

**RACISM IN SOCCER: ELIMINATING SOCCER RACISM AND  
USING SPORT AS A VEHICLE FOR NATIONAL CHANGE**

An Honors Fellows Thesis

by

MICHELLE KIMI ARISHITA

Submitted to the Honors Programs Office  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the designation as

HONORS UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH FELLOW

April 2010

Major: Psychology

**RACISM IN SOCCER: ELIMINATING SOCCER RACISM AND  
USING SPORT AS A VEHICLE FOR NATIONAL CHANGE**

An Honors Fellows Thesis

by

MICHELLE KIMI ARISHITA

Submitted to the Honors Programs Office  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for designation as

HONORS UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH FELLOW

Approved by:

Research Advisor:  
Associate Director of the Honors Programs Office:

Arnold LeUnes  
Dave A. Louis

April 2010

Major: Psychology

## **ABSTRACT**

Racism in Soccer: Eliminating Soccer Racism and Using Sport as a Vehicle for National Change. (April 2010)

Michelle Kimi Arishita  
Department of Psychology  
Texas A&M University

Research Advisor: Dr. Arnold LeUnes  
Department of Psychology

Racism and soccer have long been intertwined, however the upcoming 2010 World Cup in South Africa poses a unique opportunity to study the relationship between racism and sport. In studying previous international sporting events, specifically the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and the 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa, it is evident that sport is often strategically used to promote specific ideals. Throughout these historical tournaments, the games have succeeded in not only promoting positive values within the sporting arenas but also in carrying these values over to the general society. I am interested in studying how the upcoming World Cup can be used to not only reduce racism in soccer but also promote equality throughout South Africa.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Arnold LeUnes, my thesis advisor and professor during my study abroad experience, for his guidance and for piquing my interest in researching racism in soccer. His efforts in coordinating the psychology study abroad program as well as in reviewing my thesis are very appreciated.

Many thanks to the Texas A&M Honors Program and Study Abroad Program for the scholarships that have helped fund my thesis research.

Thank you to my parents for always supporting me in my diverse pursuits. Your love and support has helped me become the person I am today. I love and appreciate you both so much.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
 CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Nationalism and xenophobia.....	1
Impact of self-presentation.....	2
Sports and politics.....	4
II RACISM IN SPORT.....	6
Racism in international games.....	6
History of racism in soccer.....	8
Theories of soccer racism.....	12
III COMBATING RACISM.....	16
Show racism the red card.....	16
Kick it out.....	17
Stand up speak out.....	17
Regulations.....	17
Successfulness of previous efforts.....	18
IV SPORT AS A VEHICLE FOR CHANGE.....	20
2006 World Cup in Germany.....	20
2008 Beijing Olympic Games.....	27
Racial problems in South Africa today.....	31
1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa.....	32
V 2010 WORLD CUP IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	37
Benefits to South Africa.....	37

CHAPTER	Page
Potential problems.....	39
VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	44
LITERATURE CITED.....	45
CONTACT INFORMATION.....	47

**LIST OF FIGURES**

FIGURE		Page
1	National Pride in Europe, 2003.....	22
2	National Pride in West and East Germany, 1996-2006.....	23
3	National Pride in Germany, 2006.....	24
4	Xenophobia.....	25
5	Xenophobia and the 2006 World Cup.....	26

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Nelson Mandela once said that sports have the power “to change the world... to inspire... to unite people” (Carlin, Kennedy, Bechtel, & Cannella, 2008). He spoke these words before the 1995 rugby World Cup that helped to unite the post-apartheid country of South Africa. In studying poignant sporting events—the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and the 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa—South Africa can gain important lessons in how to use their hosting of the 2010 World Cup to promote positive change throughout society. Though South Africa may have a difficult time controlling the racism that accompanies soccer games, in taking advice from the successes of previous tournaments, they can discover not only how to instill positive values on the field but outside the sporting context as well.

#### **Nationalism and xenophobia**

Smith and Seokho define national identity and national pride as follows: “The world is primarily organized in nation states, i.e., sovereign, geo-political entities organized around one predominant nationality or ethnic group. National identity is the cohesive

---

This thesis follows the style of the *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*.



force that both holds nation states together and shapes their relationships with the family of nations. National pride is the positive affect that the public feels toward their country as a result of their national identity. It is in both concepts, the pride or sense of esteem that a person has for one's nation and the pride or self-esteem that a person derives from one's national identity" (Kersting, 2007). Though national pride is a prerequisite for nationalism, nationalism extends beyond national pride.

Though nationalism is often a positive force, it is frequently accompanied by a negative side effect—xenophobia or a fear of outsiders. This has become especially widespread in Europe with the recent economic down turn, as many citizens have become fearful of foreigners potentially taking their jobs. Countries must work to find a healthy level of nationalism, in which citizens have pride in their homeland but also do not exclude outsiders. It is important for nations to find this balance, not only the betterment of their own residents but also to promote a positive image to the international world.

Throughout history, sport has demonstrated its ability in helping find this balance for many countries.

### **Impact of self-presentation**

During large sporting events, countries often carefully choose their modes of self-presentation in order to portray the images they want the international world to see.

Their choice of identity influences how citizens view their home country as well as how competing countries view their country. In the international sporting arena, countries

“become giant, self-promotional advertisements with the common-sense understanding that such displays are good for the country’s international image while boosting domestic pride. Such events are understood as giving visual proof of the modernity and prosperity of a country—even when the officially-presented image is a recognizably idealized and selective one” (Schrag, 2009). This carefully constructed self-image is especially important for the host country because of the massive amount of media attention given to sporting events, from which many viewers base their views of the host country.

Depending on their historical past and present, countries make decisions on what ideals they want to exude. A clear example of the different forms this can take is seen in comparing the images generated by Germany during the 1936 Berlin Olympics and the images from the 1972 Munich Olympics. During the 1930’s, Hitler sought to portray the superiority of Aryans and the strength of the new Nazi party. Countless images from the games showed the Olympic rings flying side-by-side with Nazi swastikas outside of homes, seemingly showing the country’s support for their government. These images however were not the result of pure enthusiasm but rather the result of a regulation that all homeowners fly the Nazi flags. Hitler also went to great lengths to show the superiority of Aryans through athletics, including barring most Jews from participating in the games and having German transvestites compete in women’s events. The ending successful medal count of the Germans achieved Hitler’s goal, however at the expense of many athletes.

In contrast, the 1972 games dubbed “Die heiteren Spiele (The Happy Games)” sought to convey the transparency of Germany’s new democracy. The German government used tent-like forms and glass to convey this message of light and happiness. These notions of light and transparency are also represented in government buildings in Berlin such as the Reichstag—the German Parliament building that allows visitors to look in on the government. All these architectural examples demonstrate the care taken by Germany in carefully choosing its new method of self-presentation.

### **Sports and politics**

The importance of self-presentation and strategic promotion of specific ideals shows how international sporting events are just as much about politics as they are about athletic competition. Because events like the World Cup and Olympics are so widely watched and attended, they provide ideal opportunities for countries to exercise their political agendas. This can of course either benefit or disadvantage a country’s citizens depending on the specific political agenda. For the Germans in the 1930s, the Olympics disadvantaged its citizens by making the country look like a successful and just nation to the outside world despite the atrocities occurring within. The later 1972 Olympics however allowed Germany to help redeem its self and provided an opportunity for citizens to be proud of Germany again without shame. These chosen examples are only two out of the myriad of instances that demonstrate how frequently the line between politics and sports becomes blurred. Guy Walters, the author of “Berlin Games: How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream” comments on the negative relation between politics

and sports, stating poignantly: “The story shows how it is impossible to keep sport out of politics, for the simple reason that there are those who will always use athletes as their unwitting tools” (Walters, 2007).

## CHAPTER II

### RACISM IN SPORT

#### **Racism in international games**

Because sport is a worldwide entertainment industry, athletes and fans have frequently used it as a site to demonstrate their ideals, whether positive or negative. This has been done positively in instances such as showing a country's growth and generating a united community, however has also been used negatively to exclude certain ethnic groups and promote racist ideals. Sadly, though the Olympics and World Cup events allow country's to showcase their national pride, they also have been recent sites for racial incidents. This is no new phenomenon.

#### *Berlin Olympics*

One of the most well-known and blatant demonstration of racism within an international sporting context was the Berlin Olympics in 1936. The games, dubbed Hitler's Olympics, provided an arena for the Nazi's to demonstrate their nearly forming power and to exclude Jews. Though the German government made a number of statements ensuring that Jewish athletes were not being discriminated against, their claims were entirely groundless. In some instances, Jews were not explicitly barred from competition, however their ban "from swimming in public baths, for fear they would 'infect' the water" and their ban "from equestrian clubs, lest the German horses be 'sullied' by Jewish riders" eliminated opportunities for Jewish athletes to reach

competition status (Walters, 2007). Another way the German government discriminated against Jews was through stripping them of their German citizenship rights through the Nuremberg Laws. Without citizenship, Jews could no longer compete on the German Olympic team. The few token Jewish athletes that the German government allowed to participate, in an attempt to quell accusations of blatant discrimination, were carefully chosen. These two selected athletes both only had one Jewish parent and were therefore still considered German citizens.

Another sinister example of the racism surrounding the Berlin Olympics involves the high jump athlete Gretel Bergmann. After having been thrown out of her German athletic club, Bergmann moved to Britain and continued training, hoping to use the Olympics as an opportunity to show the Nazis that “this is what a Jew can do” (Walters, 2007). Her excitement at winning the British Championship in June of 1934 however was soon shattered by an “offer” to try out for the German Olympic team. Though phrased like this, Bergmann had little choice; threats were made hinting at danger to her family if she refused to return. Her scenario was clearly blackmail, in order for the Nazis to attempt to exude equality toward Jews to the outside world.

These instances of discrimination extended beyond athletes. In January 1933, “Theodor Lewald, a member of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) and president of the German Olympic Committee, was forced to resign the latter position and accept a position of limited authority on the Organizing Committee for the Berlin Games because

of his Jewish ancestry” (Wenn, 1996). Discriminatory measures were also enacted that prevented German Jews from entering medical, legal and teaching professions, as well as policies that restricted the entry of German Jews into universities. All these instances of discrimination and racism in Germany, however only hinted at the atrocities and horrors that would later occur.

### **History of racism in soccer**

Racism in soccer flourished in the 1970s and 1980s and though some believe it has slightly declined in recent years due to new regulations and programs, it remains a large problem. Because overt racial chants are the most visible racial incidents, the decline of this form of racism has led people to believe racism is decreasing. Some critics however think the low numbers of complaints and incidents point to a process of “ignoring and silencing” rather than an actual decline (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007).

People frequently associate racism solely with hooligan groups in and around the stadium. Racism however has been documented with numerous other groups, including by ordinary soccer fans and among players, referees and coaches (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). Back, Crabbe and Solomos (1999) have detailed this problem through their studies, showing that literature frequently reduces the racist incidents to the work of a small hooligan group while ignoring the larger racist infrastructure that the incidents emerge in. These researchers instead favor dividing soccer culture into four different domains—the vernacular, occupational, institutional and culture industry. The

vernacular domain includes typical racial behavior commonly thought of, such as racist chanting, and the soccer club identities that contribute to racist behavior. The occupational domain “draws attention to the forms of racism that professional players experience at their own clubs during matches and at the training grounds, including the racist expectations and the processes of stacking black players in particular playing positions that correspond to racist expectations of performance” (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). This domain also includes racial exclusion in locker rooms and at sports bars. The institutional domain involves the social networks that contribute to racially affected decision making and ownership within clubs and the lack of minority representation on club boards. Lastly, the culture industry encompasses the unequal coverage of minority players in the media and their proportionally smaller amount of endorsements. Through separating racial incidents into these four categories, it is easier to understand the many forms racism takes on and the difficulties faced when trying to combat racism in such diverse areas.

### *Racism in soccer today*

Racism and soccer have been virtually synonymous throughout the past decades in Europe. Because soccer is such an integral part of European culture, the racist remarks committed by fans against not only the opposing but also sometimes their own teams has created a near epidemic. Numerous players from both Africa and African-American players from the United States have been subject to the unsportsmanlike atmosphere



during this so-called “beautiful game.” Derogatory chants are frequently directed at Black, Jewish, Arab, and gay players.

Mark Zoro, a player for the Sicilian team Messina, endured racist chants during a game against Inter-Milan in November 2005. Zoro responded by picking up the ball and threatening to leave the field. Players from both his and the opposing team implored him to stay and for the fans to stop. During his next match, fans held up a banner reading, “Peanuts and bananas are the pay for your infamy” (Dampf, Logothetis, & Namasivayam, 2009).

Unfortunately, Zoro is not the only player that has been subject to similar remarks. Oguchi Onyewu, an African-American from Olney, Maryland who plays for the Belgian club Standard Lige, was harassed by fans of an opposing team in March 2006. “They were shaking the car, they spit on the car, they were throwing food, kicking the car, punching the car, all that stuff,” Onyewu says about the incident he believes was racially motivated. Part of the bumper of his Chrysler 300 was also ripped off during the incident. During a game in April 2006, as he attempted to throw the ball in, a fan began doing monkey chants then reached over and punched him in the face. The fan was only suspended and fined for the incident (Whiteside, 2006).

Many players also cite similar incidents. DaMarcus Beasley, a U.S. midfielder, was booed and harassed with monkey chants from fans during a game against Red Star

Belgrade in Serbia and Montenegro. Growing up in the United States without such blatant racism, he has remarked on how his travels abroad have been eye opening to him. Another U.S. player, Cory Gibbs, describes being denied entrance to restaurants in eastern Germany, being told, “This is a private party. You’re not welcomed” (Whiteside, 2006).

Racial taunts are not only limited to Black players. In a recent case, Ricardo Guerra was convicted for the murder of Aitor Zabaleta, a fan of Real Sociedad from the Basque region of Spain. During a stoning of a supporters’ bus, Guerra’s Bastion group of hooligans shouted, “Fuera, fuera maricones, negros, Vascos, Catalanes, fuera, fuera” (“Get out, get out, queers, niggers, Basques and Catalans”). In Italy recently, attempts to sign Ronnie Rosenthal, a Jewish player, to Lazio were abandoned following the unveiling of a banner by Lazio fans reading, “Auschwitz is your country, crematoria your home” with swastikas, during a game against a local rival team (Crabbe, 2000).

Racism against Arabs has also been rising due to the increased prevalence of Arabs throughout Europe. It often takes the form of derogatory name-calling such as “shit Moroccan” and “dirty Turk” and is even directed at players who merely look like they are of Arab descent (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). Other common racist chants involve stereotypes held in these countries, including a chant about the facial hair of a player’s mother.

### **Theories of soccer racism**

There are a number of factors that contribute to the widespread racism in soccer throughout Europe. These factors include the increased diversity amongst previously all-white soccer clubs and a resistance to immigration from African and Arab nations, which has only been fueled recently by the lack of economic opportunities for whites in many rural European areas (Whiteside, 2006). In addition, unlike the United States, Europe has never had a widespread Civil Rights movement and generally has few people of African descent throughout the countries (Dampf, Logothetis, & Namasivayam, 2009). Javier Martinez, a spokesman for Anti-Racism in Madrid, says the problem is also a cultural issue for Europeans. In an ESPN article, he detailed, “There is a level of racism in society because, in some ways, it’s socially accepted. It’s used in a humoristic or comic form and is tolerated and accepted” (Dampf, Logothetis, & Namasivayam, 2009).

Another theory of racism within soccer points to its use as an abuse ready to be used in certain circumstances rather than the core of most fans’ identities. In comparing countries that have racial problems, it suggests that racial incidents emerge when fans share prejudices against certain groups. The teams that have the most racial incidents include Real Madrid and Espanyol in Spain, Lazio and AC Milan in Italy, Paris Saint-Germain in France and Red Star Belgrade in Yugoslavia. In comparison, in Brazil, where most fans are minorities, racism is very rare. Sexist derision however is more common here (Crabbe, 2000).

Racist acts also generally emerge in complex situations where there is a mutual interaction between a number of parties. This was documented by Anthony King (1999) in “Football Hooliganism and the Practical Paradigm,” in which he studied hooliganism primarily in England. King highlighted how racist acts emerge during complex interactions between fans and other parties, such as the police. The boisterous activities of fans before games, including drinking and singing, are often perceived as dangerous by the police, who in turn respond with aggression toward the fans. This then gives the fans justification to act violently because they perceive they have been provoked.

In studying the cultural context where racism occurs, it is also evident that small acts, not initially deemed racist, may contribute to the culture in the countries where racism is the largest problem. Everyday practices, including locker room jokes and the positioning of black players in primarily attacking roles, are not generally seen as racist acts. These small occurrences however show the widespread prejudiced attitudes present in these countries and indicate a practice of ignoring these small instances. It has been observed that white players may racially abuse players from another team while simultaneously supporting the black players on their own team. This points to previous evidence that racial acts may be the product of the situation and subconscious prejudices held by the general public rather than the actions of a few extreme racists. These countries show that it is not merely the sport or a small number of people that is the problem but the countries where the sport is being played. An effort to combat racism needs to not only

focus on eliminating racism within the sport but combating racism within these individual countries as a whole.

These findings were similarly seen in a study done by Muller, van Zoonen and de Roode (2007), titled “Accidental Racists: Experiences and Contradictions of Racism in local Amsterdam Soccer Fan Culture.” In this study, Muller, van Zoonen and de Roode conducted 20 in-depth interviews with soccer fans and players from local Amsterdam clubs. Interviewees were asked to “reflect on their experiences with ethnicity in the context of soccer culture” (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). The experimenters sought to observe how these people attributed the racist incidents that occurred. Despite the idea that racism in Amsterdam is relatively low, researchers found a surprisingly large amount of incidents from the various domains detailed in their literature. The interviews revealed both contradictory and complex incidents—far from the straightforward discrimination commonly described.

In the study, these experimenters also explored the cultural problem of both fans and players only attributing racial incidents to the perpetrator if they are able deem the person a “real” racist. By excusing racial incidents as an unavoidable part of society and the game, victims of racial incidents are left with a burden of having to determine whether the perpetrator was a “real” racist or risking classification as overly sensitive. One fan expressed this dilemma stating, “Well soccer is ummm, two things I think, you’ve got emotion, as a result of which you just say stuff you don’t mean and there are

those guys that really hate foreigners, who really are racists. Look, in the heat of the moment it is hard to distinguish one from the other” (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007).

Another contradiction is seen in an interview with a black player who states that during a game against a team with a Surinamese striker, a fellow teammate urged players to “break that nigger.” The player remarked that “because he makes that remark about him means that he really thinks that way about me” (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). This interaction shows how it is possible for a white player to only exhibit racism in certain situations rather than consistently against blacks. These contradictory forms of racism are also seen as occurring between non-white races and even within the same minority group. Another black player detailed being called a “bounty,” a derogatory term accusing a black person of assimilating into white culture and therefore removing himself from the black community, from a fellow black teammate. This racist metaphor, referring to a chocolate candy bar with white filling, is used within this traditionally victimized minority group.

## CHAPTER III

### COMBATING RACISM

Because of the combination of these complicated factors, enacting a plan to combat racism is a very difficult task. FIFA, the Professional Footballers Association (PFA), and Nike have all designed programs to fight racism, however none has been especially successful. The PFA has backed two campaigns- Show Racism the Red Card and Kick it Out.

#### **Show racism the red card**

Show Racism the Red Card was established in 1996 and uses high-profile soccer stars to promote anti-racism—especially targeting children in schools throughout England, Scotland and Wales. The campaign uses posters, DVDS, films, and workshops to spread their message (Dampf, Logothetis, & Namasivayam, 2009). In addition, in October 2007, players from both teams held up red cards before soccer matches encouraging fans to follow their idols' leads and ignore prejudice. Fraser Wishart, the chief executive of the Professional Footballer's Association Scotland stated, "I don't know if you can change the views of someone in their 40s but kids can still be influenced" ("Players unite...", 2007).

**Kick it out**

The other program backed by the PFA is a London-based organization started in 1993 called Kick it Out. During October 2007, the organization coordinated a 12-day event called “One Game, One Community” that was filled with activities for every professional football club as well as amateur clubs. The group also held panel forums that focused on specific issues such as “British Asians in Football” as well as “Homophobia in Football” (Black, 2009). Though this program may have promise in helping to stop racist thinking from a young age, the program is not spread throughout Spain and Italy, which continue to have significant racial problems (Dampf, Logothetis, & Namasivayam, 2009).

**Stand up speak up**

Lastly, a program headed by Nike and France’s legend Thierry Henry titled “Stand Up, Speak Up” has produced intertwined black and white wristbands and t-shirts, as well as TV advertisements featuring famous black soccer players promoting unity. The proceeds from all the bracelets have gone toward an anti-racism group (Whiteside, 2006). Despite all of these efforts, the widespread racist fans will most likely need stronger efforts to curb their remarks than these solely educational programs.

**Regulations**

FIFA, soccer’s world governing body, has attempted to combat racism by enacting stricter regulations, however these have been frequently unsuccessful. For one, these



regulations apply only toward players, coaches and team officials—not fans. Sepp Blatter, FIFA's President, stated, "If something happens on the (field), on the bench or somewhere directly connected to the match, we must and will react. But we can't control what happens in the stands" (Whiteside, 2006). This creates a large problem since most of the racist incidents occur from fans, not from the players of opposing teams.

### **Successfulness of previous efforts**

Another large problem with previous efforts to combat racism is that they have only focused on overt forms of racism. They also commonly assume that most acts are from small groups of extreme hooligans who cannot be changed. This idea leads some viewers to believe that the best approach is simply to ignore these instances. This attitude was seen by Muller, Zoonen and Roode in numerous interviewees. Common responses from interviewees included downplaying the significance of racial problems despite recollection of a racist incident sometime in a game by every person interviewed. Even a black player brushed off its significance stating, "It occurred occasionally, but it's only two or three people, so basically it isn't really that bad" (Muller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2007). It is important to recognize the significance of both the overt and subtle forms of racism that occur against a variety of ethnic groups.

The best way to combat racism in sport is through instilling the intended positive ideals in society through using the athletic events themselves. In trying to change the racist ideas of fans, there seems to be no better way than to approach them using the sporting

events that these people love. There have been many instances in history in which sport has been used to promote ideals that extend beyond the field, court or arena. In these events, sport can be used to create unity among fans, gain respect and recognition for a nation, and instill positive values that remain after the games are finished.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **SPORT AS A VEHICLE FOR CHANGE**

Throughout history, sport has been successful in motivating change within countries and in helping countries promote a positive image of themselves to the outside world. These processes have been seen recently in the 2006 World Cup in Germany, 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, and the 1995 rugby World Cup in South Africa. In studying these events, the positive outcomes from these sporting events, including the formation of a new national identity and an increased unity among citizens from a variety of backgrounds, are evident. The policies employed for these successful sporting events may help to forge a path for the approach used toward the upcoming World Cup tournament.

#### **2006 World Cup in Germany**

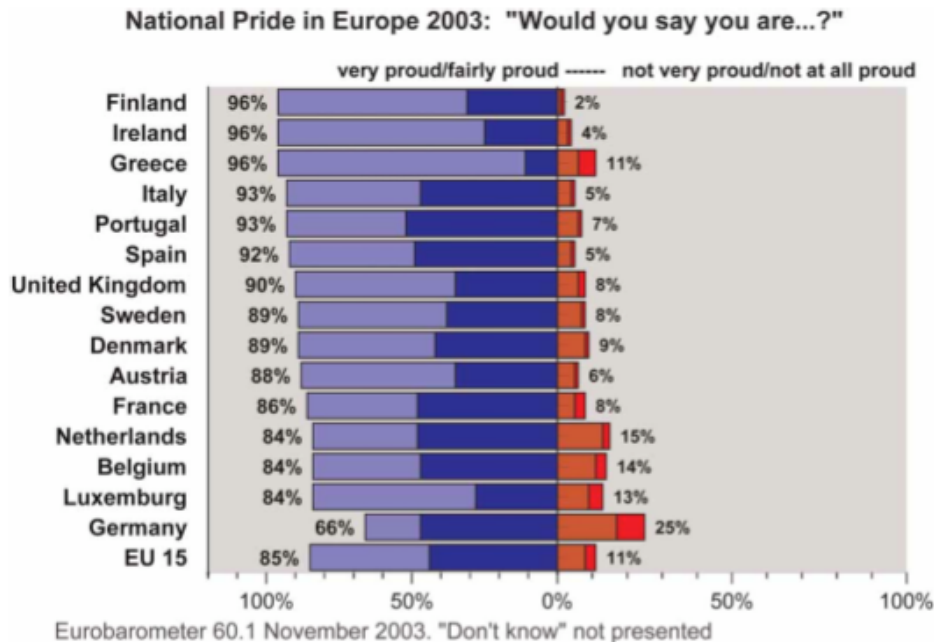
The increased in nationalistic feelings commonly associated with the hosting of large-scale sporting events was approached very cautiously in Germany. Strong feelings of national identity are not common throughout Germany because of the previous Nazi regime, which played on the idea of nationalism to justify German supremacy and the Holocaust. Consequently, people often view “any use of national symbols or an aesthetic that suggests authoritarianism or monumentalist spectacle as highly suspect” (Schrag, 2009). There was also a widespread fear of the World Cup games fostering increased xenophobia.

In general, throughout recent years, there has been a slow increase in acceptance of nationalistic pride within the country. Politicians have begun to call for an “enlightened self-confident patriotism,” a “benign relation (for the German state) to its own nation,” and the idea of a new form of patriotism (Kersting, 2007). Advertisers for the World Cup attempted to focus on these new ideals in their social marketing campaigns. The Bertelsman Foundation and other companies used slogans such as “Du bist Deutschland” (“You are Germany”) to promote unity. The campaign referred to Germany’s cultural and technological history, however, more importantly, the campaign featured a number of citizens stating, “I am Germany.” These statements came from a diverse group of individuals including Gerald Asamoah, a sport celebrity who is also a migrant from Ghana. In this way, the campaign aimed to promote an inclusive form of national pride.

Similarly, the Deutscher Fussball-Bund (German Football Association) used “Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden” (“The World as guest visiting friends”) as their slogan for the entire games. This slogan was translated into a number of languages and present on posters all throughout Germany. It not only aimed to generate a feeling of hospitality toward visitors, but also served as a reminder to the German population to forgo xenophobic attitudes

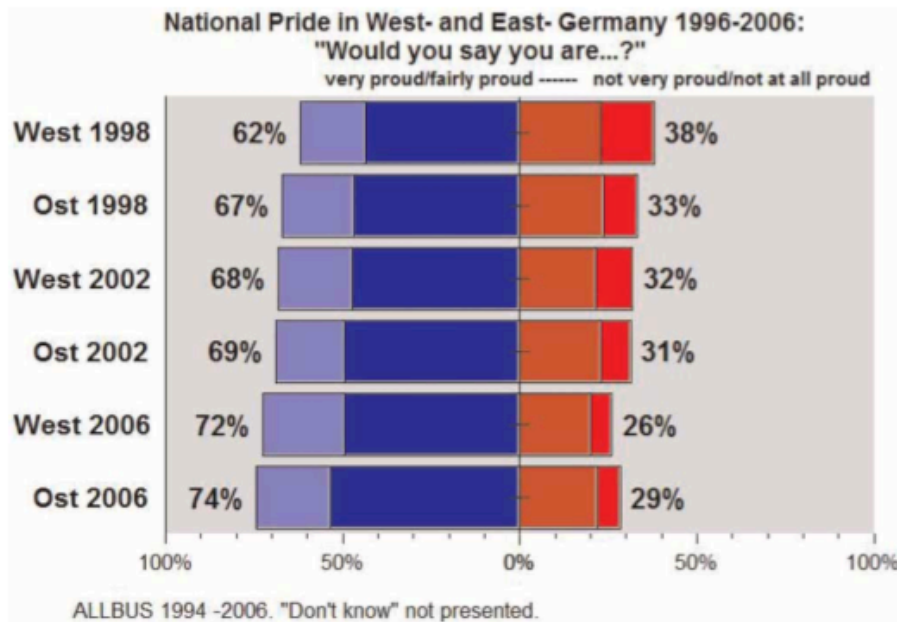
Both these slogans aimed at improving citizens’ opinions of Germany as well as the image portrayed to the rest of the world. Compared to similar European countries,

Germany remains far behind in its citizens' level of national identity. This was measured by a national pride survey conducted in 2003, which asked citizens whether they would say they were "very proud," "fairly proud," "not very proud" or "not at all proud of their country" (see Figure 1).



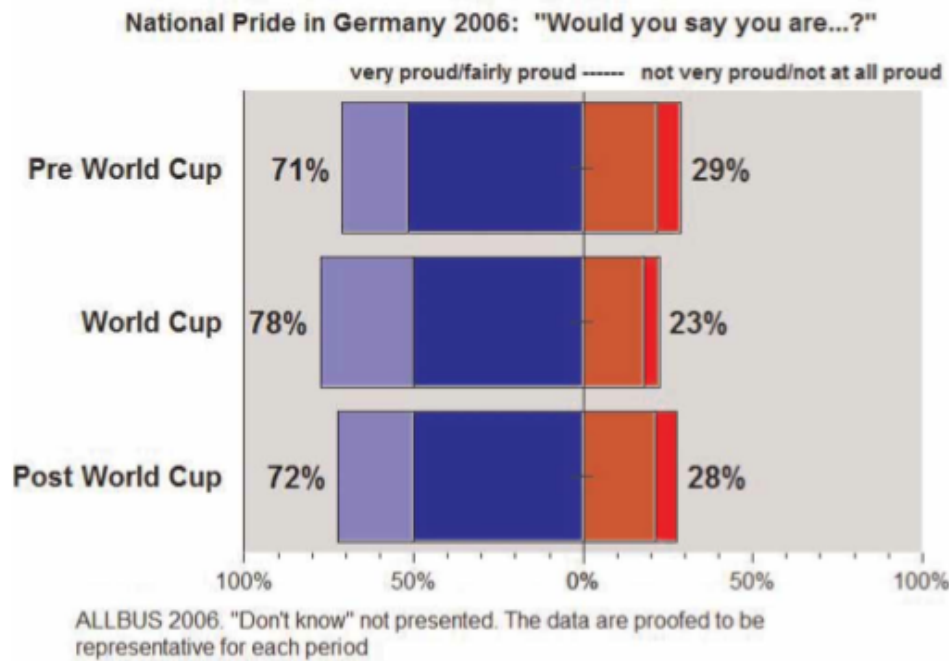
**Figure 1** – National Pride in Europe, 2003.

This graph shows significantly lower levels of positive national pride and significantly higher levels of negative national pride in Germany compared to other comparable countries. In measuring the levels of national pride between West and East Germany between 1996 and 2006, there appears to be a marked increase in levels of nationalism (see Figure 2).



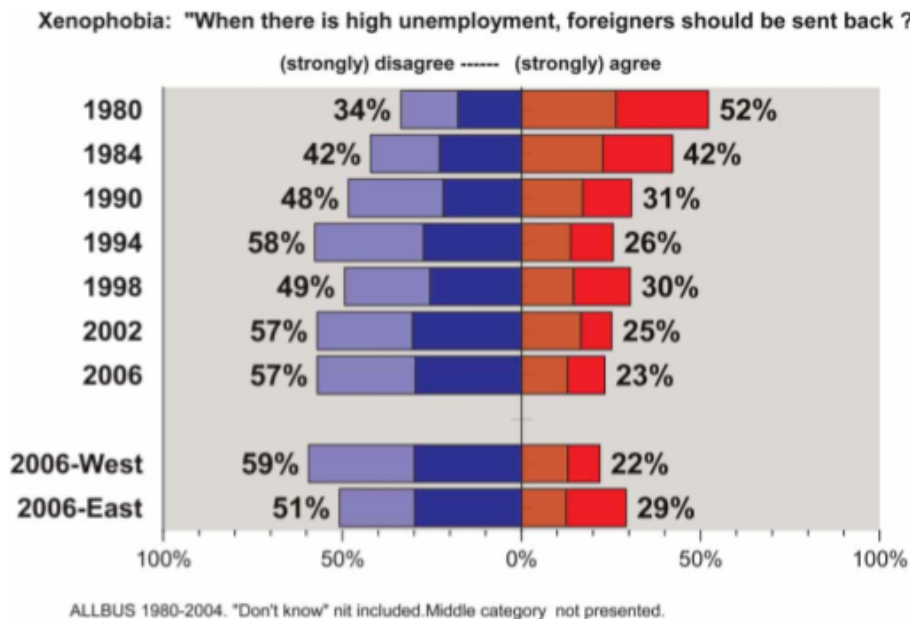
**Figure 2** – National Pride in West and East Germany, 1996-2006.

In addition, Social Survey Data (Allbus, 2006) was gathered before, during, and after the 2006 World Cup to measure the influence of the games on German society. There was an increase from 71% of the population stating they were “very proud” or “fairly proud” a few months before the games to 78% of the population stating they possessed these positive feelings during the games. In the months immediately following, however levels of national pride returned to the normal levels present before (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3** – National Pride in Germany, 2006.

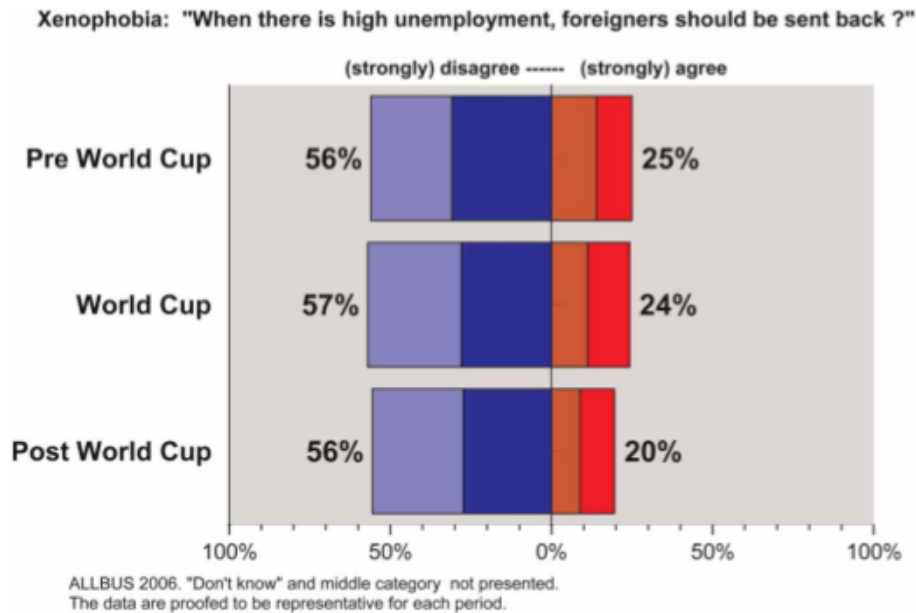
Xenophobia is seen as the negative possible side effect accompanying nationalism. In Germany, this fear of outsiders is primarily present in anti-Semitism, anti-Slavism, and anti-Islamism attitudes. There are a number of measures used to study the level of xenophobic attitudes within a country. One indicator is a citizen's attitude toward the statement, "When there is high unemployment, foreigners should be sent back" (Kersting, 2007). A study using this measure found that overall, rates of xenophobia have been decreasing throughout the last 20 years (see Figure 4). This decrease in xenophobic attitudes may be due to the increased globalization of Germany, as well as an increase in education among citizens. Though xenophobia is generally more prevalent among lower income citizens, anti-Islamic attitudes are fairly consistent among different classes.



**Figure 4** – Xenophobia.

Like the study on levels of national pride among German citizens before, during and following the World Cup, a similar study was also conducted studying xenophobic attitudes. Unlike the unsustainable increase in levels of national pride, there was a lasting decrease in xenophobic attitudes following the World Cup. Though the amount of citizens disagreeing with the xenophobic statement (“When there is high unemployment, foreigners should be sent back”) did not increase significantly, the levels of people who agreed with the xenophobic statement did decrease from 25% before the World Cup to 20% following the games (see Figure 5). Though “it can be argued that the campaigns did not have a tremendous impact on xenophobia,” it could be that “these small effects may have a long-term sustainable influence” (Kersting, 2007).





**Figure 5** – Xenophobia and the 2006 World Cup.

Another indicator of the positive effect sport can have on reducing xenophobia is evident in the behavior of German fans during the 2006 World Cup. It became common for fans to don the colors and jerseys of numerous teams and to cheer for teams other than their home team. Brazil's team, for example, was very popular among Germans during the World Cup. In addition, Italian restaurant owners commonly decorated their storefronts with German as well as Italian team colors. Many Turks who reside in Germany also rallied behind the German team after Turkey did not make it to the 2006 World Cup. The Turks and Germans who commonly exist alongside one another but lead separate lives found themselves united over sport. A citizen of a district of Berlin remarked, "This isn't going to make the social problems just disappear. But if a few neighbors who had never even greeted each other before watch football together in their apartment courtyard, then

all this brings us one step further” (Schrag, 2009). Though uniting over a sports game is not a complete solution to the racial problems in Germany, this camaraderie can definitely provide a positive start.

### **2008 Beijing Olympic Games**

Similar to the media campaigns used during the 2006 World Cup, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games also provided an opportunity for China to portray a positive image of itself to society. Rather than attempting to cultivate feelings of nationalism within the country, like Germany did during the World Cup, the Chinese government primarily focused on China’s image to the outside world. The Olympic Games became dubbed China’s “coming out party” because of their importance in presenting images of the new China. Many countries, including the U.S., hoped the games could provide a bold incentive for democratic change in the country.

From the moment Beijing was chosen to host the 2008 Olympic Games, many people around the world began protesting this decision. Entertainers, activists and many U.S. citizens pointed out the injustices and lack of civil liberties throughout China. In order to change the widely-held bad reputation of the country, China began to make a number of highly publicized changes in regard to their domestic, as well as foreign, affairs. These positive changes however were very political and carefully chosen in order to garner the greatest degree of media attention. Whether these changes can provide for a lasting more democratic nation remains to be seen.

In order to shift some of the negative attention from China's illiberal practices, the country focused on neutral topics such as creating an environmentally friendly and high-tech Olympic Games. Despite this focus, however China was still forced to address many human rights issues. The country responded to allegations by changing policies regarding carefully chosen high-profile cases. This was seen in the release of two people who garnered extensive media attention—Zhao Yan and Steve Kim. Yan was a Chinese citizen who worked for the *New York Times*. He was detained for three years for fraud and disclosing state secrets following an article written about the top leadership in China. Kim was a U.S. citizen detained for four years for working with churches in the U.S. to provide food to North Korean defectors hiding in China. With these two releases, the Chinese government gained international positive press coverage.

China has also been forced to address issues surrounding the country's involvement in Sudan due to an international public outcry. While the West has maintained sanctions on Sudan due to the genocide in Darfur, China became the country's largest supplier of arms and their top oil consumer. Following pressure from the international community, China "removed Sudan from its list of countries with preferred trade status, effectively taking away government incentives for Chinese companies to do business in Sudan" (Cha, 2008). China also played a critical role in the United Nations' peacekeeping operation to Sudan in December 2007.

In addition, to increase feelings of freedom within the Chinese government, a ban against foreign newspapers and magazines was lifted temporarily. The ban, however, was scheduled to resume on October 18, 2008, only one day after the end of the Beijing Paralympics. The return of the ban indicates China's conscious strategy in "selecting key high-profile cases, usually involving foreigners, to demonstrate token liberalization" (Cha, 2008). While China has demonstrated some liberalization regarding foreign affairs, the government has cracked down regarding internal affairs. A number of Chinese activists suspected of embarrassing Beijing were arrested or detained. These activists included Hu Jia, a HIV/AIDS advocate and blogger on China's human rights violations, and Jiang Yanyong, a surgeon who revealed the scale of the SARS outbreak (Cha, 2008). China also increased restrictions placed on domestic reporters and restricted Web access.

The carefully constructed images the Chinese government sought to portray to the international world were also seen during the games, especially during the track and field events and the opening ceremony. After a sprinting win, the Chinese athletes were each handed a flag, which they consistently held above their heads then wrapped around their shoulders. The suspicious similarity between all the athletes' behavior suggests it was enforced. This behavior however generated repetitive positive images of Chinese athletes celebrating with their flag. This created many photogenic images for the international audience of the games. Because the image of China was extremely regulated rather than a spontaneous display by its citizens, the expression is not entirely

truthful. Though some images may have been the result of citizens' free behavior, much of the documented actions were decided by the government, in accordance with how it wanted to portray the country. This is seen in comparing Berlin in 2006 to Tiananmen Square. While Berlin was filled with public viewing areas and food booths, Tiananmen Square was bare—indicating the event had “merely the image of an open festival” (Schrag, 2009). Though the Chinese government sought to portray a free society, they feared actually giving citizens too much freedom. Although the portrayed Chinese society is primarily an idealized depiction, in time these images can hopefully serve as a model of the society to strive toward.

Though the Chinese government's actions in regard to foreign affairs, as well as their strategic instructions to athletes, show the country's conscious strategy to improve its image, these changes may provide the start for a new, more democratic nation. It is important to recognize how these games have provided the catalyst for promoting liberalization in long-standing policies that have remained stagnant despite years of diplomatic efforts. Victor Cha, the previous director of Asian affairs on the National Security Council, notes, “Change is like a slippery slope. Once it occurs, it is not only difficult to reverse, but the expectations grow for even further change. In this sense, the Olympics can set trends in society rather than merely mirror it” (Cha, 2008). Despite the strategic political origins of these increased democratic changes, they hopefully can provide the start for a freer China.

### **Racial problems in South Africa today**

In South Africa, the divisions within society are not only generated by race, but also by the vastly unequal incomes, as well as class, language and religious differences. The country's differentiation between "us" and "others" is much more complicated in South Africa than in other countries. This is primarily because tensions are the result of internal affairs. Norbert Kersting details the unusual relationships present in the country: "For the white, Afrikaans population the other may be English-speaking Whites, while for the 'Coloureds' this could be Indians and the black African population. External 'others' may be the population of the other African countries and to a smaller extent socially distant people from Europe, Australia or the United States" (Kersting, 2007). In general, the country's approach toward foreigners is heavily shaped by individuals' social classes and attitudes toward pan-Africanism—a movement aimed at unifying all of Africa politically. The black African middle and upper classes generally support the ideas of pan-Africanism, while low-income classes often do not accept African migrants from eastern, western and southern Africa because they are seen as competition for social welfare programs.

There are two primary approaches toward discussing South Africa's national identity—one focusing on pan-Africanism and the other on a non-racial democratic policy. Though focusing on pan-Africanism may increase South Africa's role within the continent and decrease xenophobia toward other African outsiders, this approach greatly excludes the white South African population. The non-racial identity campaign, on the other hand,

focuses on the commonalities between all South Africa ethnic groups and emphasizes tolerance toward African foreigners.

Like South Africa's greater society, sport remains an area where strong racial cleavages remain. Rugby and cricket have historically been widely supported sports by the white population, while soccer has been the black man's sport. Throughout history, rugby has not only drawn its primary support from the white population of South Africa, but even came to become a symbol of white Afrikaner unity. Even the name of South Africa's rugby team—Springbok—has been controversial because it is associated with the apartheid regimes of the past.

### **1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa**

One of the most poignant examples of sport promoting positive change in a country is the 1995 World Cup victory in South Africa. A South African political commentator, Dennis Worrall, details the huge impact of the games stating: "The emotional impact and the political symbolism of this event eclipsed everything else that happened in South Africa in 1995" (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998). Worrall's quote emphasizes the transcendence of these games from a sporting event to a political one. The games captivated not only rugby fans but citizens all across South Africa and provided the opportunity for the unification of races for one of the first times post-apartheid.

### *History of politics in South African sport*

The history of sports in South Africa is embedded with practices of exclusion and now slow reconciliation. Throughout history, despite being called “national teams,” no black South Africans were allowed to play on them. For this reason, blacks in South Africa commonly supported any team other than their own. Much of the world joined this boycott of South African teams in 1955, after black journalists highlighted the exclusion of blacks from South African teams in *Drum* magazine. The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was formed in 1962 with its goal to challenge the racist regime of sports in South Africa and the teams that continued to compete with them. As these inequalities were made more public, South Africa was banned from the 1964 Olympic Games. In retaliation, South Africa banned SANROC and imprisoned its leaders, yet the group resurfaced in London two years later to continue its anti-apartheid movement. Their lobbying succeeded in isolating South Africa from nearly all sporting events and “moving sport on to the agenda of politics, thereby popularizing a political struggle within constituencies for whom politics was usually foreign” (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998).

In 1990, the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC) was formed which aimed to develop new policies regarding sporting administration. These changes resulted in South Africa’s return to world sports, however they did not solve the internal issues surrounding the teams, including the naming and anthems reminiscent of apartheid. A large step forward in rugby occurred with the unification of the white-dominated South



African Rugby Board (SARB) and the anti-apartheid South African Rugby Union (SARU) to form the new rugby governing body—the South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU). This new organization focused on developing sport in disadvantaged areas. SARFU, as well as the International Rugby Board (IRB) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), were also pivotal in forming the media representation of the new South Africa.

### *Creating a new identity*

South Africa, though technically a democracy due to its constitution that esteems democratic values, has held few of these ideals in practice. This occurs “because of the nature of the social structure (with class, race, and gender inequalities), and its resulting institutions of civil society, which are still a legacy of South Africa’s apartheid and segregationist politics (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998). This weak democracy, however, makes it easier for the media to take on a government-initiated project, such as the nation-building campaigns seen in these games.

### *Nelson Mandela’s efforts*

Despite rugby’s historical support from the white population of South Africa, Nelson Mandela’s efforts to rally the entire country behind their team as well as the media’s effort to portray a “new South Africa,” resulted in a positive unification for one of the first times between races. Mandela accomplished this unification in part by enlisting the help of many of the white players of the team. He persuaded them to learn the new

national anthem of South Africa, which had once been a song of black protest, and assured them, “The whole nation is behind you” (Swift, 1995).

Mandela also reached out to the black population of South Africa, asking them in a speech in the town of Ezakheni, “This cap does honor to our boys. I ask you to stand by them tomorrow because they are our kind” (Swift, 1995). The black population took these requests to heart. In a newspaper article, a headline wrote “AMABOKOBOKO,” which is “Our Springboks” in Zulu. Mandela embodied these requests and wore a Springbok cap and a number 6 shirt—the number of the captain, Francois Pienaar—to the final game.

#### *Media efforts*

Similar to the campaigns present during the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa included phrases such as “The rainbow nation” and “Simunye” (“We are one”). These attitudes were most demonstrated in the opening and closing ceremony demonstrations. For part of the opening ceremony, a parade was conducted in which adults dressed in the traditional clothing of various ethnic groups—African, Afrikaaner, Hindu and Muslim—and formed an outline of South Africa drawn on the rugby field. This represented the new diverse but united image South Africa attempted to convey throughout the games.

These ideals were furthered in the opening ceremony speech by Nelson Mandela, in which he stated, “Your presence in South Africa affirms the *unity in diversity* and the humanity in healthy contest that our young democracy has come to symbolize. On behalf of *our rainbow nation* I welcome you all” (Maingard, 1997). In his speech, Mandela drew together sports and politics in addressing thousands of rugby spectators as well as millions of people watching the ceremony televised.

In the era of the Internet and television, the presentation of a country is especially important to the perception of a country by its citizens. Dyan and Katz argue that often the media presentation of a country spotlights “some central value or some aspect of collective memory” and often portrays “an idealized version of society, reminding society of what it aspires to be rather than what it is” (Dyan & Katz, 1992). As people all across South Africa watched the opening ceremonies, they “imagine[d] themselves as members of the nation whose representatives [were] displayed on screen” (Maingard, 1997). For these reasons, media representation can be very important in the identity formation of a country—a process that remains undergoing in South Africa. Though there was a massive unity of races during the games, this was a temporary phenomenon that did not create a permanent collective identity among citizens. The brief shared identity seen during the games remains a goal that must be strived toward through other means.

## CHAPTER V

### 2010 WORLD CUP IN SOUTH AFRICA

In focusing on the successful policies of the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, and the 1995 rugby World Cup, South Africa can hopefully gain important lessons in how to improve their nation with their hosting of the 2010 World Cup. The upcoming 2010 World Cup will mark the first time a World Cup tournament has been hosted by an African country. FIFA ensured after the 2006 World Cup bidding, in which South Africa narrowly lost to Germany, that the 2010 games would be held in Africa. South Africa beat out Morocco to host the tournament in a close 14-10 vote. South Africa's success was based on emphasizing their developed transportation, accommodation and communication structures, as well as their narrow loss to Germany years before. Nelson Mandela also offered large support for South Africa's bid stating, "In this year of celebration, there could be few better gifts to us in our tenth year of democracy than to be awarded the 2010 World Soccer Cup" (Ford, 2004).

#### **Benefits to South Africa**

South Africa may benefit from hosting the tournament in a number of ways—through economic growth, increased employment, infrastructural developments, increased global media coverage and positive nation-building improvements. Since the announcement of the location of the 2010 tournament, South Africa's economic growth has increased. In

addition to the increased growth, these economic gains have promise for being more distributed among citizens. Traditionally the wealth of South Africa has been gained from mining, oil and gas developments. These industries, however, create concentrated amounts of wealth in few people and do not benefit the bulk of the population. Tourism is an area that has great promise for increasing employment as well as distributing the country's wealth. The government believes that hosting the World Cup will create 150,000 new jobs as well as increase the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in South Africa—a measurement of the total value of a country's output—by \$400 million (Ford, 2004).

The tournament may also result in a positive infrastructural legacy. As with the hosting of any large tournament, the host country must build new sporting arenas and housing accommodations to accommodate the huge influx of athletes and spectators. Because the World Cup consists of “64 games that must be played at 13 stadia across the country,” South Africa will need to build a number of new venues (Ford, 2004). These new structures will remain after the tournament is over to be used for domestic soccer games, concerts, or other events. In addition, many new hotels will need to be built for the hosting of such a large event.

Because the World Cup is such a large event with millions of television viewers and thousands of visiting spectators, hosting the tournament provides an ideal opportunity for South Africa to showcase itself. This event is second only to the Olympic Games as

the biggest sporting event. With the massive media coverage that will occur, South Africa can broaden its image to the world. A primary advantage for tourism within the country lies in the country's location far south, making the seasons opposite from the northern hemisphere. This location makes South Africa an ideal winter holiday destination for Americans and Europeans. In addition, the media coverage may help to attract companies to invest in the country, which has previously been avoided because of its negative history. In portraying an image of the new South Africa, the country can possibly gain investments from the rest of the world. This situation occurred during the 2002 World Cup hosted jointly by Japan and South Korea, which promoted a new and more positive image of East Asia to the international world.

One of the possibly greatest but hardest to measure benefit of hosting the tournament is its ability to help rebuild the nation. Because sport has previously been an area where strong racial cleavages have occurred, the hosting of the World Cup may help to bridge these gaps. Rugby and cricket have long been the "white man's" sports while soccer has drawn its primary support from the black population. In hosting a soccer tournament, South Africa can hopefully help to begin to diminish the stereotypes associated with these specific sports and unite citizens.

### **Potential problems**

Despite claims made by FIFA and South Africa that hosting the 2010 World Cup would bring about social and economic benefits to the country, there are number of potential

problems that have been largely overlooked. These possible issues that must be addressed include possible low attendance at games, the dispersion of government funds, and the construction of stadiums. Because tickets for games are very expensive, they are unaffordable to the majority of South Africa's population. Though there is a growing middle class black population and a number of upper class whites, a large portion of the country's population still remains impoverished. It is likely that the majority of citizens will be unable to attend games and instead be limited to watching the games in FIFA "Fan Parks"—outdoor areas set up for match viewing.

Another issue involves the dispersion of South Africa's money. Though it would be best for South Africa to invest its wealth into the lower income areas of the country, critics worry that the government may instead invest its funds into construction for the World Cup. This diversion of funds from more important issues facing the country, including a widespread lack of electricity and running water, is a likely and potentially very damaging problem.

The issues surrounding the dispersion of government funds have been evident in the number of problematic issues surrounding the construction and placement of stadiums. One primary controversial choice was the building of an extravagant new stadium on Green Point Common in Cape Town. This city is only marginal in the country's soccer culture. The center of domestic soccer is rather in the Gauteng province, which is 1,200 kilometers north of Cape Town. Gauteng is not only the home of the two most popular

soccer clubs in South Africa, but also the “headquarters of the 2010 Local Organizing Committee, the South African Football Association, and the Premier Soccer League (Alegi, 2007). The choice of hosting the tournament in Cape Town shows the large influence of FIFA in choosing tournament locations based on appearance rather than future economic benefits to the host country.

The legacy of apartheid remains evident in the continuing boundaries that exist between Cape Town residents. The Cape Flats are home to the majority of soccer fans, while most whites and middle and upper-class citizens reside in the inner suburbs. The small Athlone Stadium, which lies in the Cape Flats, “a mostly Coloured working-class area,” is the primary site for the city’s professional club games. Only when Cape Town’s teams play clubs with very large followings is the Newlands rugby Stadium used.

South Africa originally proposed renovating the Newlands rugby stadium and using it for three first-round matches and one quarterfinal. FIFA inspectors approved this proposal in 2004. Soon after this acceptance, however the South African government proposed moving the venue to the Athlone Stadium located in the primarily black and more disadvantaged Cape Flats. The government hoped in moving the tournament that they could help to strengthen the development of the area and boost the economy of the region. FIFA rejected using the Athlone Stadium, however, with the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper reporting that “FIFA delegates objected that the low-cost council housing around the Athlone stadium would not form a suitable backdrop” and that “a billion



television viewers don't want to see shacks and poverty on this scale" (Alegi, 2007).

FIFA officials instead suggested renovating a stadium at Green Point, which is situated in a beautiful and more affluent area. FIFA's ambitions appear focused on enhancing the value of its product rather than emphasizing the developmental projects it supposedly esteems. This was seen not only in the rejection of the Athlone Stadium, but the fact that less than 25% of FIFA's annual expenditures are used on developmental initiatives and infrastructural improvements.

This controversial decision is only worsened by the estimation by the city council that the stadium will have an operating loss of over \$800,000 even after using the stadium for concerts, rugby matches and other large venues. Similar outcomes have been seen in history with the stadiums built for the 1998 and 2002 World Cups in France and South Korea, which have required government subsidies to handle their financial losses. The construction decision in South Africa reflects how FIFA's political agenda surpasses domestic improvement efforts in importance. There is worry that the millions of dollars spent on building elite sporting arenas will weaken grassroots football, as money will have to be withdrawn from support for recreational sports in lower income areas. A senior football writer for the *Cape Argus*, Rodney Reiners, details this issue asking, "What's the use of having cream at the top and a slippery foundation? The under belly of the SA game is suffering... and this is the greatest indictment not just of SA soccer but SA society in general" (Alegi, 2007).

There are also issues over what to do with the stadiums after the tournament has ended. Many times large scale buildings that are constructed for events such as the World Cup or the Olympics remain vacant after the sporting events are finished. Even if the stadiums are used to host other large venues, they will often not be able to recuperate the funds put into their construction. South Africa could benefit from following the lead of Germany, which converted their stadiums from the 1972 Olympics in Munich to Olympiapark—a large complex of sport courts and swimming pools that is open to the general public.

There is great promise of sport being used to promote a new cultural identity because of the strong emphasis on sports in South Africa. Sport is an area in which South Africa takes significant pride, seen in the fact that “more than 44% of the population are proud of South Africa’s achievements in sport” (Kersting 2007). Because sports are so esteemed, these are areas in which notions of equality can possibly be evoked in society and make a lasting impact.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

Combating racism within soccer will not be a short or easy process, however there is hope for the sport. In studying previous international sporting events, specifically the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, and the 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa, it is evident that sport has been previously successful in promoting specific ideals. Throughout these tournaments, the games have succeeded in not only promoting positive values within the sporting context, but have also extended these ideals to the general societies of their respective host countries. In this way, sport has previously been used as a vehicle for national change within Germany, China and South Africa.

In their hosting of the upcoming tournament, South Africa faces unique challenges due to long-standing racial problems and the legacy of apartheid that remains prevalent. In recognizing the obstacles faced within this country and the methods used by previous host countries for the handling of similar problems, South Africa can hopefully gain direction in not only how to reduce racism within soccer but within society as a whole.

## LITERATURE CITED

- Allbus (2006). Annual opinion poll. *GESIS: Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences*.  
Retrieved from <http://www.gesis.org/en/services/data/retrieval-data-access>.
- Alegi, P. (2007). The political economy of mega-stadiums and the underdevelopment of grassroots football in South Africa. *Politikon, 34*, 315-331.
- Back, L., Crabbe, T., & Solomos, J. (1999). Beyond the racist/hooligan couplet: Race, social theory and football culture. *British Journal of Sociology, 50*, 419-442.
- Black, A. (2009). Footballers kick-start equality. *PR Week, 18*.
- Carlin, J., Kennedy, K., Bechtel, M., & Cannella, S. (2008). The full Nelson. *Sports Illustrated, 109*, 20-22.
- Cha, V. (2008). Beijing's Olympic-sized catch-22. *The Washington Quarterly, 31*, 105-123.
- Crabbe, T. (2000). Garlic, knives and banners: Football's racist faces. *The Courier UNESCO, 53*, 38-39.
- Dampf, A., Logothetis, P., & Namasivayam, D. (2009, February 8). How England tackled soccer racism. *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.espn.com>.
- Dyan, D. & Katz, E. (1992). *Media events: The live broadcasting of history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ford, N. (2004). S Africa counts World Cup gains. *African Business, 300*, 62-63.
- Kersting, N. (2007). Sport and national identity: A comparison of the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World Cups. *Politikon, 34*, 277-293.

- King, A. (1999). Football hooliganism and the practical paradigm. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 16, 269-273.
- Maingard, J. (1997). Imag(in)ing the South African nation: Representations of identity in the Rugby World Cup 1995. *Theatre Journal*, 49, 15-28.
- Muller, F., van Zoonen, L., & de Roode, L. (2007). Accidental racists: Experiences and contradictions of racism in local Amsterdam soccer fan culture. *Soccer & Society*, 8, 335-350.
- Schrag, D. (2009). Flagging the nation in international sport: A Chinese Olympics and a German World Cup. *History of Sport*, 26, 1084-1104.
- Steenveld, L. & Strelitz, L. (1998). The 1995 Rugby World Cup and the politics of nation-building in South Africa. *Media, Culture & Society*, 20, 609-629.
- Swift, E. M. (1995). Bok to the future. *Sports Illustrated*, 83, 32-33.
- Walters, G. (2007). *Berlin Games: How Hitler stole the Olympic dream*. London: John Murray Publishers.
- Wenn, S. (1996). A house divided: The U.S. amateur sport establishment and the issue of participation in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 67, 161-171.
- Whiteside, K. (2006, June 2). Pockets of intolerance raise Cup concerns. *USA Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com>.

## CONTACT INFORMATION

Name: Michelle Kimi Arishita

Professional Address: c/o Dr. Arnold LeUnes  
Department of Psychology  
266 Psychology Building  
Texas A&M University  
College Station, TX 77843-4235

Email Address: aris99@tamu.edu

Education: B.S., Psychology, Texas A&M University, August 2010  
Minors: English and Philosophy  
Summa Cum Laude  
Honors Undergraduate Research Fellow  
University Honors  
Foundation Honors  
Liberal Arts Honors  
Psychology Honors