

Sport and Apartheid South Africa

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Introduction

This case study will centre on the processes of racialisation within sport in the context of South Africa, pre-apartheid and post-apartheid. The piece will not stem from a particular theoretical perspective instead it will be an empirical study of how racialisation took place in South African sport to contribute to the understanding of the processes of racialisation. The study will focus on four areas of racialisation within South African sport to understand how the racial ideology of white supremacy became embedded within South Africa. As the piece will follow a chronological structure, it will be necessary to explore how racialisation within sport was overcome which will add to our understanding of the limitations which the racial system of apartheid suffered. Finally it shall be seen that this piece will not offer a prescriptive analysis of what South Africa and other countries should follow in terms of policies, but will display micro and macro perspectives and factors to add to the understanding of how white supremacy and the ideology of apartheid became embedded and maintained, then overcome in sport within South Africa.

The word apartheid's first recorded use in 1917 (Baker, 2012), meant separate development for whites and non-whites and this ideology became prevalent in 1948 (HSRC, 1987), the date the national party came to power in South Africa. Racial segregationist policies had developed steadily in the numerous centuries leading up to the mid 1900's with white European colonial rule being established in 1652, eventually accumulating in the creation of a white nationalist consciousness of Afrikaners (HSRC, 1987). These descendants of the original colonists developed power and an identity which allowed the '...growth of an assumption of white superiority and African subordination' (HSRC, 1987:18), which is what apartheid became firmly based around. The rise to power of the National Party meant the ideology of apartheid became a '...monstrously labyrinthine system which dominated every facet of life in South Africa' (Posel, 1991:1), especially within sport. Therefore a macro factor for sport becoming racially segregated was through the ideology of separation, centred on white supremacy. Therefore it is important to view what particular factors caused white supremacy to be embedded within sport to contribute to an understanding of how racialisation took place in South Africa, especially within sport.

Four factors of racialisation

The four factors which shall be examined for embedding white supremacy within sport are politics, separation within different levels of sport, the restriction of non-white representation on a national level and the restriction of non-white foreign sports people competing in South Africa. In analysing each factor of racialisation there shall be a comparative analysis with Nazi Germany as Lapchick (1975) showed how factors of racialisation of sport were apparent in both countries.

Politics

The first factor is politics and it is necessary to see how an external factor from sport directly influenced its racialisation together with the three subsequent factors. As politics dominate the facets of social life, it particularly embedded itself within sport throughout the twentieth century, which became increasingly noticeable through the rise in transport and media. Although there was never a white majority in South Africa, there was a huge division of income, as between 1917/1918 to 1970, white people enjoyed around 70% of all income (HSRC, 1987:43). This can be seen to have a direct influence on sport as many non-white people could not afford to partake in sports. Politics not only influenced internal factors of

sport to become racialised but also had a direct influence, such as by comments made by South African president John Vorster in 1967 that:

'I, therefore, want to make it quite clear that from South Africa's point of view no mixed sport between whites and non-whites will be practiced locally, irrespective of the standard of proficiency of the participants'(Vorster in Lapchick, 1975:3). This shows how politics came to dominate how sport functioned within South Africa and this can also be seen in the context of Nazi Germany as its politics subordinated Jews, replicated within sport. In Germany, the Reichssportfuher or the sports minister Hans Von Tschammer-Osten stated that 'German sports are for Aryans...Athletes will not be judged by ability alone, but also by their general and moral fitness for representing Germany' (*New York Times*, May 29, 1933), showing the process of racialisation of sport. These political interventions of both countries therefore show how politics influenced sport and this shall now be seen in the following three internal factors, which was perhaps advantageous to politicians as the rhetoric of apartheid was consequently practiced at an everyday level.

Separation within different levels of sport

The first internal factor which shall be examined is of separation of races within different areas of sport. Within sport, races were separated in a plethora of ways, such as audience segregation which helped reinforce the notion of white supremacy to the masses. Within South Africa it can be seen that by 1965, mixed audiences were unacceptable unless there was a government permit (Cassam, 1970 in Lapchick, 1975), showing the limited inclusion within sport. In Nazi Germany too, audience segregation was practiced, shown by the German government simply banishing Jews from attending the German Winter Olympic Games (Lapchick, 1975). Sport further became separated as particular sports became racialised such as rugby and cricket. Cricket especially became transformed into a sport for the elite (Archer and Boullion, 1982:88), arguably because white people could afford the facilities and this further accentuated white supremacy. The separation of sports is depicted within the film *Invictus* (2009) as one scene shows white children playing rugby on good facilities whilst it shows black children playing football in poor facilities, so this factor in particular was felt at grassroots level. This can further be seen through government funding of sport, as in 1979 for example, 86.6% of all government expenditure on sport in 1979 was given to the Department of Sport and Recreation which was for white sporting bodies (Seidmann, 1980:31 in Jarvie 1985:57), and hence poor facilities were incurred by non-white people. As separation was felt at all form of sport, it can also be seen that national representation of sports teams was racialised.

National Representation

National representation under South African apartheid in sport was simply white only, linking earlier to Vorster's political comment. National representation within sport was enacted upon in South Africa through the use of separate sporting bodies for whites and non-whites, such as with the creation of the all-white South African rugby board in 1889 (Jarvie, 1985), which saw the separate developments of the different races. Within Germany too, 'Jews could not be members of athletic governing boards, thus effectively cutting them out of sports administration' (Lapchick, 1975:9), showing that white supremacy was maintained through basic exclusion of others. An example of a sportsman who was not able to represent South Africa was Basil D'Oliviera, a black cricketer who moved to England to play cricket after he was unable to represent South Africa due to apartheid policy. Within South Africa, D'Oliviera was confined to playing in South Africa's non-white leagues, but although he had exceptional talent, his performances were rejected because of non-white crickets apparent inferiority (Osborne, 2012). It is therefore important to realise just how powerful the use of separate sporting bodies were for maintaining white supremacy because 'Until the 1960's one could have believed that black people in South Africa never played cricket' (Desai, 2012:47). Importantly it was not just indigenous non-white people who were excluded, it was also foreign non-white people.

Restriction of non-white foreigners competing within South Africa

This final factor of the restriction of non-white foreigners competing within South Africa is what arguably forced South Africa into international sporting exclusion. This policy was made official in 1956 as the minister of the interior for South Africa issued that 'International teams competing in South Africa against white South African teams must be all white' (Lapchick, 1975:25), ensuring races remained separate. In Germany too, it can be seen that foreign Jews were excluded from competing within the country, shown by the exclusion of the Jewish pairing of Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller from the American team at Germany's Olympic Games (Senn, 1999), seemingly because they were Jewish. Within South Africa, the incident surrounding Basil D'Oliviera began to bring apartheid to an end. After D'Oliviera had been selected for England and subsequently his place in England's 1968-1969 touring side of South Africa looked likely, South African President, BJ Vorster organised a meeting where it was stated that 'an MCC team including D'Oliviera would not be acceptable to the South African government' (Williams, 2001:56). The English cricketing establishment therefore faced a predicament and unfortunately politics won and D'Oliviera was initially unselected for the tour. D'Oliviera's omission was arguably the turning point in South African exclusion as 'The blatant unfairness of this decision led to a national outcry' (Osborne, 2012:47) within Britain and from this point South Africa's international exclusion became inevitable. After an injury to original squad member Tom Cartwright, D'Oliviera was eventually selected to tour (Osborne, 2012) and on 18 September, Vorster stated that the England team with D'Oliviera included would not be allowed to play in South Africa (Williams, 2001). The result of this comment was that 'It plunged South Africa into a quarter of a century of competitive isolation, which ratcheted up the pressure for the ending of apartheid' (Osborne, 2012:46). Therefore, although these factors allowed white supremacy to be created and maintained within sport, consequently these factors led to South Africa being internationally excluded.

Factors ending apartheid

International Exclusion

South Africa's process of international exclusion shall now be analysed as a chronological account of particular events to show how it was a macro factor in influencing apartheid's slow demise and how the factors of racialisation of sport began to be undermined. International recognition of the separation of sport within South Africa was originally noticed in 1956 through the recognition of the international table tennis federation for the Non-Racial Table Tennis Board of South Africa (Jarvie, 1985). Subsequently, South Africa's racist system of separate sporting bodies began to be internationally recognised and international protest against apartheid slowly came into fruition, shown by Williams who argued that during the 1950's there had been little protests for cricket matches played between England and South Africa but through the work of South Africa's non racial bodies, the 1960's saw the emergence of disquiet amongst cricketing nations (Williams, 2001). Throughout the 1960's there became a growing negative recognition of South Africa's racial sports policy, shown by the fact that they were banned from the 1964 Olympics, because South Africa had failed to meet the demands of the International Olympic Committee and this same committee stated that the ban could only be overturned if 'South Africa renounced racial discrimination in sport' (BBC, 2008a:1). It can be seen that the South Africa National Olympic Committee did make concession of including 7 black athletes into the national team in the aftermath of their ban (Booth, 1998), but this was not seen as a great enough effort to separate sport from politics, which showed the emergence of a strong international defiance against apartheid in sport. This was also replicated within football as South Africa became 'suspended indefinitely by FIFA, football's international governing body' (BBC, 2008a), which was a huge step in influencing other major sporting bodies to exclude them. International protest though was particularly strongest amongst the African nations, shown by a 22 state strong lobby against apartheid created in 1966 named the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) (Senn, 1999). The lobby represented the growing international protest against South Africa, yet the International Olympic Committee headed by Avery Brundage was willing to let South Africa compete in the next Olympics in 1968, but these efforts were thwarted by the SCSA who remained firm on their defiance of apartheid and all of them threatened to boycott the 1968 Olympics if South Africa were accepted (Senn, 1999). This powerful movement from the SCSA showed that apartheid was intolerable internationally and South Africa was

banned from the Olympics. Within other sports, competition with South Africa remained as there were no laws against this, other than a bill by the UN in 1968 which only requested that countries suspend their sporting activities with South Africa (UN, 2010). Therefore it should be seen that South Africa's international exclusion was ultimately determined by the incident involving Basil D'Oliviera as it plunged South Africa into nearly three decades of exclusion. During South Africa's international exclusion, it can be seen that white-only national representation as a factor of racialisation was undermined as all South African sport stars were unable to compete which also influenced apartheid's demise as South Africa was deprived of international competition. Taking cricket as an example, it can be seen that there were arguably numerous white world class cricketers who could not represent South Africa during the 1970's and 1980's. Cricketers such as Barry Richards, Mike Proctor and Graeme Pollock were never allowed to flourish fully on the international stage yet, they all still featured in ESPN's 50 Legends of Cricket (ESPN cricinfo, 2012), showing the sporting calibre South Africa was deprived of. Graeme Pollock, just one example of these was seen by Sir Donald Bradman as the finest left hand batsman in the game (Manthorp, 2012) and these views were backed up by his phenomenal record of an average of 60.97 in 23 matches (ESPN cricinfo, 2012), reiterating the point of what could have been. Although these players rarely represented their country, others who could not such as Kepler Wessels, Tony Greig and Basil D'Oliviera emigrated and played for other qualifying countries, but they too could have been sporting stars for South Africa. Although this was only one sport, there were many South African sports stars deprived of competition, showing that the promotion of white supremacy was flawed. Although South Africa's international exclusion helped end apartheid, rebel sporting tours could have so nearly undermined this.

Tours

As South Africa became internationally excluded, rebel sporting tours of South Africa, showed that white supremacy and the racialised system of apartheid was still apparent, but international defiance against these tours meant that South African sporting exclusion was maintained and apartheid grew ever weaker. In 1969, a year after exclusion, The English Cricket Council voted unanimously for a South African team to tour England the following year (Williams, 2001). The Cricketing board did not support apartheid, but believed excluding them would not encourage multi-racial sports back in South Africa (Williams, 2001), which in hindsight did the opposite. The 1970 tour received much opposition, namely by the group Stop The Seventy Tour who attacked county cricket grounds in protest (Williams, 2001). Opposition was also prominent in British government and the Minister for Sport stated he had 'no time for any sport based on racial considerations' (Howell, 1990:207), ultimately the tour was cancelled. Throughout following decades, businessmen organised further tours and again were heavily criticised, interestingly by the English Cricket Council aswell. In his autobiography, ex England player Geoffrey Boycott details the 1982 rebel tour and how players who had toured were subsequently banned from international cricket for three years (Boycott, 1987). This punishment was reciprocated after the 1990 tour, where England's captain, Mike Gatting was banned from international cricket for three years (BBC, 2008b). Further opposition came from anti-apartheid activists such as Trevor Richards. Richards' group HART – Halt All Racial Tours, fought to ban all proposed tours especially within rugby, and his 'small lobby group of Anti-Apartheid campaigners developed into an unstoppable worldwide movement to ban apartheid sport' (The Presidency, 2012), which was hugely successful. The foreign players who took part on the tours arguably did it for financial incentives and not to support apartheid (Boycott, 1987), but as they were largely rejected, international exclusion led to the ending of apartheid in conjunction with a new government within South Africa. Therefore an overriding factor of how the factors which caused racialisation of sport were ended and how apartheid was weakened should be seen as South Africa's international exclusion, argued by Jarvie and Reid who see from a pluralist perspective that 'sporting freedom and the dismantling of apartheid would be brought about through external pressures being brought to bear on South Africa' (1997:213). Nelson Mandela also acknowledged the international collective as he commented that:

We stand here today to salute the United Nations Organization and its Member States, both singly and collectively, for joining forces with the masses of our people in

a common struggle that has brought about our emancipation and pushed back the frontiers of racism (Mandela in UN, 2010).

Although international exclusion helped to end apartheid, the focus should switch to looking at how the factor of a new government in South Africa influenced more directed factors in helping to overcome each previous factor mentioned which helped to originally racialise South African sport.

4 factors in overcoming Apartheid and the factors of racialisation: The case of a new government

Although international exclusion of South Africa had helped to end apartheid, it was perhaps necessary for politics to be changed to help overcome apartheid as earlier it was seen that politics based around white supremacy was what caused the racialisation of sport. South Africa's transition from apartheid to a democracy was made possible through repealing of apartheid laws by the early 1990's, together with political ending of apartheid by 1994, which allowed every man a single vote, resulting in the election of non-white president Nelson Mandela (Saunders, 2004). As every man was allowed the vote this showed a rhetoric of inclusion from the top down and therefore inclusion became the main reason in how sport changed from how it was under apartheid. The notion of inclusion was made possible by Mandela who sought to rebuild the nation based on non-racialism, which in the view of Blaser was a 'rainbow myth of a diverse but united nation' (2004:179) and therefore a rainbow nation based on inclusion was arguably the main factor in overcoming apartheid. The difficulty of rebuilding the nation was seen by Saunders through the work of Fredrickson who saw that apartheid was 'the most elaborate form of legalised racial segregation ever derived' (2004:164) and therefore for South Africa to overcome three centuries worth of racial ideology, they needed a collective to begin building relations upon, and this can definitely be seen through sport. In the work of Høglund and Sundberg on reconciliation in South Africa through sport, they place particular emphasis on integration within sport to benefit South Africa. They state 'reconciliation is understood not only as a process of forgiveness at the political level, but also as integration of separate racial, ethnic and socioeconomic groups' (2008:808) and arguably this was Mandela's aim as he sought to integrate all races through sport to help build his rainbow nation. It is therefore necessary now to look at how the rhetoric of inclusion was enacted upon within certain factors in sport which helped South Africa to overcome apartheid and to overcome the initial factors of racialisation.

Politics

It can be seen that through politics, Mandela was able to lead from the top and to influence his people to be an inclusive society which can be seen in his tactical move to allow the South African rugby team to maintain wearing the springbok emblem. In the view of South African rugby player Danie Craven 'the springboks have always been associated with whites' (Craven in Quintal, 2008:1), showing that the emblem was a racial code of whiteness, but Mandela understood that if he took away the springboks, he would lose the white people (Invictus, 2009), so his gesture would have certainly earned him trust amongst white supporters and showed that he was an advocate of inclusion. It can also be seen that Mandela made the most of a unique opportunity to show the world that South Africa was to be based around inclusion, when during the 1995 rugby world cup presentation to the South African team 'The handshake between team captain Francois Pienaar and President Nelson Mandela-wearing a springbok jersey-is widely portrayed throughout South African Society' (Høglund and Sundberg, 2008:808), as it showed that South Africa overcoming apartheid.

Separation within different levels of sport

It is possible to see that overcoming the factor of a separation of sport at all levels was very difficult as depicted in the film *Invictus* as non-white South Africans are seen to be cheering for England in a rugby match (Invictus, 2009). As South Africa became more inclusive and the rugby team began to achieve success, audience segregation started to be overcome, which is depicted within *Invictus* (2009) as there are celebrations shown between different race supporters in the wake of South Africa's unlikely victory in the final of the World Cup

over New Zealand by 15 – 12. Unfortunately, there was still a minority in South Africa who remained faithful to apartheid and one such person was South African rugby president Louis Luyt who stated how the springboks were the first true champions of the world cup as they had been excluded from previous competitions (Cleary and Donegan, 1995), but on the whole, the world cup had allowed South Africans to begin integrating through sport, which was a huge way in South African beginning to overcome apartheid.

National representation

In the wake of the ending of apartheid, the issue of national representation became very prevalent, and through the racial quota system, more non-white people began to start representing South Africa at international level. One such player was the 1995 world cup winning non-white rugby player Chester Williams, which was important in showing that inclusion had begun within South African sporting teams. As South Africa began to reconcile through sport, it can be seen that initiatives became prevalent within sport such as 'sport unity' which was a 'completely new system, based on unity, equality, empowerment and representation' (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008:809), but as racial representation became of the utmost importance, South African sports teams were obliged not to misrepresent the demographic population of South Africa in their selections (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008), hence the implementation of the racial quota system. The system insisted that sports teams had to include non-white players to 'gain experience and eventually compete on merit' (Sekar, 2009:1), forming a grassroots development for non-white sports people and to show inclusion in national representation. As previous decades had seen the isolation of non-white sport, Sekar argues that 'The quota system was necessary to redress the imbalance caused by South Africa's first quota system – one that excluded blacks' (2009:1), subsequently this allowed for the gradual integration of mixed race sport with South African national teams. Consequently, benefits have been felt by all races as they have increasingly been able to compete with and against each other as 'sport offers an easy and low-cost interaction opportunity' (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008:811), helping to increase multi-race relations. The quota system though has been surrounded by controversy and one such example is of South African born England cricketer, Kevin Pietersen. Sekar (2009) sees that Pietersen saw himself as a victim of the quota system as non-white cricketer Ghulam Bodi was selected ahead of him for Natal, and even though Bodi was far superior, Pietersen believed he was not selected because he was white, consequently, Pietersen moved to England. Through incidents such as these, it has led some to believe that the quota policy is too pro-black and anti-white, an argument which was exuberated after the South African field hockey team were unable to compete at the 2000 Olympics as their squad was dominated by white players (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008). All in all the quota system should surely be seen as a positive step for South African sport in increasing integration between races, and although it is not currently in place, it has cemented the fact that national sporting selection is now based on merit and not race, which has seen the production of a plethora of non-white sports stars representing their national team. One such example was in South Africa's recent test cricket series against New Zealand in March 2012 as the fifteen man squad consisted of seven non-white players. Another example came within their football world cup squad as it contained a large majority of non-white players and therefore we can see the benefits of the racial quota system are that it has helped to spread the rhetoric of inclusion within sport.

Restriction of non-white foreigners competing within South Africa

Finally it is possible to see that the exclusion of foreign non-white sports people was overcome through South Africa initially hosting the world cup in rugby in 1995 and then hosting the 2010 football world cup. As South Africa hosted these events and competed with mixed racial teams against mixed racial teams in South Africa, it showed that the factors of foreign exclusion had been overcome and as this happened at such large events, inclusion within South Africa was seen on a mass global scale. As it has been seen how particular processes helped overcome factors of racialisation, it should be seen that South African sporting successes such as winning the rugby world cup twice and also world class black stars representing South Africa are factors which helped to overcome the ideology of white supremacy. As through apartheid, non-white sports people were seen as subordinate it is necessary to look at two non-white sporting stars to show how this idea was flawed. The first

of these non-white sport stars is Makhaya Ntini who was the first black South African international cricketer (Vice, 2012), and arguably the most successful. In a brilliant career, Ntini managed to take 390 wickets at international test level, placing him twelfth overall in international rankings (ESPN cricinfo, 2012), but his contribution to sport was more than just statistics. After Ntini's final international appearance against India, a report entitled *Ntini was more than a cricketer* was produced and details how Ntini was favoured by all races shown by the thousands of fans who turned up to celebrate his contribution to multi-racial sports (Moonda, 2011) and hopefully Ntini many others to follow in his footsteps. Another sporting icon has been Bryan Habana after contributing to South Africa's 2007 rugby world cup triumph. Habana's honours include international player of the year in 2007 after scoring a record equalling eight tries in the world cup and he subsequently holds the record for the most tries scored by any South African (SARU, 2012). The achievement of these two iconic sportsmen have most definitely promoted multi-racial relations and inclusion within sport and we should now see just how positive these are by looking at the current situation of racialisation within sport to see how far the country has progressed.

South Africa's current position

Although apartheid has been overcome through sport especially, there are still issues around race in current South African society which need to be resolved. The post apartheid vision of creating a single nation state can be seen as contradictory because the rainbow state envisaged by Mandela was designed to incorporate all identities into one strong national identity (Blaser, 2004), but some see this national identity as based around African hegemony, an argument supported by noticeable economic inequalities currently being faced by the white population. Evans (2010) suggests that because the whites do not enjoy political support, it has seen them sinking gradually into poverty, as by 2010, 650,000 whites were without work, growing at a rate of 15% a year. This shows that there are still problems within South African society, but through sport, inclusion and racial reconciliation has become very important and therefore maintaining this is imperative. In recent times, it can be seen that initiatives within sport on a communal level have helped to improve inter-communal relations and intra-communal relations between races, particularly in Seim's work who found that there was positive integration through sporting initiatives at the educational level (Hoglund and Sundberg, 2008). Sports has been unique of political attempts in reconciling the past as it can be seen to be effective in producing a unified rainbow nation as races of all kinds have been able to mix with others whilst maintaining their identities. Positively we can therefore see that racialisation within sports has begun to diminish within South Africa as the different races have been encouraged to integrate with others, but this needs to be maintained as unfortunately sport still remains a global arena for racism to be projected to the masses, as seen by a multitude of recent examples. These most recent wide scale examples are not on the same scale as apartheid racialisation, but they represent a global problem as many examples have included audiences racially abusing players. Within motor sport there was a 'decision by a small group of fans to paint themselves black and taunt Lewis Hamilton with racist abuse' (BBC, 2008c) and worryingly these particular incidents have ceased to diminish and therefore initiatives which promote inclusion of races through sport need to be initiated and maintained in all countries in the future.

The global future of race and sport

In finalising the piece, it is necessary to look at the future not just in terms of racialisation within South Africa but also the world as there is an abundance of racism across the globe. This piece has not been a prescriptive one which suggests what policies should be taken by previously racialised countries such as South Africa, but instead aims to add to the understanding of how racialisation can embed itself within countries and be maintained there, yet showing that it can be overcome. As sport has been successful in helping to end a racialised system within South Africa, it is possible to see that it could help to end racial problems elsewhere on the globe. As has been seen, South Africa still faces many challenges in overcoming apartheid, but there has been success through sport, which countries with racial differences and conflict should follow. In looking at ethnic conflict within particular countries, Law (2010) points out that 'The level of ethnic and cultural diversity in a society

does not have any significant effect on the likelihood of racial and ethnic conflict' (p.225) and a factor which could decrease conflict yet promote diversity is through integration through sports as seen in South Africa. Law also displays the top 20 countries where minorities are under threat (Lattimer, 2008 in Law, 2010) and interestingly only 3 of the countries really display any international sporting credentials such as Sri Lanka and Pakistan in cricket and the Cote d'Ivoire in football. This may not be merely coincidence and it is a possible scope of thought in which the UN could possibly take in promoting inclusion of races within particular countries through funded initiatives of sport. It is important though to note that even countries that have good inclusion through sporting initiatives need to be aware that this needs to be maintained. The Fundamental Rights Agency have produced a report offering suggestions on maintaining racial inclusion by reinforcing awareness and improving diversity, effective monitoring, maximising the role of equality bodies and stronger regulation and enforcement (EU agency for fundamental rights, 2010), which are useful guidelines for countries equivalent to South Africa to help maintain racial harmony. Finally it should be seen that because racialisation within sport is a global issue, multi-nation participation within sport such as the Indian Premier League within cricket, has allowed players of different races and of different nationalities to play together in India, which Shourie (2008) sees as allowing healthy competition, better interaction and better sportsmen spirit for players towards their international competitors. Therefore it is important on a global level and on a national level that countries do integrate through sport, whilst taking interest in the FRA report which points to European problems of racialisation within sport which may not have been considered by non-European countries (EU agency for fundamental rights), and together through sport, situations such as apartheid shall hopefully never be replicated.

In conclusion, this piece has offered a contribution to how racialisation can embed itself within forms of social life and how it can be overcome in the case of South Africa. It can be seen that politics play a huge part in determining the racialisation of a country and how it influences other factors, such as within sport to maintain the racialisation of what its rhetoric is set around. Fortunately, the racialised system of apartheid has been overcome and this was helped immensely through politics again which set a rhetoric around inclusion which has been seen in abundance through sport. Finally it should be seen that although South Africa overcame racialisation, it is as vulnerable as any other country in slipping back into a racialised system of governance, which is why maintaining racial inclusion within sport is imperative, yet sport is only one area of social life where racialisation can take place, which shows that racialisation as a topic is a deep and ongoing subject on a global and everyday scale.

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