that will help them to come back to the top level and perhaps, move to bigger club afterwards. Thus, the Turkish football leagues seem to be the appropriate field to achieve this kind of project. There are well known examples of Cameroonian players who came to Turkey and started to game in average teams and thanks to their good performances, they were

able to sign in bigger clubs (Geremi Sorele Njitap Fotso, Serges Flavier Mballa Etame, Marc Kibong Mbamba, etc.).

Furthermore, plying their services in a European top league, winning more titles, and participating to the European tournaments constitute other personal factors explaining the increasing mobility of professional Cameroonian footballers to Turkey. According to the UEFA ranking for club competitions published in the month of December 2017, Turkey occupied the 10th position over 54 countries, just behind Ukraine (9th), and before countries like Netherlands (11th), Greece (13th), and Czech Republic (14th). Therefore, Cameroonian players are informed about those rankings and in seeing Turkey in the top ten of European football leagues, they may be encouraged to go there. In doing so, they also have a great occasion to take part to the continental tournaments (Champions League and Europa League). For instance, during the 2016-2017 season, five Turkish clubs were involved in the European competitions (Beşiktaş JK, Fenerbahçe, Osmanlıspor, Atiker Konyaspor, and Medipol Başakşehir). In the season 2017-2018, three clubs represent Turkey on the continental arena: Beşiktaş JK, Atiker Konyaspor, and Medipol Başakşehir. The two other representatives (Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray) did not pass the preliminary rounds. While some countries have seven or six representatives, others have four, three, or just two, following the performances of each country's clubs in the five previous European tournaments. So, in coming to Turkey, Cameroonian players have the possibility to win titles with their teams and participate to the European competitions.

For Cameroonian footballers who are not yet popular, Turkish football leagues represent a good platform that could permit them to gain reputation. In fact, for many Cameroonian athletes, becoming popular and famous in the world of football matters a lot; it is an essential road towards bigger clubs. Besides, gaming in Turkey is a major objective for them because they will benefit from an extra respect compared to their fellows who play in the local leagues in Cameroon. When there is an international competition with national teams, most of the coaches give the priority to players who are gaming abroad and every time footballers wear the jersey of their national team, it is always a memorial day; it symbolises a major achievement in the history of their professional career. So, going abroad, playing regularly with a club, and having good

performances may open the doors of the national team to talented players. There is a good illustration with a young Cameroonian player who performed with ANA3 during the second half of the 2015-2016 season and at that time, he was very close to integrate the senior national team. That player was already part of junior teams of *the Indomitable Lions* and in joining a Turkish team made up of some footballers of the national team, he succeeded to attract the attention of the staff members. With all the key players of the Cameroonian national team who have gamed in Turkey, young players got inspired and would like also to try their chance, hoping to obtain as much as possible the same success as their elders.

4.4. Networks: Remote Connection between the Turkish Football Leagues and Cameroonian Players

The dominant view of social networks in the migration literature, states Arango (2004: 28), is that they have the functions of providing information and contacts, leading people to specific destinations. Lee (1966: 51), in his side, thinks that knowledge of the area of destination is not always exact, and some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be appreciated in living there. Therefore, there is always an aspect of mystery concerning the country of destination which is characterised by the uncertainty expressed by potential new comers with regard to their reception in the area of destination. Moreover, for Lee, personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere is taken into account while assessing the situation at the area of origin, and knowledge about the situation at the destination location depends on personal contacts or sources of information which are not always available. It has been observed during the discussion with players living in Cameroon that some of them were still questioning themselves about the manner they could be welcomed in Turkey, the quality of accommodation, and the possibility for them to adapt to the Turkish way of life. They claimed that if they are well welcomed by the staff, they will be motivated but if it is not the case, their morale will be affected. That is to say that there is a kind of “myth” about the host country that prevails in the minds of players who want to migrate, though this uncertainty and questionings do not discourage them because they’re ready to challenge everything that could hinder their dream to migrate northwards and to become professional footballers.

For TAS1, TAS2 and ISTAM, before landing to Turkey, players should collect a lot of information in order to get a general overview about the country. It will help them to guess the environment in which they will spend a part of their lives. Nevertheless, there are some phenomena whose simple explanations through newspapers or internet cannot be sufficient to understand until they are experienced. This could be the case of winter season for example; actually, snow and extreme cold weathers are unknown in Sub-Saharan Africa and no matter the information a player may collect about that season of the year, things will be different until he experiences it. Fortunately and progressively, players succeed to adapt to that climate and to any other cultural objects they discover for the first time. Thus, gathering information about the targeted country is useful even if some mysteries still remain covered until people land in the country of destination and start making their own experiences.

According to Fussell (2012), migration networks participate in three further significant insights into theorising the mobility process: they contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of differential migration; they help to foresee future movement, since networks reproduce migrants through time; and they contribute to resolving a key theoretical distinction between the initial causes of mobility and its perpetuation and diffusion in time and space. For Raffaele Poli (2016), professional football has always been an incentive for the international migration of players; this is mainly the case in today's globalised world. Following the statistics he has established, in February 2016, 57.4 percent of players in the Turkish Super League were foreigners. In October 2016, they were 62 percent (Poli, 2016): Turkish Super League was therefore the second European football league with the highest number of foreign footballers after Cyprus (65.4 percent) and before England (61.8 percent), Belgium (60.1 percent), and Italy (56.2 percent). More remarkable are the statistics published in November 2017 by Raffaele Poli and his team showing that there were 471 players in the 18 clubs of the Süper Lig: 65.6 percent of them were expatriates. Consequently, at that period of the year, Turkey was the first country out of 31 European top division leagues with the highest rate of foreign players in the continent. These figures confirm the attractiveness of Turkey, a country which pulls many international footballers and in the future, their number could continue to increase if the regulations remain the same or if new rules are adopted aiming at encouraging the recruitment of more foreign players.

In addition, Raffaele Poli (2016) explains that at the date of October 2016, the main African countries which exported players to 31 European football leagues of first division were Nigeria (118 players), Ghana (88 players), Senegal (71 players), Ivory Coast (65 players), and Cameroon (53 players). It is worth noticing here that more and more African football players nowadays migrate towards European leagues when they are under 18 years old. According to Raffaele Poli (2016), 19 Nigerians, 17 Cameroonian, 17 Ghanaians, 12 Senegalese, and 11 players from Ivory Coast who are currently present in 31 European football leagues of first division arrived in Europe when they were not yet adults. In the similar way, TAS2 thinks that in the future, many young African footballers will join the Turkish football leagues thanks to the strategies some Turkish club are presently working on. This strategy would consist in creating their own football academies in African countries, training African players who would subsequently reach their clubs in Turkey. Definitely, if this policy is put into practice, in the upcoming years, the number of Cameroonian and African talented footballers in Turkey will continue to increase.

CONCLUSION

This last part of the study is made up of two main points. First of all, the whole work as well as the key findings will be summarised and then some directions will be given to orientate the future researches on the migration of Cameroonian and African football players to Turkey.

Summary of the Key Findings

Everyone, says Cresswell (2006), it seems, is now on the move. The objective of this study was to understand the different factors that may explain the growing number of Cameroonian football players in Turkey during the last ten seasons. At the 2006-2007 season, only three (3) Cameroonian were present in the clubs of first division in Turkey and ten years later, they were thirteen (13). In addition, from the creation of the Turkish Super League in the 1950s up until 2006, just sixteen (16) Cameroonian footballers were plying their services in different clubs. From 2007 to 2017, a total of forty (40) players originated from Cameroon have performed in the Super League. Consequently, it seemed important to analyse the increasing migration of Cameroonian footballers to Turkey.

One of the widespread methods used by scientists to explain the mobility of African players northwards consists in the recalling of historical links between former colonies and former colonial masters. However, Turkey and Cameroon never had any historical links based on colonisation but many Cameroonian are interested by the idea of gaming in Turkey. Data utilised in this study have been collected from primary and secondary sources. The informants were seven professional footballers who performed in the Super League and ten amateur players who are living in Cameroon and who wish to perform in Turkey. Two Turkish talent scouts who know very well African football and African footballers have also been contacted within the framework of this research work, as well as a young African footballer who lives in Istanbul. After collecting the data, a set of migration theories have been used to assess the growing movement of Cameroonian players to Turkey: neoclassical micro-economic theory, push-pull theory and network theory.

With the neoclassical micro-economic theory, it has been shown that money is a significant factor that motivates Cameroonian players to move to Turkey. The Turkish football leagues are very lucrative financially speaking in the sense that clubs propose important salaries to attract players and those salaries are even higher than in other European leagues. Also, the 15 percent levied on footballers' gross incomes in Turkey can be considered as another key element that encourages players to sign contracts with Turkish clubs. A comparison of taxes rates with some other European countries has been done and the conclusion was very clear: playing in Turkey is a considerable advantage on this matter. In addition, seeing the good price/performance ratio of African footballers, Turkish football managers want to benefit from this opportunity as well because with those talented players they buy at an affordable price (cheaper than players coming from other continents), they can win competitions and gain more money in selling their best players to other clubs.

Furthermore, there are many aspects associated with the country of origin (push factors) and those associated with the country of destination (pull factors) that influence the decision of Cameroonian footballers to migrate to Turkey. In Cameroon, there is a lack of appropriate sport facilities, lack of a good policy related to the follow-up of young players particularly, and problems linked to the management of clubs. As a result, these elements constitute a threat for the career of young footballers and compel them to move abroad. In the other side, Turkish football leagues appear as the ideal arenas for these players because in that country, they can obtain almost everything they don't have back home. Moreover, the quota system applied on overseas players in Turkey can be viewed as a noteworthy pull factor which attracts professional footballers to Turkey. In the law in force since the 2015-2016 season, every Turkish team of Super League can contain a maximum of fourteen (14) foreign players and eleven of them are authorised to play the official matches, three being in the stands. Foreign players have therefore a high probability to game every week with their teams. Compared to some other leagues where the restrictions are tougher, quotas are indeed a remarkable component that participates to the choice of Turkey by Cameroonian players.

The decision to move to Turkey is also motivated by some personal factors. In coming to Turkey, several players desire to give a new perspective to their careers, discovering

in the same time a new environment, new people, and a new culture. They want to gain more time of game on the ground, win titles, and take part to European competitions. Turkey is among the top ten European football leagues according to the UEFA ranking and it is an important point for those players who desire to remain in the top level in Europe. Besides, in gaming in Turkey, young Cameroonian players who are not yet “stars” in the world of football hope to gain more visibility and popularity which will give them an additional respect compared to their mates who perform in the local leagues in Cameroon. This quest of fame may also lead them to wear the jersey of the national team during international competitions. Hence, following their backgrounds, their personality, and their ambitions, there are various personal incentives that guide the choice of players to opt for a Turkish football club.

The function of networks in the entire process of migration is to provide information about the destination country to those who plan to move. It has been advised to potential players who want to perform in Turkey to get informed about the country’s culture in order to know in advance what is awaiting them and also to prepare their adaptation. But, the better integration is achieved once the player is already in the country and starts experiencing what he has read in the newspapers or internet. Therefore, the role of talent scouts, agents, and recruiters who follow foreign players and give them information about the country, the city, and the club where they wish to place them is very important for the orientation of sportsmen. Finally, if the regulations on overseas players are kept in the current form or more softened, and if some clubs put into practice their projects to build their own football academies in African countries, more Cameroonian and more African players will be present in the Turkish football leagues. Most of the world’s developed countries have become diverse, multiethnic societies, and those that have not reached this state are moving decisively in that direction, assert Massey et al. (1993: 431). Sociologically speaking, Turkey is a multicultural and multiethnic country. In the domain of sports in general and of football in particular, the map of Turkey shows athletes coming from all over the world among which Africans and Cameroonian are occupying an honourable place. Thus, it won’t be a surprise if in the upcoming years, the diversity of Turkish football flourishes more.

Direction for Future Researches in the Migration of African Sportsmen to Turkey

According to Poli (2010: 495), the focalisation on individual motives and experiences of sportsmen runs the risk of atomising the research and tends to lose sight of structural constraints imposed on any athlete wishing to migrate. In the upcoming researches, it will be important to focus on the mechanisms around the process of migration of Cameroonian or African players towards Turkey, especially young and amateur players. This approach will also give more explanation about the role played by the networks throughout the process of migration up until the destination in Turkey.

Furthermore, it will be necessary to tackle the issue of mobility of African footballers to Turkey in using different theoretical approaches such as institutional theory, cumulative causation or migration systems theory. They may bring new insights in this question. Maguire and Pearton (2000: 188) think that though economics play a crucial part in determining the patterns of football migration, they are by no means the only aspect involved. There are also sets of interdependencies that contour and shape the global sports migration; politics, history, geography and culture all affect the structuring of football migrant trails.

On the methodological approach, it will be fruitful to collect more information from other stakeholders like the clubs officials and the technical directors both in Africa and in Turkey. This could bring fresh elements in the study. In the same order of ideas, a field work among young Cameroonian footballers would also enrich the understanding of their eagerness to play in Turkey. Besides, in the study, it will be necessary to enlarge the population of professional footballers who gamed in the *Süper Lig* and include players of lower divisions as informants in such a way to come out with new information.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Protocol with Young Cameroonian Amateur Players

1. Why would you like to play in the Turkey?
2. What are your expectations from the Turkish football league?
3. What do you know about Turkey and Turkish football?
4. What would you need to be a successful player in Turkey?
5. According to you, why so many young Cameroonian and African footballers would like to perform and carry out their careers abroad?

Appendix 2

Table 1: Cameroonian professional footballers who played in the Turkish Süper Lig before the 2006-2007 season

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	SEASONS
1	Bernard Samuel Tchoutang	Van Büyükkent Belediyespor	1995-1997
2	Alioum Boukar (Ali Uyanık)	Samsunspor	1995-2002 2005-2006
		İstanbulspor A.Ş.	2002-2003 2008-2010
		Atiker Konyaspor	2003-2005
		Altay	2006-2007
		Trabzonspor	1997-1998
3	Jean-Jacques Missé-Missé	Gençlerbirliği	1997-2000
4	Geremi Sorele Njitap Fotso	Adanaspor	2000-2001
5	Francis Mbonjo Etouke	Çaykur Rizespor	2000-2002
6	Souleymanou Hamidou	Denizlispor	2003-2006
7		Altay	2002-2003
8	Jean Emmanuel Effa Owona	Altay	2002-2003
		Elazığspor	2003-2004
		MKE Ankaragücü	2004-2005
		Malatyaspor	2005-2007
9	Messi	Çaykur Rizespor	2000-2001
10	Joseph Marie Tchango	MKE Ankaragücü	2004-2005
11	Nicolas Alnoudji	Çaykur Rizespor	2000-2001
12	Yohanna Buba	Altay	2002-2003
13	Alioum Saidou	İstanbulspor A.Ş.	1999-2000
		Galatasaray A.Ş.	2005-2006
14	Rigobert Bahang Song	Galatasaray A.Ş.	2004-2008
15	Raymond Kalla Nkongo	Sivasspor	2005-2006
16	Gustave Mbangue Bebbe Anilet (Alper Aydin)	Atiker Konyaspor	2005-2006

Sources:

- TFF
- Habertürk
- Mackolik
- Transfer Markt

Appendix 3

Table 2: Cameroonian professional footballers who played in the Turkish Süper Lig during the last decade

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	SEASONS
1	Gustave Mbangue Bebbe Anilet (Alper Aydin)	MKE Ankaragücü	2006-2008 2009-2010
		İstanbul BB (current Medipol Başakşehir FK)	2008-2009
		Diyarbakırspor	2009-2010
		Kasımpaşa A.Ş.	2010-2011
		Mudanyaspor	2015-2016
		Ergene Velimeşe Spor	2016-2017
2	Rigobert Bahana Song	Trabzonspor A.Ş.	2008-2010
3	Souleymanou Hamidou	Denizlispor	2006-2008
		Kayserispor	2008-2011
4	Armand Deumi Tchani	Gaziantepspor	2007-2010
		Kardemir Karabükspor	2010-2013
		Gaziantep B.Ş. BLD. Spor	2013-2015
5	Hervé Germain Tum	Bursaspor	2007-2008
		Sivasspor	2008-2009
		İstanbul BB (current Medipol Başakşehir FK)	2009-2011
		Gençlerbirliği	2011-2012
		Elazığspor	2012-2013
		Göztepe A.Ş.	2013-2014
		Kayserispor	2007-2010
6	Alioum Saidou	Sivasspor	2010-2011
7	Joseph Desiré Mawaye	Kasımpaşa A.Ş.	2007-2008
8	Emo Ghislain Aimé	Bursaspor	2007-2008
9	Jacques Momha	Gençlerbirliği	2009-2010
		Manisaspor	2010-2011
10	Salomon René Olembe Olembe	Kayserispor	2008-2010
11	Patrice Nzekou	Kocaelispor	2008-2009
12	Geremi Sorele Njitap Fotso	MKE Ankaragücü	2009-2010
13	Severin Brice Bikoko	Kayseri Erciyesspor	2008-2011
		Çaykur Rizespor A.Ş.	2011-2012
		Akhisar Belediye Gençlik ve Spor	2012-2013
		Yeni Amasya Spor	2015-2016
		Güzelordu Spor	2016-2017
		Diyarbakırspor	2009-2010
14	Joseph Desiré Job		

15	Joseph Boum II	Mersin İdmanyurdu	2010-2013
		Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2014-2015
16	Sammy Ndjock	Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2010-2014
17	Dany Achille Nounkeu Tchounkeu	Gaziantepspor	2010-2012
		Galatasaray A.Ş.	2012-2015
		Bursaspor	2015-2016
		Kardemir Karabükspor	2016-2017
		Akhisar Belediye Gençlik ve Spor	2017-2018
18	Binya Augustin Gilles	Gaziantepspor	2011-2015
		Elazığspor	2015-2017
19	Pierre Achille Webo Kouamo	İstanbul BB (current Medipol Başakşehir FK	2011-2013
		Fenerbahçe A.Ş.	2013-2015
		Osmanlıspor	2015-2017
		Gazişehir Gaziantep FK	2017-2018
20	Henri Bienvenu Ntsama	Fenerbahçe A.Ş.	2011-2013
		Eskişehirspor	2013-2014
21	Dorge Rostand Kouemaha	Gaziantepspor	2012-2013
		Adana Demirspor	2013-2014
		Denizlispor	2014-2015
22	Marc Kibong Mbamba	Adanaspor A.Ş.	2008-2013
		Atiker Konyaspor	2013- 2017
		MKE Ankaragücü	2017-2018
23	Georges Constant Mandjeck	Kayseri Erciyesspor	2013-2015
24	Eyong Enoh	Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2013-2014
25	Aurelien Bayard Chedjou Fongang	Galatasaray A.Ş.	2013-2017
		Medipol Başakşehir	2017-2018
26	Charles Hubert Itandje	Atiker Konyaspor	2013-2014
		Çaykur Rizespor A.Ş.	2015-2016
		Gaziantepspor	2016-2017
		Adanaspor A.Ş.	2016-2017
27	Léony Léonard Kweuke	Çaykur Rizespor A.Ş.	2013-2018
28	Guirlain Desiré Wato Kuaté	Akhisar Belediye Gençlik ve Spor	2013-2014
29	Jacques Zoua	Kayseri Erciyesspor	2014-2015
30	Gilles Arnaud Sutchuin Djoum	Akhisar Belediye Gençlik ve Spor	2014-2015
31	Serges Flavier Mbillla Etame	Adanaspor A.Ş.	2008-2013
		Samsunspor	2014-2015
		Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2015-2017
		Aytemiz Alanyaspor	2017-2018

32	Samuel Eto'o Fils	Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2015-2017
		Atiker Konyaspor	2017-2018
33	Jean II Makoun	Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2015-2017
34	Zacharie Lionel Enguene Onana	Antalyaspor A.Ş.	2015-2016
35	Stéphane Mbia Etoundi	Trabzonspor A.Ş.	2015-2016
36	Joel Landry Tsafack Nguemo	Akhisar Belediye Gençlik ve Spor	2015-2017
		Kayserispor	2016-2017
37	Vincent Aboubakar	Beşiktaş	2016-2017
38	Jean Armel Kana-Biyik	Kayserispor	2016-2017
39	Franck Mbia Etoundi	Kasımpaşa A.Ş.	2016-2017
40	Idriss Carlos Kameni	Fenerbahçe A.Ş.	2017-2018

Sources:

- TFF
- Habertürk
- Mackolik
- Transfer Markt

Appendix 4

Table 3: Number of Cameroonian footballers in the Turkish Süper Lig per season since 2006

SEASONS	NUMBER OF PLAYERS PRESENT
2006-2007	3
2007-2008	8
2008-2009	9
2009-2010	10
2010-2011	8
2011-2012	8
2012-2013	10
2013-2014	11
2014-2015	7
2015-2016	12
2016-2017	13
2017-2018	8

Source: Transfer Markt

Appendix 5

Table 4: Cameroonian footballers in the Dutch Eredivisie since 2006

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	ARRIVAL SEASON
1	Willie Overtoom	Heracles Almelo	2008-2009
		Az Alkmaar	2013-2014
2	Eyong Enoh	Ajax Amsterdam	2008-2009
3	Gilles Arnaud Sutchuin Djoum	Roda JC Kerkrade	2008-2009
4	Thimothée Atouba	Ajax Amsterdam	2009-2010
5	André Onana	Ajax Amsterdam	2014-2015

Source: Transfer Markt

Appendix 6

Table 5: Cameroonian footballers in the Chinese Super League since 2006

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	ARRIVAL SEASON
1	William	Beijing Sinobo Guoan	2009
2	Jean Michel N'Lend	Shangai Greenland Shenhua	2010
		Liaoning FC	2011
3	Modeste M'Bami	Changchun Yatai	2011
4	Stéphane Mbia Etoundi	Hebei China Fortune	2016
5	Benjamin Moukandjo	Jiangsu Suning	2017
6	Christian Bassogog	Henan Jianye	2017
7	Olivier Boumal	Liaoning FC	2017
8	Christian Bekamenga	Liaoning FC	2017

Source: Transfer Markt

Appendix 7

Table 6: Cameroonian footballers in the Russian Premier League since 2006

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	ARRIVAL SEASON
1	Benoit Angbwa	Krylya Sovetov Samara	2006
		Saturn Ramenskoe	2008
		Anzhi Makhachkala	2011
2	Jerry-Christian Tchuisse	FK Moskau	2006
3	Serge Branco	Krylya Sovetov Samara	2006
4	André Bikey-Amougou	Lokomotiv Moscow	2006
5	Guy Stéphane Essamé	Akhmat Grozny	2008
6	Jean Blaise Bouli	Akhmat Grozny	2008
7	Samuel Eto'o Fils	Anzhi Makhachkala	2011
8	Adolphe Teikeu	FK Krasnodar	2012-2013
		Akhmat Grozny	2014-2015
9	Alexandre Song	Rubin Kazan	2016-2017
10	Petrus Boumal	Ural Yekaterinburg	2017-2018

Source: Transfer Markt

Appendix 8

Table 7: Cameroonian footballers in the Portuguese Premeira Liga since 2006

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	ARRIVAL SEASON
1	William	Desportivo Aves	2006-2007
2	William	Boavista Porto FC	2006-2007
3	Guy Stéphane Essamé	Boavista Porto FC	2006-2007
4	Emile Mbamba	Vitória Setúbal FC	2006-2007
5	Serge N'Gal	União de Leiria	2006-2007
		Académica Coimbra	2006-2007
6	Yohanna Buba	SC Beira-Mar	2006-2007
7	Binya Augustin Gilles	SL Benfica	2007-2008
8	Jacques Momha	Vitória Guimarães SC	2007-2008
9	Meyong	CF Belenenses	2007-2008
		SC Braga	2008-2009
		Vitória Setúbal FC	2012-2013
10	Pajetat Douglas	CD Nacional	2008-2009
		CD Feirense	2011-2012
11	Christian Pouga	Leixões SC	2009-2010
		CS Marítimo	2011-2012
		Boavista Porto FC	2014-2015
12	Jean Paul Yontcha	CF Belenenses	2009-2010
		SC Olhanense	2010-2011
13	Messi	SC Olhanense	2009-2010
14	Berlin	FC Paços de Ferreira	2009-2010
15	Ghislain Mvom	Académica Coimbra	2011-2012
16	Fabrice Fokobo	Sporting CP	2012-2013
		FC Arouca	2014-2015
17	Gael Etock	Sporting CP	2012-2013
18	Edgar Salli	Académica Coimbra	2014-2015
19	Vincent Aboubakar	FC Porto	2014-2015
20	Donald Djousse	CS Marítimo	2015-2016
21	William Tchuameni	CD Feirense	2016-2017
22	Hervé Tchami	CD Feirense	2016-2017
23	Ohoulo Framelin	CD Nacional	2016-2017
24	Azongha Tembeng Abenego	CD Tondela	2017-2018

Source: Transfer Markt

Appendix 9

Table 8: Cameroonian footballers in the Greek Super League since 2006

	PLAYERS	CLUBS	ARRIVAL SEASON
1	Pierre Ebédé	Panathinaikos Athens	2006-2007
2	Joel Epalle	Iraklis Thessaloniki	2006-2007
3	Guy Bwelle	GS Ergotelis	2006-2007
4	Thierry Modo Abouna	AE Larisa	2006-2007
5	Lucien Mettomo	PAE Veria	2007-2008
6	Patrice Noukeu	AO Xanthi	2007-2008
7	Douala	Asteras Tripolis	2008-2009
8	Charles Hubert Itandje	AO Kavala	2009-2010
		Atromitos Athen	2010-2011
		PAOK Thessaloniki	2014-2015
9	Serge Branco	APO Levadiakos	2009-2010
10	Steve Beleck	Panthrakikos Komotini	2009-2010
		AEK Athens	2011-2012
11	Alexis Ngambi	Panthrakikos Komotini	2009-2010
12	Jean-Hugues Ateba	Atromitos Athen	2009-2010
13	Martin Abena	AO Xanthi	2009-2010
14	Louis Ngwat-Mahop	Iraklis Thessaloniki	2010-2011
15	Geremi Sorele Njitap Fotso	AE Larisa	2010-2011
16	Christian Bekamenga	AO Xanthi	2010-2011
17	Jean II Makoun	Olympiacos Piraeus	2011-2012
18	Olivier Boumal	Panetolikos Agrinio	2011-2012
		APO Levadiakos	2012-2013
		Panionios Athens	2014-2015
		Panathinaikos Athens	2016-2017
		Panetolikos Agrinio	2011-2012
19	Valéry Mézaguet	PAE Veria	2012-2013
20	Marcus Mokaké	Panthrakikos Komotini	2012-2013
21	Keynes Nouck Bong	Panetolikos Agrinio	2013-2014
22	André Bikey-Amougou	Olympiacos Piraeus	2013-2014
23	Gaetan Bong	PAS Giannina	2013-2014
24	Franck Songo'o	Platanias Chania	2014-2015
25	Yaya Banana	Panionios Athens	2017-2018
		AO Xanthi	2014-2015
26	Antonio Ghomsi	PAE Veria	2014-2015
27	Cédric Mandjeck	Atromitos Athen	2014-2015
28	Jacques Alberto Ngwem	Panionios Athens	2014-2015
29	Jérôme Guihoata	Asteras Tripolis	2014-2015
30	Jourdain Assen		

Source: Transfer Markt

CURRICULUM VITAE

Aristide FONGANG TCHEWONPI is a Cameroonian gentleman born in Bertoua, the capital city of the Eastern Region of Cameroon. He got in 2013 a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Bilingual Studies (English language and literature, French language and literature, and translation English-French French-English) at the Faculty of Arts, Letters, and Social Sciences of the University of Yaounde 1 in Cameroon. Then, he started a specialisation at the department of African Literature and Civilisations at the same faculty. In 2015, Aristide began his master programme in Cultural Studies at the Social Sciences Institute of Sakarya University.

