

LONG RUN TO FREEDOM

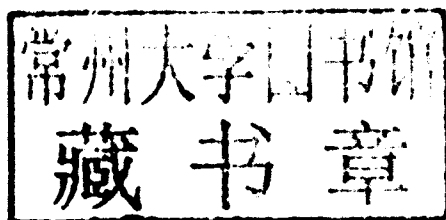
SPORT, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES
IN SOUTH AFRICA



JOHN NAURIGHT

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FITNESS INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

**A Division of the International Center for Performance Excellence
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*For Jenni, Ashley, Lauren, Shiloh, and Spike and to the memory of
Dennis Brutus and the memory and honor of all the South African men and
women who have fought for a level playing field.*

— JN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	American Board Mission
ADC	Aide-de-camp
ANC	African National Congress
AWB	Afrikaner Resistance Movement
BMSC	Bantu Men's Social Centre
BSC	Bantu Sports Club
CABTA	Citizen's All Black Tour Association
CSRU	City and Suburban Rugby Union
DDAFA	Durban and District African Football Association
DSR	Department of Sport and Recreation
FA	Football Association
FAK	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings
FASA	Football Association of South Africa
FIFA	Federation of International Football Associations
FNB	First National Bank
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GWCRFU	Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union
IAAF	International Amateur Athletic Federation
ICC	Imperial (later International) Cricket Council
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union
IOC	International Olympics Committee
IRB	International Rugby Board
Jafa	Johannesburg African Football Association
JBFA	Johannesburg Bantu Football Association
JCC	Johannesburg City Council
MCC	Marylebone Cricket Club
NEAD	Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department
NGK	Dutch Reformed Church
NNFA	Natal Native Football Association
NOCSA	National Olympic Committee of South Africa
NP	National Party

NSC	National Sports Congress/National Sports Council
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
NSL	National Soccer League
NZRFU	New Zealand Rugby Football Union
PAC	Pan African Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RWC	Rugby World Cup
SAACB	South African African Cricket Board
SAAFA	South African African Football Association
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACA	South African Cricket Association
SACB	South African Cricket Board
SACBOC	South African Cricket Board of Control
SACCB	South African Coloured Cricket Board
SACOS	South African Council of Sport
SACRFB	South African Coloured Rugby Football Board
SACU	South African Cricket Union
SADF	South African Defense Force
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAOCGA	South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association
SAONGA	South African Olympic and National Games Association
SANZAR	South African New Zealand Australian Rugby
SARB	South African Rugby Board
SARFU	South African Rugby Football Union
SARU	South African Rugby Union
SASA	South African Sports Association
SASF	South African Soccer Federation
SASF-PL	South African Soccer Federation Professional League
SCSA	Supreme Council for Sport in Africa
TRFU	Transvaal Rugby Football Union
UCBSA	United Cricket Board of South Africa
UDF	United Democratic Front
WDNFA	Witwatersrand District Native Football Association
WPCC	Western Province Cricket Club
WPCRUC	Western Province Coloured Rugby Union

PREFACE

Two major international events in 2009 and 2010 have prompted me to revisit the book I wrote on sport in South Africa in the mid-1990s. The first was the release of the movie *Invictus* directed by Clint Eastwood, which stars Morgan Freeman as Nelson Mandela and Matt Damon as South African national rugby team captain François Pienaar. *Invictus* recounts the story of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, which was a pivotal event in the shaping of the last two chapters of this book and in the beginnings of forming a new national identity in post-apartheid South Africa. The second is the FIFA World Cup of soccer being held in Africa for the first time in 2010, which will be hosted by South Africa. I hope that readers of this book will gain insights into how both of these sports and the other major South African team sport of cricket have shaped identities in South Africa. It may be a cliché to allege that one country is more “sports mad” than another, and whether South Africa is relatively sporty or not, it is clear that sport plays a central role in broader social identification, in political calculations (President Mandela and the 1995 Rugby World Cup or President Jacob Zuma on stage with FIFA President Sepp Blatter at the World Cup final draw in Cape Town), and in economic development strategies in ways that touch the lives of virtually every South African either directly or indirectly. Millions of South Africans play sports formally or informally, and many millions more follow the fortunes of their national teams and leading sports figures.

Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa was written at a time when the future of sport in South Africa was uncertain, despite the momentary euphoria surrounding the 1995 World Cup victory, and in which histories of sport there largely ignored over 85 percent of the population. During my work on the book, South Africa was in the process of transformation from an apartheid society to one in which all adults had the vote and the government worked hard to ensure the future for all of the population, rather than a privileged few. Several key events in society and in sport suggested that the future would be more positive than the past, although the challenges were great. Most notable among these were the election of Nelson Mandela as

President in 1994, the successful hosting of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, in which the South African team won in dramatic fashion over arch-rivals New Zealand, and the South African victory in the African Cup of Nations soccer tournament a year later (football for those readers outside the USA), which was moved to South Africa at the eleventh hour. Almost overnight anything seemed possible, although the harsh legacy of apartheid meant that day to day life would take many more years to change for most South Africans.

The successes of South Africa, not just on the field but in the operation of these events, suggested to some that there were greater opportunities for South Africa in the world of global sporting events. Strong bids were organized for the right to host the 2004 Summer Olympic Games and for the 2006 FIFA World Cup in soccer, the two golden prizes in global sport. Although both of these bids failed, the latter in dramatic fashion by one vote (coincidentally cast by an elderly New Zealander), they suggested that South Africa should be taken seriously as a possible host by FIFA and the International Olympic Committee for their marquee events, particularly as each wants to demonstrate that their organization is the most universal one on Earth (both have more affiliated national governing bodies than the United Nations has total members). Indeed, FIFA and its President Sepp Blatter were impressed enough to alter their process for tournament location selection. As a result, South Africa won the right to host the 2010 World Cup, as FIFA ensured that its tournament rotated across the continents. So, in 2010 the sporting world focused on Africa. Much is riding on the success of this event, not only for South Africa but for all African nations as they look to the future.

The question on many minds within South Africa is what will the legacy of the 2010 World Cup be? This will take many years to fully ascertain. Hosting a mega-event is a risky business. We know from recent global sporting events that there can be long-term benefits—the revitalization and modernization of Barcelona, Spain, and the reclamation of an entire wasteland area of Sydney, Australia, which is now a public park full of world class sporting facilities, stand out as examples. But, there can be long-term difficulties—half empty soccer stadiums in Japan, long-term debt in Montreal, Canada, and failures to meet long-term projected tourism targets. With upwards of half of the population unemployed and increasing infrastructural needs from basic electricity, clean water, and housing to public education, South Africa risked more than many other nations. Some question whether a corporatized event run by a multi-national sporting organization that controls so many aspects of the World Cup can really serve the long-term needs of so many South Africans. Others argue that without the World Cup the funds that are flowing into the South African economy would take many more years to materialize. Both sides are wise to be cautious in their long-term predictions.

What is hoped, and what the publication of a new edition of this book is meant to do, is that a fuller understanding of the history of sport in South Africa and of South African society in general will generate a long-term interest in the future of the country within the international community. In the lead up to the World Cup and in its aftermath, I hope that a reading of *Long Run to Freedom: Sport, Cultures and Identities* in South Africa will give those turning an eye to the country for the first time a sense of the role that sport has played, and continues to play, in the most developed country in sub-Saharan Africa. The first edition was well received and has been used widely but, sadly, is now difficult to find in print. So, I am excited that Fitness Information Technology has agreed to release a new edition of the book, particularly as I am told it is still the most widely used overview of sport in South Africa.

This book does not claim to be a full A-Z history of all sports in South Africa, as that is far too vast an undertaking for a single volume. Rather, I situate sport within the wider social, political, and economic development of South Africa over the past 150 years, with particular focus on the three main team sports played there by men: association football, cricket, and rugby union football. These are also the most commercialized of the local sports. Additionally, the main ethnic groups in South Africa and their sporting histories are examined in this volume with examples from local, regional, and national levels.

Sport was divided in many ways during the eras of segregation and apartheid. Whites, those South Africans fully descended from the peoples of Europe, played in their own competitions, while Blacks, all of those not fully descended from Europeans, had a number of competitions. At different points in time, black South Africans played in non-racial or mixed competitions in which all blacks could play. At others, Africans, those people fully descended from the peoples of Africa, played in their own leagues, and “Coloureds” and “Indians” played in theirs. Although not really accepted as a racial term in other parts of the world, in South Africa, “Coloured” was an official racial category that encompassed mixed-race people as well as the descendants of slaves brought from southeast Asia to the Cape colony in the seventeenth century, many of whom were Muslim and who have retained their Muslim faith. It may be surprising to outsiders but even within the Coloured community competitions in the Western Cape before 1960 were divided between ones that banned Muslims and ones that were primarily, though not exclusively, Muslim. The reasons for this are explored within these pages. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, indentured servants were brought into the Natal colony (present day KwaZulu-Natal) to work on the sugar plantations there. Many stayed in South Africa, some temporarily, such as Gandhi,

others permanently. Some are Hindi, some Tamil, and some Sikh. Whites were also divided between the original settlers who were Dutch (first appearing at Cape Town in 1652) with a smattering of French Huguenots who arrived soon after and English-speaking whites who began to arrive in 1820. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, a nationalist and language movement emerged within the former group who labeled themselves Afrikaners and their language Afrikaans. During the twentieth century, Afrikaner men took to rugby and largely shaped it as their game, although English-speaking whites also played. Cricket, on the other hand, was almost exclusively a game for English-speaking whites within white South Africa.

Thus South Africa was a society that was divided in many ways: legally, linguistically, culturally socially, and, indeed, in sports. For example, all the main groupings listed above played association football and cricket in significant enough numbers and all but Indian South Africans played rugby union as well. Despite this history, relative isolation meant that certain sports became aligned with certain social groups. Rugby became a game for whites that symbolized masculinity and struggle, particularly for Afrikaners, while soccer was viewed less positively. For black South Africans, however, soccer symbolized a freedom of expression often denied them in wider society and indeed within other team sports. Collective will is required for success in rugby union, and although collective will is important in soccer, individual flair can carry the day. Thus, stylistic play came to be prized by black soccer fans and was taken up by many black players. Black soccer players achieved a celebrity status within black communities that could only be matched by the top echelon of African National Congress leaders, many of whom spent much of their early careers in sports administration. As a result, association soccer came to be the dominant game for African, Indian, and many Coloured South Africans. The dichotomy appears simple: rugby was a white man's game while soccer was a black man's game. Many believed this to be true, although the histories of both sports clearly demonstrate that the reality was less clear-cut. A significant number of whites played soccer, and an equally significant number of blacks played rugby. In summer, cricket was the largest sport across the major racial groups and, although segregated as well, was less attached to the black/white divide than the two main soccer codes. For women, netball was by far the largest sport, and very few women played the main men's team sports before at least the 1990s. Women's sports sadly remained at the margins in a society that was not only divided by race but also prescribed strong gender boundaries.

Although South Africa has, since the arrival of Europeans in 1652, had a segregated society, the election of the National Party to power in 1948, at a time when former colonial powers were moving towards granting

independence to their colonies after World War II, placed South Africa at odds with the rest of the world. The National Party ran on a platform of apartheid, which planned for the total separation of society spatially and socially. All geographic space in the country would be assigned to a particular racial group. Indeed, to make this happen, vibrant multi-racial communities such as Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District Six in Cape Town were razed, and residents were removed farther away from the central city to new racially designated areas, while the formerly black dominated areas were declared for whites only. Sophiatown was even renamed Triomph, which is Afrikaans for triumph or victory.

Apartheid laws extended segregationist policies and included such edicts as the Group Areas Act (dividing the country into racial residential areas), the Mixed Marriages Act (banning inter-racial marriage), the Suppression of Communism Act (meant to limit political dissent, and communism was defined more broadly than even in the USA of the 1950s), and the Universities Act (which made South Africa's universities for whites only in 1959). These were meant to order society racially and to protect distinct communities. These appeared in rapid succession after the National Party consolidated their position in the 1953 election.

The Western world largely went along with what was happening in South Africa due to several key factors. Chief among these were that South Africa held the largest supply of strategic minerals used in nuclear weapons outside of the Soviet Union and that South Africa was a settler society within the British Commonwealth of nations. All of this began to unravel by the early 1960s. The Sharpeville Massacre, where 69 black South Africans were murdered by the South African police who overreacted to a protest, made the world turn a sharper, more critical eye on South Africa, as did the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Nelson Mandela shortly thereafter.

In sports, it was the tradition that whites-only teams represented South Africa in international competitions and that whites-only national associations were recognized by international sporting organizations, which were white dominated at the time these associations were granted official status. As former Asian and African colonies became independent nations and gained voting rights in international sports federations, the power began to shift slightly away from the imperial old boys' network based in Europe, North America, and Australasia that had hitherto governed world sport. As long as South Africa remained a country in which blacks were denied an equal vote and equal access to national sporting teams, opposition to South Africa was bound to increase in this changing world context. Indeed, sport emerged at the vanguard of international pressure on South Africa and became a key element in the anti-apartheid movement. As a result, South Africa

was denied participation in the 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games and was finally expelled from the Olympic Movement in 1970. The government argued that the expulsion was part of a global communist plot against South Africa, but this could not be alleged in the same way when formerly close sporting allies such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom began to limit South African participation in international rugby and cricket.

This was the legacy of sport in South Africa that shaped its sporting history into the 1990s when the first edition of this book was written. I had the benefit of examining sport in the first few years of “unity” in the post-apartheid era, although the bulk of my concern was with sport in the eras of segregation and apartheid. Indeed, it was not yet clear whether events such as the 1995 World Cup would be transformative or would merely create temporary diversion from the widespread societal problems that the newly reformed nation faced. Supporters have argued for the former, while detractors have pursued the latter. As is often the case, the reality lies somewhere in the middle. *Invictus* quite rightly portrays the 1995 World Cup as a powerful moment in the attempts to build a new South Africa centered on the impressive personalities of President Mandela and national team captain Pienaar. Having been in South Africa at the time, I can confess that the feel good factor the movie attempts to capture was genuinely felt throughout society at the time. It is a feeling that South Africans have tapped into from time to time but never to the levels achieved during the 1995 tournament. South Africa also won the 2007 Rugby World Cup to widespread acclaim, but this was outside of South Africa and thus more removed from people’s daily lives than when it was in their midst.

There have been new events and a number of historical studies of South African sports that have appeared since the publication of the first edition.¹ These have enhanced, but not altered, my general thinking about sport in South Africa. Thus, I stand by the general arguments made in the first edition of the book with a few minor caveats based on my own further research and that of others since the book first appeared. In the rest of the preface, I refer to their insights and bring out a few of my own that have emerged since the book was first published.

What we know about the role of sport in South African society has been enriched by several studies of single sports that were published after *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*. Of particular importance are books that have focused on single sports, such as the excellent history of soccer by Peter Alegi, entitled *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa* (2004); the study of rugby by Black and Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation* (1998); and the examination of cricket by Merrett and Murray entitled *Springbok Cricket* (2004). All three focus on the role of politics and

race in South Africa's major male team sports. Black and Nauright focus on the role of rugby as a South African cultural activity and then how its centrality to white culture in particular made rugby boycotts highly powerful, particularly when pressure was applied by their archrival, New Zealand. Murray and Merrett highlight the domestic and international politics that affected cricket in South Africa and beyond, accessing previously unavailable archival sources for the significant period of the 1960s. Douglas Booth's *The Race Game* (1998), which appeared about the same time as the first edition of this book, focuses attention on the broader role of politics in the struggle for non-racial sport in South Africa, covering material from soccer, rugby, and cricket and other sports in the best single volume dealing with politics and sport during the apartheid era.

Alegi's work is the starting point for a thorough understanding of the history of soccer in South Africa from a political and social history perspective up to the early 1970s. His book encompasses archival and interview material to examine soccer on a scale not yet achieved by any other historian of soccer in South Africa. What Alegi highlights, and I discuss in this text, is the role that soccer played both for African communities as a whole and for the development of political skills, as many future politicians began their careers as soccer administrators. As with Coloured rugby in Cape Town, soccer culture in Johannesburg encompassed gangsterism, fame, and stardom beyond the confines of everyday life, and indeed, soccer playing and supporting became outlets for what Alegi calls a "rowdy masculinity." We are now learning more fully about the ways in which sports provided outlets from the emasculation and impoverishment felt by many black South Africans during the eras of segregation and apartheid. Overcrowded facilities and lack of resources for quality infrastructure meant that black sporting cultures developed in ways that were different from the white experience of sport in cleaner and more modern sporting facilities. Although sports facilities improved during the 1980s, particularly with the building of the Soccer City stadium in Soweto, at the time of President Mandela's election and the unification of sporting structures in South Africa that occurred during the early 1990s, the experiences of black and white sports players and fans were vastly different. These differences have not been fully resolved; however, professional sporting competitions in soccer, rugby, and cricket in particular are now spaces where class differences, as much as race, are becoming evident as access is based primarily on the ability to pay more so than to specific communities. Other sports are emerging; however, they have not captured the national imagination in ways that the main men's team sports have.

We are still awaiting broad histories of netball, track and field, swimming, and other sports that have been played for a long time and by various groups

within South Africa. So although there have been positive additions to our historical knowledge of sport in South Africa in the past decade, there is still much work for historians of sport in South Africa to do. In this book, I offer a framework for which these studies might approach histories of individual sports, as well as for a broader history of all sport in South Africa, but my primary goal is to develop an understanding of the role that sports have played in the development of South Africa as a nation and in the cultural meanings and identities that have been attached to sport. Sports are part of the heart and soul of South African identities and in the development of pride in a new multi-cultural South Africa. There is still a long way to go, but so far things have moved in a generally positive direction.

BEYOND 1995 AND THE ROLE OF THE 2010 FIFA WORLD CUP

After the 1995 World Cup victory, South Africans were motivated across all sectors to work for the development and future of the country. Politically, President Mandela gained additional popularity, especially with white South Africans. His successor, Thabo Mbeki, sought to further Mandela's and the African National Congress' (ANC) policies to continue improving the lives of South Africans while at the same time encouraging international investment and economic growth. Indeed, just before becoming President, then Deputy President Mbeki quoted from this book in a 1999 speech in which he sought to increase investment in sports sponsorship.² Unfortunately, Mbeki did not have the international or national cache or charisma that Mandela had and was eventually maneuvered out from within his own party in favor of Jacob Zuma. The ANC, post-Mandela, has struggled to convert itself from a liberation movement to a governing party, and opposition that was contained in Mandela's government of national unity has slowly emerged, particularly in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal regions where opposition parties have won control of provincial governments on occasion since 1994.

In sport, South Africa won the 1996 African Nations Cup tournament, which it hosted as a last-minute replacement. The tournament built on the 1995 Rugby World Cup in maintaining good will for the nation via the country's sporting teams. The South African cricket team has been ranked in the top two or three nations for virtually the entire period since 1995, despite the shocking revelations of match-fixing by the late former national captain Hansie Cronje. Indeed, after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Hansiegate," as it was called, was the highest profile public enquiry held in post-apartheid South Africa. Cronje tragically died in a plane crash not long after his banning from cricket and in true post-apartheid fashion was at least partly rehabilitated in reputation by none other than Mandela himself.³

With the ending of apartheid and the political and cultural baggage that was attached to the major team sports in South Africa, other sports sought to capitalize by presenting themselves as less tied to old identities and structures. The Australian Football League undertook a program to develop Aussie Rules in South Africa with some success, while Major League Baseball (MLB) established its “Pitch, Hit, and Run” program there in the 1990s. Since that time, seven South Africans have signed professional baseball contracts in the USA, three with the Kansas City Royals, now perhaps the best known MLB team in the country.⁴ The National Basketball Association (NBA) set up its African “Basketball without Borders” program in Johannesburg, ostensibly to promote basketball and development in Africa but also clearly to market the NBA in South Africa, which is easily the biggest media and money market for the League in Africa for the foreseeable future.⁵ The NBA is not alone; soccer academies are appearing around the country, and the Dutch soccer giant Ajax Amsterdam set up Ajax Cape Town, one of the leading soccer clubs in South Africa. With the soccer world tuned into South Africa since 2000, the interest in investing in players and media presence by foreign clubs increased dramatically.

Although other sports have had some successes in the New South Africa, the traditional sports of soccer, rugby, and cricket for men and netball for women have remained strong and are widely followed. Soccer is still the undisputed king of sports among black South Africans and has pockets of strong support in white South Africa. Cricket remains popular across all sectors of society, and rugby, although still followed more intensely by whites, is also generally supported. Rugby was reinvigorated with the 2007 World Cup win by the Springboks and the subsequent 2009 Tri-Nations Championship.

Since the ending of apartheid, South Africa has embarked on major campaigns to lure large-scale events to South Africa in the hopes of promoting infrastructural development and enhancing tourism. Using what Swart and Bob call the “seductive discourse of development,” South Africa has sought to use its position as the only relatively developed nation in sub-Saharan Africa to lure global events that had previously ignored the continent.⁶ As I have mentioned, the 1995 Rugby World Cup and 1996 Africa Cup of Nations tournaments were well run and put South Africa on the international mega-events map. As a result of planning and organization of these events, Cape Town was viewed as a creditable candidate for the right to host the 2004 Summer Olympic Games. The bid was actually initiated by businessman Raymond Ackerman in 1990 while negotiations for “unity” in sports and politics were in process. By 1993 the bid was in motion prior to Mandela being elected in 1994 or any major event being hosted in the country since the end of apartheid. Ackerman was maneuvered out in 1995, and a public-

private partnership with strong government support officially proposed the bid to the IOC in December 1995. Although 11 cities initially bid, only five were allowed as finalists by the IOC: Cape Town, Athens, Buenos Aires, Rome, and Stockholm. Cape Town survived to the third round of voting but lost out to Athens and Rome, the former of course winning the right to host on the final ballot. The Cape Town bid presented itself as “a bid for Africa” and, if successful, as a launching pad for an African renaissance. This theme reappeared in discourses surrounding the 2006 FIFA World Cup bid, which resulted in South Africa winning the right to host the World Cup in 2010. As Swart and Bob rightly argue, the Cape Town bid was premature, yet it was important in establishing South Africa as a destination that could handle an event as large as the Olympics or the soccer World Cup.

Despite the rush of attention and the increase in scholarship on sport in South Africa, the wider world, particularly North America, knows little about South African sport and South African society in general. International media raised concerns about security in the lead up to the FIFA World Cup with little reference to South Africa’s successful experiences of hosting major international events up to that time. Nor do many outsiders fully appreciate the nuances and differences between countries in Africa the way they do about European countries. Few non-Europeans would mistake or conflate France and Germany or England and Italy, yet there is little understanding that South Africa is different from Nigeria or Kenya in ways that are perhaps even more striking than between the European nations just mentioned. South Africa has many problems common to developing countries but also has highly developed industrial and technological sectors, has a well developed tourism infrastructure, and was viewed as safe enough to host the Indian Premier League 20/20 professional cricket competition in 2009 when security concerns on the Indian subcontinent threatened the competition.

South Africa still faces many challenges. Unemployment and poverty are far too high. Sporting opportunities have not been extended throughout society, although international development initiatives in sport and the presence of major events in the country have started to make a difference. When I completed the first edition of this book in early 1997, I was pessimistic about the future of the country, despite the momentary success of “Mandela’s Boys” in the 1995 Rugby World Cup. The challenges are great, but the future is promising. If we are to understand where we need to go in South Africa in sport, we need to understand what role sport has played historically and what meanings have been attached to various sports in the country.

From segregation to apartheid to “unity” to globalization, sport has undergone many changes in South Africa; yet, as former President Mandela famously said:

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to unite in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination.

With hard work and perseverance, sport has helped lead symbolic change in how South Africans see themselves and each other. It is my hope that this book will provide readers with insights into the history and meaning of sports in South African society, whether in Cape Town, Cairo, Chicago, Cheyenne, Colchester, Chennai, or anywhere else around the world. For as much as we have differences, the South African phrase “Simunye” reminds us that “we are one.”

NOTES

1. Among the most important are:

- Alegi, P. (2004). *Laduma!: Soccer, politics and society in South Africa*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.;
- Allen, D. (2008). South African cricket: Imperial cricketers and imperial expansion, 1850-1910. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25(4), 443-471.;
- Badenhorst, C. (2003). New traditions, old struggles: Organized sport for Johannesburg's Africans, 1920-90. *Sport in Society*, 6(2/3), 116-143.;
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- Black, D., & Nauright, J. (1998). *Rugby and the South African nation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.;
- Booth, D. (1998). *The race game: Sport and politics in South Africa*. London: Frank Cass.;
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- Cobley, A. (1997). *The rules of the game: Struggles in black recreation and social welfare policy in South Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.;
- Farred, G. (2003). 'Theatre of dreams: Mimicry and difference in Cape Flats Township. In J. Bale & M. Cronin (Eds.), *Sport and postcolonialism* (pp. 123-146). Oxford: Berg.;