The Hidden Game
A comparative study on rugby and soccer in modern South African society.

Authors: Robert Gustafsson & Per Gjörloff
ABSTRACT

The popular discourse has it that sports take a big part in the everyday life of South Africa. Given its segregated past, we ask the question on how the media discourse were on race, politics and gender during the formative period of circa 1990-1995. Utilizing discourse analysis on newspaper clippings from 1990 to 1995 and 2004 and interviews with players, coaches, administrators and sports activists, we have found that there was indeed a specific white discourse that subjugated the black perspective into the subaltern and formed partnership with the hegemonic traditions of the white apartheid regime.

Keywords: Postcolonialism, South Africa, Subaltern, rugby, soccer, sports, gender, race, politics
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As if standing on the shoulders of giants to reach a goal, we too have been aided in our quest from a number of persons, both residents from South Africa and Sweden. Foremost, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to our supervisor Dr. Jonas Sjölander for the continuous support of our study and research, and the spark that lit the fire for research of our selected topic. From this initial co-operation we hope for more to come.

Besides our advisor, we would like to thank Dr. Fabian Persson for the letter of recommendation that proved instrumental in applying for the SIDA Minor Fields grant and Cecilia Johansson, from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Linnaeus University, for her invaluable support in helping us with practical issues.

Our sincere thanks also goes to Professor Albert Grundlingh, for taking us under his wings at Stellenbosch university and providing support and insight. We also like to thank Mnr. Quintin van Rooyen and Ben Malan for putting up with an endless amount of questions, request and Ben for providing rugby training opportunities for Per.

A big *baie dankie* should also go to the numerous interviewees in both Eastern and Western Cape. They are anonymous in the text, but each and every one of you deserves a special mention.

Last but not the least; we would like thank South Africa residents Henk van Wyk for showing us the ropes when visiting Grahamstown and Eastern Cape and the Turkstra family for putting up with us as tenants.

Kalmar in August 2013
Robert Gustafsson & Per Gjörloff
FOREWORD

In December 2012 we were awarded the SIDA scholarship for Minor Fields Studies. After some initial soul-searching and debating we found a mutual ground in the region of Southern Africa. After some initial discussion we decided to look into sports in South African society, since sports play a big part in the everyday life of South Africans and also the fact that segregation and boycotts was pack in parcel of the sporting life in the 1980’ and 1990’s. The discourses there had to be of great value in order to understand contemporary South Africa.

This is not a general history on South Africa. Rather, it’s an inquiry into a very specific part of South African society. It is, in our opinion, necessary to have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the country’s past in order to understand the text. The limited space here does not permit any greater excursions and we have therefore decided that our viewpoint shall be a reader with basic knowledge of the events prior to 1990 and the immediate years thereafter. A good starting point, if the need to brush up on the general history of South Africa shall arise, is Nigel Wordens *The making of Modern South Africa.*

The thesis is divided into two separate parts starting with soccer and then moving on to rugby. There’s also a chapter on theoretical and methodological matters that is the result of our collaborations. It ends with some analysis on that brings together both soccer and rugby.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African Nationalist Congress, current ruling party in South Africa</td>
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<td>FIFA</td>
<td>International Federation of Association Football, international governing body of soccer</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRB</td>
<td>International Rugby Board. The international governing body of rugby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSL</td>
<td>National Soccer League, past top flight soccer league, now included in the PSL</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSL</td>
<td>Premier Soccer League, professional associated soccer clubs in premier division and national first division</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACOS</td>
<td>South African Council on Sports, multi-racial sports organization during the apartheid years.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAFA</td>
<td>South African Football Association, current multi-racial organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANFA</td>
<td>South African National Football Association, past organization for black players</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARB</td>
<td>South African Rugby Board, dominant rugby federation during the apartheid years. Merged with SARU.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SARU</td>
<td>South African Rugby Union, non-racial rugby federation during the apartheid years. Merged with SARB.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>Western Province, regarding provincial teams from Western Province, South Africa.</td>
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll.
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul
William Ernest Henley (1888)

Picture a well-groomed grass field with men, in traditional rugby jerseys, enjoying a practice session. Next to the stands the men, who are all white, have formed a ruck and when the ball is played loose, the camera follows it and focus upon an entirely different scene. Beyond the fence and across a road the contrasts become utterly apparent. Young black children playing soccer on a dusty field were the grass is absent and with battered houses in the background. In the next shot, President Mandela’s car passes by and the white coach says to what we can deduce are public schoolboys, in thick Afrikaner accent: ”Remember this day, boys, this is the day when our country went to the dogs!” This is the opening scene from Invictus, a popular movie describing the time when Nelson Mandela was elected president in South Africa and the 1995 Rugby World Cup. It is not of common knowledge that the world of sports is such an important part of the everyday life in South Africa that it in fact is. The difference though, from for example England, is that it was not just by chance people chose the sport to play or support before 1990. The sport of rugby and the national team, the Springboks, was mainly supported by white Afrikaner of Dutch origin. Cricket was the sport played by

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2 Invictus (movie), director: Clint Eastwood, Spyglass Entertainment, 2009.
English and Coloured of higher status\(^4\) but the English lower class and the blacks played soccer.

A colonial past

So how did it come to this? A few years after Jan van Riebeek’s founding of the Cape supply station in modern day Cape Town, he stated that people should be kept apart, physically with fences and poles for the purpose of minimising conflicts between the indigenous people of the Cape region and the newly settled farmers of Dutch and French origin. This policy came to influence many of the decision later made, and it can be argued that this early form of apartheid seeped into the ideology of the Afrikaners, as they came to be known.\(^5\) The supply station later developed into a loosely held colony consisting of a variety of peoples, from the former servants, now free farmers, burghers, to slaves and colonial administrators. The construction of the colony was very much in the image of similar colonies of the same age. The white held the indigenous people in subjection whilst developing a hegemonic and independent cultural sphere. One can trace this hegemony through its cultural roots, the burghers themselves former feudal servants of the Dutch East India Company fought for freedom, both literally and culturally which formed a very independent mentality combined with a deeply religious affiliation with the Calvinistic Dutch Reformed Church. When the British in the early 1800’s gained ownership over the colony, the burghers were yet again in subjection to a European colonial power. The coming century developed into a multi-dimensional struggle between the British colonial administrators and the various ethnicities, such as the burghers ending in die Groote Trek, where the Cape-based burghers moved its settlements into

the high veld. They were later followed by the British who seized control and the subsequent Anglo-Boer war which ended in 1902 when the British crushed the Afrikaner resistance. An uneasy truce followed until 1948 election where the Afrikaner Nationalist Party (NP) came into government and the ensuing apartheid regime. This struggle between Afrikaners and British moved from the battlefield to the cultural sphere and in doing so, it also affected sports in South Africa in a very profound way. Van Riebeek's assertion that the peoples should be kept separately was very much evident in South African sports post 1948 and colonial ideas on race and ethnicity became rooted in the mentality of South Africans.

However, in the postcolonial 2010’s apartheid is long gone, but are the ideas of race and ethnicity gone? Are the concepts of female and male sports also a thing of the past, only looked at from an historian’s perspective?
AIM

This chapter will highlight the main aim and research questions posed for this thesis. It will start with giving the reader an introduction and aim and conclude with the general research questions posed.

Drawing from the influential Canadian anthropological study on race issues in the history of South African sport from 1948 to the immediate years after the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, One Country, One Sport, Endless Knowledge: The Anthropological Study of Sports in South Africa⁶, our aim for this thesis is to study the different attitudes and approaches regarding the ending of the oppressive apartheid political system from perspective of sports. In particular, we will study the different approaches to race discourses in both soccer and rugby. Race issues are one of the most important variables when researching sports in South Africa as apartheid and sports are very much about racialism.⁷ We will also explore the attitudes towards social change within the society through the eyes of sports and in the press and if there were any racially determined discourses practised. Mainly, we will look into the fears of the unknown future for in South Africa in general and in the sports communities of soccer and rugby. We therefore pose the following general research questions for this thesis:

RQ 1: What discourses of race were present in South African mainstream media when covering the different aspects of South African sports before, during and after the abolishment of apartheid?

RQ 2: How was the political dimension of sports portrayed in the press, which perspectives were taken and how did this change over time?

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⁶ Anderson, Connie M., Bielert, Troy A. and Jones, Ryan P., pp. 47-55.
RQ 3: How were the economic and financial discrepancies between white and black sport perceived in the media and how is that remembered today?

RQ 4: What was the representation of women’s sports news in the media and what possibilities did they have to gain recognition in the press. Has anything changed post apartheid?

The timeframe for this study consists of the years between 1990 and 1995, five very formative years in South African, and indeed Southern African history and the year 2004. The timeframe includes the abolishment of apartheid, the release of Nelson Mandela and the start of his tenure as President and the 1995 Rugby World Cup, hosted by South Africa, as well as ten years after abolishment of apartheid.
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter aims to give the reader an insight in the modes of postcolonial thought and research that has influenced our analysis of South African sports.

We live in the era of the prefix *post*, or after in English. Our present time is per definition what comes *after* history and what constitutes history has muddied the waters, making it quite difficult to navigate through the currents of historiography. Many present day historians tend to start off with the theoretical framework and after that focusing on the content of their research. We did it slightly differently by first getting to know the material and get the feel of it, and after that choosing theoretical perspective. Naturally, postcolonialism and the hybridity hypothesis lay close at hand, but it wasn’t until after browsing through the media content that we really decided that this was to be our framework.

Postcolonial research

Research undertaken through the glasses of postcolonialism sometimes tend to play the blame game, i.e. that a former colonial rule is used a mean to explain various injustices and inequalities per se. Postcolonialism are in that respect hugely indebted to critical theory. After the decolonization of primarily India, a new generation of scholars from various disciplines; history, literature, sociology and the political sciences, set about to create new theories that would address the various problems of western hegemony in what we loosely can refer to as the third world. This might be making things a bit too easy. However, postcolonial research can be useful when making inquires as to how identities are constructed and therefore of great value for this research project. One hypothesis might be that colonial identities, both black and white, are reproduced in the sports context, however it
is not certain that it’s true for both men and women, as more black women are taking up rugby, rather than soccer or netball.

Postcolonial research can also be as one-eyed as the western counterparts. Postcolonial theorists such as Chakrabarty accuses western researchers to paint with broad pencil, however, he falls into the very same trap himself since there is no single cohesive western culture.\(^8\) It is, as is the case with Africa or the Orient, a kaleidoscope of theories, cultural spheres and perspectives.

Postcolonial, postmodern or post-apartheid

The prefix *post* can sometimes be slightly overused in terms of being an analytical variable in research delving into society and the social human being. As the term *post* entices, it means that whatever comes after the post referrers to something that has transcended whatever was before the post. Postmodernism is the ism that comes after the modernity, the post-apartheid refers to what came after apartheid, so postcolonialism is an ism, a way of looking at society through the prism of what came after colonialism. Postcolonialism can be a useful tool when explaining how and why a society has developed after being in a colonial state. It is foremost a critique of western society’s continued involvement in the cultural development in what is referred to as the third world, be it in Africa, South America or Asia. It is also a critique against the continued hegemony of western values as a global entity, that everything is measured against western values. The forerunner of this type of postcolonial thinking is of course Edward Saïd and his concept of orientalism\(^9\).


\(^9\) A more thorough analysis of orientalism can be found in Gjörloff, P. & Gustafsson, R., 2013.
So, can South Africa be labelled as being in a postcolonial state? Yes and no, the decolonization of South Africa began almost immediately after the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902 and took a huge stride forward as early as 1948 when the Afrikaner-dominated National Party, led by Daniel Malan, won the general election (of course, only whites could vote at that time). The decolonization was completed in 1961 when South Africa left the commonwealth and formed under the leadership of Dutch-born Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, a totally independent republic. One could however argue that this decolonization was only superficial, since one colonial rule was replaced with another, domestic, colonial rule. This is quite problematic since the term postcolonial is sometimes used as a political concept, rather than a broader term which encompasses cultural, political and gender values. Robert Thornton problematize that the postcolonial society began in 1948 and that the Apartheid reign therefore could be defined as postcolonial.\textsuperscript{10} We don’t share that assessment in respect to the apartheid regime being neo-colonial, rather postcolonial. There wasn’t any major difference between the old British colonial rule and the Afrikaner-dominated decolonised rule. The difference between the British rule and NP’s in terms of race relations was the latter was more of a bureaucratic and formalised system of race repression. There is also the question of what really constitute a postcolonial society. Is it merely a political concept of the repressed people coming into power when the old colonial rule departed? Or is it a broader sense, a mind-set that points towards of new future? That would include more cultural and gender-based values. If so, is that the case in South Africa? Perhaps one should look at contemporary South Africa as post-apartheid, with certain aspects of postcolonialism? There is, of course, the patronage and an inherited political system that one

normally associates with postcolonialism, but there are also some major differences.
The prime objective of British imperialism was more of gathering resources such as minerals and agricultural products rather than permanent settlement, whereas the Boers were more interested in permanent settlement. In their view, South Africa was their land and they were there to stay permanently. This can in part be explained by the very small influence that Dutch state had on the Cape colony, which was more under the jurisdiction of the Dutch East India Company, rather than the Dutch state. The objective of the early burghers was a permanent homeland right from the start. In many aspects, imperialism was a job, a way of acquire commodities rather than an ambition to spread western culture, even if some would argue otherwise. The cultivation of the “native” had no larger purpose other than producing an efficient workforce.

An interesting contribution to our understanding of the discussion whether post-apartheid South Africa can be described as postmodern or postcolonial, or something in-between, have been made by Robert Thornton in Postcolonial Identities in South Africa. It boils down to whether one can, as Appiah states, equate colonialism with modernism and the postcolonialism with the postmodern. In South Africa, however, “Apartheid [stood] as a special form of modernism and ‘modernisation’”. 11 This special form of apartheid as modernism can be explained by apartheid’s colonial roots and its ideology is very much placed around eurocentrism. Thornton, however, argues that South Africa is “clearly post-Apartheid” and chooses to see the remnants of the system as nostalgia. 12 We would, however, argue that Apartheid cannot so

12 Ibid. p. 138.
easily be dismissed as a post. It depends on whether one sees apartheid as a political system, based on colonial ideals of white supremacy and euro-centrism or a sphere of mentality and ideology. If one chooses the later, wider, definition, we would argue that Apartheid is still very much in place in the minds of the ethnic communities, simply by looking at the segregated communities where the place you live is determined by colour of skin. This is based on first hand experience as visiting researchers in South Africa.

The concept of the Subaltern, as framed by the Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, can be valuable when undertaken inquiries where race and subjugation, be it race, gender or, as Gramsci meant, class, are inseparable variables. Partha Chatterjee applied Gramsci’s original setting of class and applied it to the Indian conditions.\textsuperscript{13} We would like to expand it further and also apply it to South African society during apartheid and the time period straight after. Subaltermness can be applied in a numerous ways in South African society, in sports mainly concerning the relations between the white establishment sports and its non-racial counterparts. It can also be applied when analysing the economic inequalities between on one hand, soccer and rugby and also within the rugby assorted rugby communities.

South African postcolonial nationalism

Nationalism in the South and East has been the focal point of much research recently and is normally regarded with much suspicion in the West.\textsuperscript{14} One can however, not totally oversee the incursions of two competitive forms of discourses on nationalism


in South Africa. The two competitive forms are the Afrikaner nationalism of the white government, utilising both religious discourses such as the teachings of Dutch Reformed Church where the Afrikaners were to be God’s chosen people placed in Africa to spread civilisations and more conventional power-related discourses on separate development (Apartheid). The other is of course the African nationalism as a countermovement to the Afrikaner nationalism that stayed in power in between 1948 and 1994, as well as the previous colonial setting between mid 17th century and 1948.

Nationalism is now viewed as a dark, elemental, unpredictable force of primordial nature threatening the orderly calm of civilised life. What had once been successfully relegated to the outer peripheries of the earth is now seen picking its way back to Europe, through the long-forgotten provinces of the Habsburgs, the czarist, and the Ottoman Empires. Like drugs, terrorism, and illegal immigration, it is one more product of the Third World that the West dislikes but is powerless to prohibit.

Stanford scholar and former dean at University of Pretoria, Jonathan Jansen deliberately avoid making claims of South Africa being a postmodern, postcolonial and/or post-apartheid society. Instead, he chooses to frame South African society as post-conflict. In a way, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism was also born out of conflict after the South African war, and the new South Africa was born out of the anti-apartheid struggle, which

15 A thorough analysis of Afrikaner nationalism and its roots in colonial struggle can be found in Giliomee, 2003.
took violent forms on a number of occasions. By framing the South African society as postconflict, he also avoids the troublesome perspective of postcolonialism as it tends to move (and indeed shall) in a multitude of directions which can make it rather difficult to apply, or perhaps too easy.

Hybridity

One fruitful way to go within the concept of postcolonialism is the concept of hybridity, which derives from the works of Indian scholar Homi K. Bhabha “whose analysis of colonizer/ colonized relations stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities”. 18 The hybridization of the postcolonial world makes a more spacious understanding of society as it rids itself of the binary confinements of Said’s orientalism. 19 Instead “The Hybrid texts are thus interesting because they contain elements of both the oppressor and the oppressed.” 20

One only need to go to the Afrikaans language, which is defined as a creole language of Dutch, English, Malay and various African languages, constructed as a mean for farmers and farm hands to understand and work with each other. It’s essentially the voice of both the oppressor, the English and the oppressed, the Afrikaners. Later, it became the voice of the oppressor, albeit with the voice of the oppressed, the non-whites.

Media discourses can be viewed as hybrids as they are both a channel for the oppressing state through ideology and hegemony and a craft of journalism which portrayed all walks of life,

19 See Said, Edward W., Orientalism, Ordfront, Stockholm, 2000
including the non-white. Normally, the Afrikaans-speaking press, such as *die Burger* and *Rapport*, were more in the hand of the Apartheid government, and the English speaking press more liberal and ANC friendly. But as we shall se later on, the hybridization cannot be reduced to the dichotomy of Afrikaans v English.

The concept of hybridity will be explored through the analysis of the conflicting discourses utilising the framework described in the methodology section of this chapter. In particular, we will focus on whether the perceived white, hegemonic discourse has conflict elements in it, and whether the non-white perspective. In particular, this analysis and subsequent discussion will be most fruitful during the years 1990-1994, i.e. before, during and after the abolishment of apartheid leading up the democratization of South Africa in 1994.

Postcolonial South African media

First, we must understand that a historical event per se doesn’t automatically become a text. The event has to undergo a transformation through culture, language and ideology before being transmitted to the reader. Therefore, the event is cast, or moulded, in a very specific manner by the media apparatuses. Media scholars Shoemaker and Reese argued that the media text is casted trough five spheres of influence; the individual journalist, the routines which the journalist conduct his or her work, the organization (i.e. the paper) in which he or she is employed by, by external actors such as lobbying groups or PR Agencies and lastly ideology.21 The ideological level can thus function as a filter against deviance, resistance to hegemonic ideology and dissidents where it will get less attention than those

historical events that, in a way, fits the mould. In the case of die Burger, that ties between the newspaper and the government was even more fixed as it worked as a semi-official governmental organ, supplying its reader with ready-made information. It wasn’t until the late 1980’s that die Burger withdrew its unconditional support for the National Party. English-speaking newspaper Cape Times had a more liberal approach and attracted readers across the racial lines. Even so, the ideological dimensions of South African media could not be overseen. Scholar Gabeba Baderoon argues that even if the news editor could hide behind words like “newsworthy” and “angles”, beliefs and values lay behind the production of text.

The hearings at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into the implication of media in apartheid structures and ideology, show that journalism in South Africa, as elsewhere, always generates particular ways of understanding the world. These ways of understanding are never without ideological value.

This is consistent with Pierre Bourdieu’s statement that words do things; even create things such as false representations.

The discourse analysis model utilised in this thesis incorporates analytical questions on the way society through the concepts of the sports communities and addresses fundamental ideological values hidden in the text.

It would have been fruitful to explore the narratives in the Afrikaans-speaking press such as Rapport and die Burger.

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However, language constraints have made it impossible at present since neither of the authors possesses the necessary reading skills in Afrikaans. The Afrikaans press is slightly more conservative than its English-speaking counterparts. Cape Times, for instance, is aimed at both white and coloured population groups, and therefore more liberal. The Afrikaans press, and Rapport and die Burger in particular, were in the heyday of apartheid, much more supportive of the white regime\textsuperscript{25}. The discourses, we can deduce, must have been more in favour of segregated sports than in the English-speaking and, hypothetically, more liberal Cape Times.

\textsuperscript{25} Jansen, p. 47.
METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodologies used in this comparative analysis of sports and identity in South Africa. The chapter starts with a general introduction of the material and then concludes with a description and critical analysis of the methods.

Discourse analysis

The purpose of discourse analysis is to uncover hidden meanings on subalternness and other ideological dimensions in texts and whilst doing so, also uncover hegemonic structures in a particular society, in this case South Africa. The purpose is also to find the hybridity of South African media when covering sports, in particular soccer and rugby. The analysis is per definition critical in the sense that it brings to surface what is hidden, assumed and exposes the ideological filters through which we view our society and the world around it.

A purposeful application of discourse analysis is, of course, discourses on race and gender as postcolonial concepts. Utilising discourse analysis, we find out what lies beneath the surface of media coverage from a specific point in time.

The starting point of a discourse-analytical approach to the complex phenomenon of racism is to realise that racism, as a social practice, and as an ideology, manifests itself discursively. On the one hand, racist opinions and beliefs are produced and reproduced by means of discourse; on the other hand, through discourse, discriminatory exclusionary practices are prepared, promulgated, and legitimised. In order to gain an insight into the social and historical structure and dynamics of racist (nationalist, ethnicist, sexist) prejudices that could be conceived as specific mental states composed of – normally negative, emotionally very loaded and rigid – generalising attitudes towards social groups (cf.
Quasthoff 1987: 787), discourse analysts have to relate the discriminatory linguistic features to the social, political and historical contexts of the analysed ‘discursive events’.  

With this in mind, we created an analysis model to be used in conjunction with the press material. The product of this analysis would then be compared to the interviews and observations being undertaken in South Africa. With this model, we hope to uncover colonial and postcolonial concepts in South African sports.

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<th><strong>QUESTION POSED</strong></th>
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<td>Issues of race</td>
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<td>Underdog perspective</td>
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<td>Other Sport</td>
<td>In what way does the text refer to the Other sport?</td>
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<td>Otherness</td>
<td>Is there hints of orientalism in the text?</td>
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<td>NP/ANC</td>
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<td>What discourses of finance is employed by the text in reference to the codes?</td>
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<td>Corruption</td>
<td>Is there a normality in reporting about corruption and “black” sports?</td>
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<th><strong>HEAD VARIABLE: GENDER</strong></th>
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<th>Other Sex</th>
<th>How is the feminine athlete portrayed?</th>
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<td>Women in Male Sports</td>
<td>How much space is given to women athletes in soccer and rugby?</td>
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<td>Women in Women’s Sports</td>
<td>Is there a normality in reporting about women athletes in typical women’s sport?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>How is masculinity constructed in relation to rugby and soccer?</td>
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Source material

Our source material consists of three types of material: newspaper content, oral histories and observations. All material was gathered whilst being in South Africa in person thus contributing to contextualise and placing the material in a setting.

Newspaper content

The newspaper materials consist of 356 articles in Cape Times written between 1990 and 1995 and 2004. The months used was January, February, May and June. The years chosen are those leading up to a World Cup in rugby and soccer, 1995 and 2010 respectively. These specific years show what discourses were used when covering the national teams, Springboks and Bafana Bafana, provincial matches, i.e. Currie Cup and club competitions such as NSL.

The material was accessed on-site at the compact storage department at the J.S. Gericke library at the University of Stellenbosch in April and May 2013. The material was photographed and indexed in a database. We were mainly concerned with material that covered sports and politics in terms of race, ethnicity, gender and class. Ordinary articles that only
covered the sporting events themselves were disregarded as they posed no apparent positions of race, ethnicity, gender and class.

Oral history

To answer the question of how the apartheid era is remembered in the various communities we chose to utilise oral history and interviews as the main method. It is a step from what is considered tradition since media discourse mainly examines and analyses the effect on collective level. Oral history on the other hand is on individual or in some cases group level. We argue that the media discourse affect individuals through the collective and an important part of our thesis deals with memory from the 1990s, thus the method we use is, in our view, a valid and useful one.

The use of oral history is an old concept, dating back to the ancient Greeks, even though the format with tape recordings and carefully planned interviews are a modern invention. Formal documents and written material are often prepared in such a fashion that they lack human spontaneity and direction. Since one of our aims is to examine remembrance of the apartheid era, the method was selected based on the fact that it does contain human spontaneity and direction. Reconstruction of the past and connecting the interviewee’s stories with our stories is one of the purposes of oral history. The role as an interviewer and historian can be described as “we aid in the creation of life documents, yet we serve as critics of those documents”. The apparent risks with using an oral history method are that memory may be clouded by time and how an interviewee may choose, consciously or sub-

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28 Grele, p. 243.
consciously, to remember events or feelings. Interviews, and the material created by those interviews, tell us how social forces and personalities reconstruct memories and mentalities from the past and how they continue to live in the present. The meaning of this is that the past continue to be a part of the daily life of the interviewees and how they view the present day. Grele explains that “to grasp the intimate and complex relation between the past and present has always been the goal of the historian”30, which can be said is one of the main goals of our study.

One of the stumbling stones is that we, as interviewers and historians, must move beyond plain interaction and instead engage critically.31 The interaction with the interviewee is an important part of our research since we utilise our previous knowledge to shape the interview. This can be described as a hermeneutical perspective.32 Our acquired knowledge is, from a research perspective as critical reviewers, of utmost importance for the sake of validity.33

Our interview questions were not designed with a purpose to remember events specifically, rather to investigate if memory of the old South Africa is still being traded amongst the sports communities of the present day. All the interviews, and thus the interviewees, were scrutinized since risks still remain that their answers may be twisted to fit personal agendas or, when dealing with university employees, to fit official documents or regulations. The problem with selective memory and time

30 Grele, p 245.
31 Grele, p. 245.
33 Dunaway & Baum, p. 153.
clouding events from the past is therefore not an apparent problem since our interview questions delve in the present and the collective memory of the past. Due to the fact that the interviewed persons were from different social backgrounds, races, gender and sports, it can be argued that the interviewed persons had different tendencies and therefore be biased. When analysing memory as a part of culture, studying tendency can also form an important part of the work.34

Oral history validates subjectivity and embraces it. Oral history can be a key element in documenting stories of those on the periphery of society. Thus it validates a multicultural and diverse approach to documenting the lived experience of individuals and groups and becomes an important path to social justice.35

The quote above showcases the use for oral history in a graphic way and also highlights that subjectivity is part of oral history and interviews. The bias and agendas of the interviewed subjects therefore must be taken in to consideration when finally analysing and using material. The questions asked were open ended for the sake of exploring each subject as much as possible. In some cases we have asked follow up questions, clarified or exemplified so that the interview could proceed in a smooth fashion. Since our topic could be problematic depending on the interviewee’s point of view or previous experiences, it was important that our questions were unbiased. When asking questions we also took notice not to seem to expect certain answers, this of importance due to the fact that it could influence the interviewed person when answering.36

34 Hansson, Lars & Thor, Malin (red.), Muntlig historia, Studentfitteratur, Lund, 2006, p. 35.
36 Dunaway & Baum, pp. 236-237.
Eight (8) administrators in soccer (3), rugby (3), netball (1) and hockey (1) were interviewed. Four players and/or coaches, one (1) in soccer, two (2) in rugby and one (1) in netball, were also interviewed. Two (2) of those interviews were conducted using notes rather than digitally recorded due to noisy environment. Despite the fact that the interviews using note system were conducted at the same time and place, although with two different persons, we have chosen to categorize them as two separate interviews. The reason for this being that the persons interviewed had different roles and agendas which mattered when examining them critically. In total twelve (12) interviews were conducted. The interviews conducted using notes were cropped due to the interviewed subjects’ tendency to avoid questions and talk about other issues, pursuing their own agenda. The used material of those particular interviews is selected by relevance to the research questions. All the other interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed.

We used two open interview guides that we elaborated on depending on practical circumstances on-site as well as what came up in the interviews. These practical circumstances can be the interviewees own political agenda, unwillingness to answer a certain question as well as a judgement that certain questions cannot be posed to a specific person. The basic interview guides were designed, and used, in relation to the role of the interviewee. The interviewees were divided, in two groups, based on active status as a player or as an administrator. During the interviews it became obvious that our categorization could be argued since the interview objects could have more roles than just one, such as both being a player and an administrator, but also answering a question from a perspective of a former player. This although poses no scientific problem since our oral history material is
qualitative and not quantitative, as the purpose of the categories being more of an operational use.

Observations

We attended two soccer matches in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, one was the senior men’s national team playing against The Central African Republic at the Cape Point Stadium and one was the Stellenbosch University Women’s team playing against a local side. We also attended two rugby matches, Maties\(^{37}\) 1stXV playing the Varsity Cup semi-final and final against the Nelson Mandela Bay University (Madibas) and The University of Pretoria (Tukkies) respectively. We also attended a Maties netball match where the senior team played against the junior team. During the the matches we observed the racial composition of the spectators in the stands and the racial composition of the teams. We also took notes of the language spoken and general crowd behaviour. These notes were then compiled into a field report to be used in the analysis of the source material.

Source credibility

The major part of the source material is newspaper articles, from Cape Times, but also interviews made with administrators, players, political activists and managers. The newspaper material is in itself not under scrutiny in such a way that we examine the credibility of the facts presented in the used articles. The purpose of using the articles is to establish what discourses that were present in the press during 1990-1995 and 2004. The use of racial slur, politics and economics in close relation to sport articles are the issues that we searched for, not specific facts and dates. One can always argue that newspapers publish articles with an agenda

\(^{37}\) Maties is the nickname of all students at the Stellenbosch University, however it also refers to sports teams that are administered by Stellenbosch University.
and a purpose, which in some cases may prove correct, but at the end of the day it is what the reader actually sees when he or she opens the newspaper. The conveyed discourses via the articles are the main interests. The interviews on the other hand are an entirely different matter altogether. It is important to understand that political activists, in any country, has an agenda and has a need and a purpose to convey their message. Instead of focusing on the message as a truth or a fact we have chosen to use the interviews to shed light on both current and past discourses but also to add life to an investigation conducted on scene. The interviews with administrators used in the thesis, according to us, have less of an agenda, in comparison to political activists, but we can trace a need to portray the situation of their particular sport in a positive fashion. Managers and players, interviews mostly regarding their situation and their team culture, have even less of an agenda to convey but it is important to take in to consideration, the effect time has on memory. The method of analysing newspaper material is not altogether different than using interviews since the major aim is to examine what discourses that where and are present in South Africa.

A problem with using official numbers, documents and figures from both SAFA and SARU is that the figures and numbers are problematic since they are the base for funding from international sports organizations such as IRB and FIFA. It is not necessarily a fact but the reports of the numbers of active players may be ducted with. SARU also had their own set of problems with missing archive material that could have been important for our work but since these archives are not at our disposal they have been unwillingly omitted from our thesis.

The printed material used, e.g. from Nauright, Alegi, Bolsmann, Giliomee, Grundlingh, Odendaal and MacDonald is written by accredited researchers and is, by us, deemed very credible and therefore used to add a foundation to our thesis. Giliomees The
Afrikaners might be just on the verge of being too admiring of the struggling Afrikaner people. The research methods are sound, though, so the claims and interpretations that he makes do have value in them. The book is also a good guidebook into the psyche of the Afrikaner, which will be proven very important later on. A special mention of a frequently cited by Jonathan Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, should be made. Albeit being a very insightful and methodologically sound work, it has not a few passages where the author falls in the same trap as many postcolonial researchers when Jansen broadly generalises the Afrikaner mind, as if every Afrikaner thought exactly the same thing during the Apartheid years, which is a problem with these type of broad generalisations into the mentality of an entire ethnic group. Nevertheless, we have chosen, on good grounds we believe, to include it.

Last, but not least important, there is the matter of the researches, namely us. We have conducted our investigation on site during the time of two months. It is safe to assume that we were affected by the South African society both with what we saw but also from the discussions we participated in. One could argue that these factors makes us bias but on the other hand, when examining discourse, it can also be of great use to be on site, observing and moving physically amidst the source material. It is hard, not to say impossible, to write and examine the discourses in South Africa, from behind a desk in Sweden, not having experienced the culture and the atmosphere.
PART ONE: White fears and black aspirations

By: Robert Gustafsson, Linnaeus University

INTRODUCTION

In 2010 the nation of South Africa hosted its first World Cup in Soccer and during the closing game Nelson Mandela took part, waving amidst a crowd of nearly 85,000 people.\textsuperscript{38} Tragic events for Mandela and his family, a great-granddaughters death, had prevented him from taking part in the opening ceremony of the World Cup.\textsuperscript{39} Even though Mandela missed the amazing opening ceremony due to these personal reasons, he witnessed Spain conquer its first World Cup trophy when defeating the Netherlands, one to nothing, in a not so memorable final.\textsuperscript{40} The World Cup in 2010 was meant to show how far and how much, South Africa had changed since the country’s suspension, from international football, in 1961. The suspension was inflicted upon South Africa due to the country’s refusal to field a team comprised not only of whites. The ban was lifted in 1992 when domestic efforts were already in play to end apartheid. When South Africa applied for the World Cup, the country’s representatives stressed the fact that sports were of great importance since the part they played in opposing the apartheid government up until the 1990s. The fact that South African

foreign politics were greatly influenced by Pan-Africanism\textsuperscript{41}, and interlocked with sports, are often overlooked when analysing the intentions behind applying for hosting the World Cup.\textsuperscript{42} The importance of soccer, and the World Cup, as symbols are made clear by former President Thabo Mbeki, as quoted in \textit{South Africa and the global game: football, apartheid and beyond}:

> The basis of [South Africa’s] bid was a resolve to ensure that the 21\textsuperscript{st} century unfolds as a century of growth and development in Africa … This is not a dream. It is practical policy … the successful hosting of the FIFA World Cup in Africa will provide a powerful, irresistible momentum to African renaissance … We want, on behalf of our continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from the Cape to Cairo – an event that will create social and economic opportunities throughout Africa. We want to ensure that one day, historians will reflect upon the 2010 World Cup as a moment when Africa stood tall and resolutely turned the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict. We want to show that Africa’s time has come.\textsuperscript{43}

Arguments have been made though, that the World Cup as a symbol and the start of something new in South Africa, is a flawed picture. Accusations of corruption and remaining problems in the infrastructure, supposed to be solved for the World Cup, are common topics. The importance of sports in South Africa is a double edged sword, a unifier as well as a hot topic with chance to get the blood boiling when discussing.

The birth of football in South Africa

\textsuperscript{41} Ideology supporting African unity.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p.154.
Soccer migrated from Britain during their imperial expansion in the later parts of the nineteenth century via missionaries, colonists, soldiers and traders. Strong sports traditions had been an integral part of South African society even before the colonial period and social events like weddings and funerals had been surrounded by athletics and other forms of physical manifestation. Dancing, stick fighting and martial arts were the common practiced athletic manifestations prior the colonisation but with the arrival of new people and traditions, change followed. This shows that even before the migration and colonisation, sports was important issue in South African everyday life. After the arrival of Dutch colonists and later British ones, sports from British origin became parts of the South African culture and society. Soccer was both considered a blue-collar sport, despite a colonial origin, and a black sport. Rugby was associated with white power and identity, a middle or upper class sport. Soccer, unlike rugby did not develop an elite amongst the players and followers, but remained a middle-class sport also in South Africa amongst the whites. The followers and players of soccer were white immigrants, Indians and Africans. As a thought, could one deduce that a sport based on class was traded in to a society and there became an issue of race? The blue-collar or middle class white immigrants had more contact with the black and coloured communities. Contact between upper-class whites and Africans was scarce and therefor it is plausible, coupled with the simplicity of playing soccer compared to rugby or cricket. Soccer requires only an open space, players and some sort of ball. The thought of football as a simple, accessible, yet important sport is supported by John Moshoeu, African footballer:

44 The term football will also be used as a substitute for soccer for literary purposes.
45 Alegi , 2010a, p. 8.
You can play anywhere, anytime. You don’t need specific equipment. You can get something round to kick about. For me, football is a poor man’s sport. It has given a lot of people from underprivileged societies a lease of life. It was something that would make us happy. Something where black people would be in a position to win, to conquer. Unlike other things.\textsuperscript{48}

The simplicity of soccer and the possibility to withstand oppression, making sense in an insane world, became one of soccer’s most important functions in the black community.

Mapping the field of play

When mapping the field of research on sports, and soccer in particular, Peter Alegi is one of the most prominent researchers. Alegi asserts, in *Laduma!: soccer, politics, and society in South Africa, from its origins to 2010*, the strong importance of sports in South African black communities. Sports and athletics, as mortar, in the everyday life of black South Africans pre-date the colonization from the Dutch and British. The tradition of athletics in agrarian South Africa did not include the modern sports, but was more of a masculine show of prowess and included stick fighting, races, competitive dancing, e. g. One of the most important parts of a young male South African life was the contest of stick fighting, a demonstration of physical strength and masculinity. Alegi explains that the competitive use and importance, as a socialisation, of these indigenous traditions formed the style of modern sports for black South Africans. Personal style and show of skill, in modern football, is a heritage of agrarian traditional sports from pre-colonial times, according to Alegi.49

Race, identity and gender

Sport was used, after the election in 1948, as means to construct identities within South Africa, keeping ethnic groups apart and sub dividing blacks and coloured in to even more constructed racial groups. The aim for this racial division was to keep people apart, thus preventing them from uniting against the white minority. As opposed to the view of sports as a unifier, it was also a definer of which class and race different people belonged to.50 Furthermore the arena of traditional sports was largely dominated by men, not as an exclusive though. Even though the women were

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49 Alegi, 2010a, pp. 8-9.
50 Anderson, Bielert and Jones, 2004, p. 52.
somewhat present, it was mostly as spectators or performing tasks around the events.\textsuperscript{51} John Nauright explains that, during the apartheid years the women, both black and white, were at a clear disadvantage compared to men. South African, as well as European, societies are patriarchal and there were rules for women that prevented them, for example, from working once married (white women) or carrying a pass allowing them to be in an urban, white community (black women). After discussing the topic, when in South Africa, of married women working I was actually told that this was not a solid fact. The rules were such but the actual truth was that married women sometimes worked, against the rules.

The few women, who were seen in media, as athletes, were almost exclusively white. In black communities many women were employed, as housekeepers, or raising families which limited their possibilities of performing sports. Netball, although, is a popular leisure activity among the black women that have the opportunity to participate. Nauright concludes that South Africa has been segregated in the workplaces and in leisure activities, not only by race, but also by gender.\textsuperscript{52} Argument regarding women’s soccer is made although, voiced by researcher Cynthia Pelak. According to Pelak, from 1970s women’s soccer was a sport dominated by white Europeans, from the middle-class, but as the years passed the domination of colour has shifted. During the apartheid years, racial problems were present, but not a big problem since the sport in itself was quite small and did not get much attention. During the early 1990s, when apartheid was being abandoned, many black women began playing soccer and more matches were played in black townships than before. This was an important issue since white women rarely travelled to these locations, thus the numbers of white women in soccer were

\textsuperscript{51} Alegi, Peter, 2010a, pp. 8.
\textsuperscript{52} Nauright., 2010, pp. 19-20.
beginning to drop. This was not perceived as a problem due to the fact that white women had the economic possibilities to participate if they wanted and that the white part of the population only represented about 12% of the total.\textsuperscript{53} The case of racial thoughts was made, as quoted by Cynthia Pelak, by a national player concerning the drop of white women from soccer:

There are the odd few White players playing football, but many are going to other sports like basketball. And ah, I'm not trying to be funny, but lots of the White players don't have the natural talent the Black players have. I suppose they've [Whites] come to realize that, 'hey, I'm not going to make it in this sport anymore/ And you get the Black players - they've got fantastic talent. ... Like our national coach always said, the Blacks [Africans] might have the natural talent, but the Coloureds play from their hearts. And that's what we need, to put the two together.\textsuperscript{54}

One could argue with this quote since there in fact are many great white players, as well as black, in the world of football. The quote is important although, when analysing the presence of a racial discourse amongst the performers, male and female, of sports in South Africa. A discrepancy is also present between the arguments made by Pelak and Nauright, concerning women’s soccer. Alegi although deduces, his assumption based on an article in \textit{Bantu World}, regarding the importance of football as a common meeting ground in the communities, that women had begun taking up sports at missionaries schools. His assumption is based on the fact that the writer of the article was a woman, forming her thoughts on sports. Netball, basketball, field hockey


\textsuperscript{54} Pelak, 2006, p. 377.
and tennis are the sports mentioned in the article though, not football. Alegi conclude that women’s sport in South Africa is a field in need of more research.\textsuperscript{55}

An economic twist

Soccer became a multi-million pound industry during the 1990s and onwards. The money from TV broadcasting deals in England and the Premier League set the pace for economic evolution in other leagues in France, Italy, Spain and Germany. From being a non-profit organisation, FIFA rose to majestic status with filled money coffers. For example, the World Cup broadcasting rights income rose from 84 million pounds in 1998 to an incredible 1.16 billion pounds in 2002. Alegi claims that African soccer was no exception although the economic growth was on a much smaller scale. Alegi also addresses the issue of a mainly European based fandom in Africa where the soccer fans support and watches European teams rather than the local soccer teams. South Africa is mentioned having a large fan base supporting teams based on locality, fans of Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates mentioned in particular.\textsuperscript{56} In South Africa the inequality of allocated funds are seen also amongst the teams of the Premier Soccer League since the clubs experiencing the highest economic support are from the richest province. Orlando Pirates, Kaizer Chiefs and Mahmelodi Sundowns have the highest income from TV revenue and marketing deals but also drawing the largest crowds at their games. Teams from other provinces than Gauteng do not enjoy such an economic possibility as these teams, forming an unequal situation also amongst the teams of the higher leagues.\textsuperscript{57} An apparent problem is revealed by Darby and Solberg, that the South African Football Association is tasked with talent

\textsuperscript{55} Alegi, 2010a, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{56} Alegi, 2010b, pp. 104-108.
\textsuperscript{57} Alegi, 2010b, pp. 111-112.
identification, solving infrastructure problems, training facilities and allocating funds for teams and lower leagues. In itself that poses no problem but the governing body of the Premier Soccer League commands a massive amount of money from TV rights and marketing deals, working almost autonomous with small coordination with SAFA. The economic aspect is that the money stays in the PSL and SAFA has huge difficulties holding their wows of having a custodian role in South African football, supporting smaller leagues and teams.\textsuperscript{58} South Africa being one of the world’s most unequal countries in economic terms\textsuperscript{59} had much hopes prior to the FIFA World Cup in 2010. Trickle down promises were made and grass root level soccer teams, traders and local establishments were expected to profit from the cup. Bond and Cottle evaluated the outcome of the promises and asserted that many of these hopes were left in the dust. Grass root soccer was left with crumbs and many street vendors lost their livelihood when they were banned from the areas around the stadiums. The economic ramifications from the World Cup could be seen in the construction sector where wage gaps between CEOs and worker rose, contributing to an amounting inequality in the society.\textsuperscript{60} The total economic gain was marginal, with the GDP not rising with more than 0.3 to 0.5 per cent, one tenth of the predicted figure.\textsuperscript{61}

Sport with political agendas in the mix

Research shows an apparent intertwining of politics and sports in South Africa. The importance of the sports ban for the abolishment of apartheid is discussed by Alegi in \textit{Laduma!}:

\textsuperscript{60} Cottle, Eddie (red.), \textit{South Africa’s World Cup: a legacy for whom?}, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Scottsville, 2011, pp. 39-71.
\textsuperscript{61} Alegi, Peter. & Bolsmann, Chris. (red.), \textit{Africa’s World Cup: critical reflections on play, patriotism, spectatorship, and space}, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2013, p. 12.
soccer, politics, and society in South Africa, from its origins to 2010. Alegi explains that when cracks began to appear in the apartheid system during the 1980s the National Soccer League claimed it would not support re-admission to FIFA unless a single, non-racial body was formed in South African football. This statement was applauded by the African National Congress. Even though the unification process was not totally unproblematic, soccer achieved it among the first and this, according to Alegi was an important symbol since “soccer seemed to embody the boundless potential of a liberated and united South Africa ahead of the historic vote of April 1994 that buried apartheid once and for all.”

62 Alegi, 2010a, pp. 146-150.
ANALYSIS
*This chapter analyses the gathered empirical data.*

Colour in South African soccer

Articles and discussions with pure racial context, in the source material, are scarce but some examples are found where the discussion in very open and not hidden behind rhetoric. An example of an aggressive and open approach is that of an article published in *Cape Times* but with the origin in *the Sowetan*, a primarily black newspaper. Special columns, in form of debate articles, were published in *Cape Times* up to the free election and these columns were Nationalist’s Viewpoint and From the Black Press or Black Viewpoint. This particular article was published in *Cape Times* on the 4th of January 1990 which puts it before the free election and in the years where Apartheid were about to be disbanded. The subject and concern that was expressed in the article was that of a sale of Arcadia Football club. The article explains that the sale of Arcadia is an example of the depth that South Africa has sunk to and continues:

> It also proves that, no matter what is said to foreign diplomats and officials, the colour of one’s skin – or in Arcadia’s case, of those one mixes with – will ultimately decide one’s fate. 63

The statement that *the Sowetan* made in this initial sentence was that the picture that was given to the rest of the world in the early 1990s was somewhat constructed and distorted to fit the agenda of the rulers of South Africa. *The Sowetan*, quoted in *Cape Times*, continued to explain that the sale of Arcadia was due to the fact that the club did not have an own home field.

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After all, the main reason why this highly consistent professional soccer team is being sold is that it does not have a home venue in Pretoria – all because it chose to play a “black sport”. But how can this happen in a country that boasts some of the finest sporting venues in the world?\footnote{Cape Times, January 4th, 1990, p. 6.}

It is important to consider the fact that rugby fields were subvention from the government during the days of the Apartheid system and that few soccer clubs owned their own venues. One could therefore discuss if the article in the Sowetan, as quoted in Cape Times, was written to prove a specific point, an underdog and a racial issue, rather than an economic. The article continues to explain that the reason for the unavailability of a venue were that “the City Fathers feared an influx of blacks into its lilywhite areas”.\footnote{Cape Times, January 4th, 1990, p. 6.} The article also explains that the Bloemfontain Celtics experienced the same problem and that the reasons for the unavailability of the venue often were that the local rugby team were in practice or that the venue prepared for some high profile event. It is written in plain text that these reasons were more of an excuse rather than the major reason for the unavailability of the venue which the Sowetan explained with these words:

But we suspect at the heart of the matter was, again, too many noisy blacks. While some whites may still dream of a snow-white South Africa with blacks coming in handy as cheap labour (only when they are needed), the reality is that blacks have always been, and still are, here to stay.\footnote{Cape Times, January 4th, 1990, p. 6.} 

The Sowetan, as quoted in Cape Times, concluded the debate article with the claim that places like Pretoria and Boksburg

\footnote{Cape Times, January 4th, 1990, p. 6.}
would be better of realizing the fact the blacks were in South Africa to stay. The article above is a clear example of a text written with racial context and as a debate article with the aim to prove a point, that the black sport, in this case soccer, in South Africa had a far worse situation than the white counterpart. According to *the Sowetan*, the source of venue problem was a racial issue and that in turn generated an economic and a practical problem for the club of Arcadia which made the management untenable. The venue problem still exists today in South Africa and local football associations and clubs experience the problem of lack of funding, according to an interview with a sports administrator and political activist from Eastern Cape. The interviewee pointed to the fact that the problem, in present time, is due to corruption and that local and community sport are at the end of the priority list when dispatching funds, rather than an issue of race.

In the source material, articles which do not directly address racial issues but can be considered racial when put in to context are more common.

A reader of *Cape Times* expressed frustration over what he perceived as a problem, that rugby was feminized just like soccer was. The solution, according to the reader, were to use change the rules and ban certain forms of celebration. The reader was published in *Cape Times* with these words:

I think it is time action was taken against kissing and cuddling in our rugby and cricket, such as is so prevalent among association footballers. The very game of football excuses this type of feminine behaviour, but to see this

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68 Sports administrator 1, [interview 2013-04-12]
on the rugby field or the cricket pitch brings these fine sports into disrepute.  

The expressions and fears of this particular reader was conveyed to the public in 1991 when discussion regarding apartheid still was a hot topic among the people of South Africa. One can argue that the discussion was more concerning feminization of rugby and cricket rather than that of race. On the other hand soccer was, and still is, closely and intimately connected with the black community, the black national identity and resistance, in South Africa which therefore makes it possible to deduce that the reader had a genuine fear of change in a white sport such as rugby. In this context it is also of importance to know that the Cape Times mainly is read by white or coloured people and that black readers, even in the present day, are a minority. Rugby was considered the most masculine of games and had been adapted to be the symbol of the Afrikaner people and a feminization, as seen above, and change of that sport as a symbol, for example abandoning the Springbok, was a hot topic in the South African press on various occasions.

The place where white South Africans appeared most secure were locked together behind their security gates and walls, and in sporting arenas where the ‘crowd’ was white. Rugby was an important element of this culture throughout the apartheid period, evidenced in the white crowd expressions at rugby matches when South Africa was readmitted to world rugby after several years in isolation.

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70 Nauright, 2010, p. 78.
73 Nauright, 2010, p. 81.
The quote above, from Naurights *Long run to freedom*, explains the element of rugby and the importance of the sport as a symbol. It is also important to remember that in 1991, the apartheid system was still somewhat a part of everyday life for many South Africans.

A parallel (and more potent) strategy for justifying racial separation was by reproducing apartheid discourses of racial threat. Under apartheid rule, many of the regime’s most oppressive measures were justified by cataclysmic discourses, such as referring to blacks as Die Swart Gevaar (‘The Black Threat’) or describing the strategy of the anti-apartheid resistance movement as ‘the total onslaught’.74

This paragraph points out a discourse regarding black a black threat which is an important factor to take in to consideration when analysing a possible fear of change and the unknown and hard to comprehend black culture.

When viewing the two first articles, in light of Naurights quote, it is plausible to see the connection as one, that from the Sowetan, is pressing for change and the latter, from Cape Times, expresses a desire for things to stay as they were in the old South Africa.

The first article, regarding the sale of Arcadia Football Club, was not a stand-alone event during the 1990s and the Mamelodi Sundowns were up for sale in the first month of 1990. According to owner Abe Krok, the sale had been forced when the fans favoured a black coach, Stanley Tshabalala over a white coach, Jeff Butler. In this particular article reference were made to a disruptive element within the club and it’s supporters that forced Krok to put the club up for sale. The owner explained that if the sale was not made, the club president would continue to run the club but “they will, in future, under no circumstance tolerate the

sort of intimidation and agitation that has been the order of the
day recently.”75 Another example from 1990 was the report of a
match that was forced to be abandoned due to problems on the
pitch but also because of the fading light in the evening. The
articles headline, Exciting showdown end on sour note, told the
tale of the abandoned match but the text that followed told little of
the reasons.

As neither side could score in regulation time, the match
entered extra time. At a crucial stage – and with both
teams showing signs of desperation – referee Jabu
Vilakazi lost control and hell almost broke loose when
the players took advantage.76

The report on this particular match was the chosen one to
highlight from a total of six games that was played in Western
Cape Soccer Association Punch knock-out second round. The
outcomes of the five other games were briefly reported at the end
of the article and not subject to any deeper review thus placing the
match with the more spectacular and volatile finish in focus.

Further reports on violence within soccer was in a series of
articles concerning a derby match between Orlando Pirates and
Kaizer Chiefs where parts of the spectators were unhappy with the
referee’s decision. Police officer Mostert tells the grim tale in
_Cape Times_:

> “Bottle-throwing began and then thousands of people
> stampeded for the gates …many were crushed in the
> squeeze to get there,” Colonel Mostert said. Two of the
> 40 dead were children.  /../ Colonel Mostert could not
> say how many died in the fighting before the stampede."77

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75 _Cape Times_, January 13th, 1990, p. 16.
76 _Cape Times_, May 16th, 1990, p. 34.
The article continued to explain that Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs have a large black fan-base in the townships around Johannesburg and that they were fierce rivals that clashed on occasion but that deaths were rare.\textsuperscript{78} It was not the first time fans of the two teams locked horns and fought. An incident on 23 March 1985 is one of the most infamous and formative events when a match official was stabbed on nationwide television during a match between the rival teams.\textsuperscript{79} To understand how much that was at stake for players and fans one should know that the players had the same commitment as soldiers fighting for their country. It was not uncommon for players from Orlando Pirates to weep if losing a match. Much pride was invested in the matches, particularly the derby matches.\textsuperscript{80} In the same article, Deputy President Nelson Mandela of the ANC made the following statement:

\begin{quote}
“Every loss of life is deeply mourned, for each one of you is precious and needed to build the free South Africa in the making. This tragedy should bring us closer together in our shared grief.”\textsuperscript{81}
\end{quote}

No statement was made by the National Party in \textit{Cape Times} regarding the soccer tragedy at Orkney stadium. The reports on this particular tragedy were extensive and further example of reports could be read in other articles in \textit{Cape Times} were the issue of who was to blame for the soccer tragedy was examined. Initially the fans of Orlando Pirates were under fire for starting the brawl, but a conclusion was later made that insufficient security was to blame for the incident.\textsuperscript{82} Finally the rivaling soccer clubs joined forces to start a disaster fund for those affected by the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[78] Ibid.
\item[79] Alegi, 2010a, p. 147.
\item[82] \textit{Cape Times}, January 15th, 1991, p. 3.
\end{footnotes}
tragedy. In the article reporting on the disaster fund, the NP made a statement of sympathy, four days after the initial article was published in *Cape Times*, for those who lost people in the tragedy. The incident at Orkney stadium were also in reference in another article regarding violence on a soccer match taking place less than 30 days after the previous tragedy. The referee made a decision that was not appreciated by the fans and that resulted in a punch in the face. The article made no sort of racial accusations or used strong language concerning soccer fans, it rather just reported the violent incident. The articles analysed above are the last ones that were of the negative kind were racial issues and violence were present until 1994.

During the years after 1991, the racial discourse was still present but it showed its face in another way than before. Since 1976 and the ban from international soccer, South Africa had not participated in neither friendlies nor competition but as the winds of change swept across the country, the opinions shifted. South Africa’s previous ban from international soccer was because of the apartheid policies and failure to field a multiracial team. An article on the discussing a friendly game against a team from the newly founded Premier League had an interesting message:

“The game will be an attractive curtain-raiser to their first season,” Smith was quoted as saying. According to the Independent, South Africa would field an all-black team against the Premier League team. “The only holdup is the absence of anyone in the Premier League who is in position to make a firm decision,” Smith was quoted as saying.

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84 *Cape Times*, February 4th, 1991, p. 16.
The article indicates that race was still an important issue in media and not altogether unproblematic. One could argue that an all-black team is not multiracial and that such a team is not representative for the population of South Africa. Furthermore, the problematic issue is also made visible by the holdup when waiting for permission from the Premier League.

As written above, violence amongst soccer fans had been missing between up until 1994 when it showed its ugly face again, once more during a game between Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs. This time the brawl, once again, had its origin in a call from the referee that was not appreciated by the crowd. Parts of the crowd entered the soccer field, unhindered by security, started to fight and set advertisement signs on fire. South African Football Association executive President, Solomon Morewa, was quoted in *Cape Times*:

> This is a sad and sordid day for South African football. We were hoping to bid for the 2006 World Cup, but those chances have been blown sky high because of the disgraceful behaviour of those supporters.\(^{86}\)

This incident sparked discussion and the following day it could be read in *Cape Times* that “soccer spectators are notoriously volatile and a strong and firm police and security presence is always essential”.\(^{87}\) The stereotypes that existed in the world of sport in South Africa in the early 1990s, and somewhat exists today, are important to take in to consideration when analysing the articles above. According to the apartheid system whites were citizens and blacks were non-citizens and were differentiated by culture and economics.\(^{88}\) As written previously, soccer was considered a black sport in general, and therefore it is of interest to understand

\(^{86}\) *Cape Times*, May 23rd, 1994, p. 1.
\(^{87}\) *Cape Times*, May 24th, 1994, p. 8.
\(^{88}\) MacDonald, 2006, p. 177.
the possible reception in the white community when reading about soccer violence among the fans and deaths of people during games. In comparison, an incident during a Currie Cup game, with bottles thrown in on the pitch, made Springbok rugby captain Naas Botha express his frustration. He made a remark regarding the incorrect behaviour of the supporters and said that “en dit was wigal not mense”\(^89\), meaning it was actually white people. That particular remark sparked protests since it was interpreted that black people often had that behaviour and that Botha expressed his surprise in a condescending way towards black people.

The purpose of apartheid was to keep different races apart and the white on top and with that in mind, one cannot help to ponder how the white population perceived soccer games that got out of hand. On the other hand, Springboks are sometimes a distant phenomenon among some coloured and black that favours the All-blacks from New Zealand instead of the South African national team. An interviewee took his opinions on rugby a step further, claiming he could not enjoy rugby because he couldn’t “support institutionalized white racism”\(^90\).

Of all examined newspapers and indexed articles (351), only six articles (6) were indexed as having gender as a primary or secondary issue. Only one addresses and comments a non-traditional women’s sport such as soccer. The one article focusing on a women’s team sport, from 1995, describes a win for the South African national soccer women’s team against Angola.\(^91\)

According to Cynthia Pelak women’s soccer was on the verge of becoming a black sport during the 1990s and white women were starting to abandon the sport because so many matches were played in townships.\(^92\) This coupled with the fact that the sport, even when having more white women involved, was quite small,

\(^{89}\) *Cape Times*, June 10th 1991, p. 21.
\(^{90}\) Political activist, [interview 2013-04-12].
\(^{91}\) *Cape Times*, January 9th, 1995, p. 17.
may have contributed to the minimum of exposure in media. Since women’s sport in general had little exposure in the examined media between 1990 and 1995, argument can be made that neither race nor tradition were the issue rather than South Africa being a patriarchal society that did not premier women in media and sport. When asking the question regarding women’s sports, field hockey in particular and media exposure the following answer was given:

There has only recently been press coverage on television since May 2012, before then unless the sponsor bought the time or space there was nothing. Press coverage of hockey is virtually none existent, and women sport coverage in general is very poor with very few articles making the print media. I don’t see this changing in the future due to competition from rugby, football and cricket.93

The answer support the assumption that women’s sports, in South Africa, in general lack exposure in media and that it is not a racial, but rather a financial and possibly a patriarchal issue. In 2010, women comprise less than 20 per cent of the news reports in general, in South Africa.94

During an interview on the topic of sports and soccer, particularly in the black communities95, it was explained that only two women’s teams existed, in club competition, in comparison to 28 men’s teams in the region.96 When asking about the rise of soccer amongst black women in South Africa we were told that too much focus was placed on quantity rather than quality and that soccer

95 Location undisclosed in order to protect identity.
96 Sports administrator, [interview 2013-04-12].
was mainly a sport for men, South Africa being a very patriarchal country. It is supported by Nauright that problems in infrastructure and facilities, have prevented many women in South Africa to participate in sporting activities, mainly among the black women. Nauright also supports the assumption that very little media coverage and interest is shown for women’s sports, regardless of race, from journalists and academics.

As written previously, sport was traditionally means for portraying masculinity for young men and the women taking a more supportive role. This could be one of the traditional reasons for the more focus on masculine values within sports, when discussing soccer these values would be skill and flair, and on male sports in general. Regarding masculinity and femininity a netball coach explained:

I can’t really think if, I think most of the sports these days, they’re basically, I mean the women are playing rugby so I don’t think you have.. you will still think of it as a typical women’s sport but then you will see the men is actually doing it as well so from the top of my head I can’t think of one sport right now that is just women.

This would mean that even though men are now playing netball, traditionally considered a women’s sport, the sport is still thought of as women’s sport and therefor a feminine one. In the same context it is of interest to consider that the coach also expressed that the women’s now are playing rugby, thus implying the oddness of that phenomenon and in that light also showing that rugby would be a masculine and not a traditional women’s sport. Soccer was not mentioned as neither a women’s sport nor a particularly masculine sport in this interview.

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97 Political activist, [interview 2013-04-12].
99 Netball coach, [interview 2013-05-08].
The politics of economics

As illustrated in the article concerning the sale of Arcadia Football Club, an interpretation of the sale was made from a racial point of view by the Sowetan. The sale can although be from economic reasons such as rent and other events occupying the venue needed for the Arcadia’s games. The access to stadiums and sports fields in general is a problem in South Africa which was shown in a survey from 1977, showing that there was one soccer stadium for 9 212 Coloureds, one for 7 650 Indians, one for 12 540 blacks (in white areas) and one for 24 200 blacks in Bantustans. Changes have been made after the time of the survey, for example the new stadiums such as Greenpoint Stadium, in the wake of the 2010 World Cup in soccer. There is no complete survey available and up to date but it is safe to assume that the inequalities concerning sports facilities have not been totally rectified. This is supported, and still discussed as a topic when talking about the old days and comparing the New South Africa with the past, in an interview with a soccer coach.

In some cases now they are related to facilities. We don’t have proper, proper playing grounds. For instance here, it is better for us, we use Rhodes university fields because the municipality fields, you will find that there are two fields and there’s 28 teams, there’s ten teams for under 17s, there’s under 15s fourteen teams, there’s under 13s about seventeen teams, there’s schools then it’s too much.  

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102 Soccer coach, [interview 2013-04-19]
This answer on the question if stories from the old days were still being retold within his team culture, the first thought went to that of practical problems regarding playing fields. The interviewee elaborated and pointed to the fact that not much had changed for the grass root teams, on practical issues, since the fall of apartheid.

According to Alegi, the growth of soccer in South Africa was an extraordinary phenomenon since it had to expand under tough economic and practical conditions. Alegi also addresses the venue and training ground problem and describes that the official African population of 44 300, in Cape Town, had access to 30 acres of playing field rather than 220 acres that was the recommended figure. These numbers were, according to Alegi, representative for the nation as a whole. Furthermore, there were only six playable fields in Durban, with a population of 150 000 Africans. These numbers used by Alegi were from the 1950s.¹⁰³

Critical voices were raised before the 2010 World Cup and claimed that the cost for the large stadiums, such as Greenpoint in Cape Town, was diverted from important social functions such as housing, sanitation and water. Since these basic necessities received lesser funding due to the expenditure for large stadiums, such as Moses Mabhida stadium in Durban (approx. R2.6 billion),¹⁰⁴ sports fields for the underprivileged were not prioritized. The problem with venues and stadiums was a question that was discussed and debated, in the printed media, before the international acceptance. Discussions of hosting a World Cup in soccer were distant and focus was on other issues. After a visit from Peter Hain, a British politician and anti-apartheid activist, the following could be read in Cape Times:

¹⁰³ Alegi, 2010a, p. 89.  
During the visit he did what surely most of his critics would not bother with when he spoke to those who have suffered deprivation from the wholly inadequate facilities in the black areas. A quick comparison of the most mediocre of white-run facilities to the best in black areas would shock those who have been conditioned to believe that equal facilities exist and that sport has been normalised.  

This was printed in 1990, 13 years after the survey describing the problem with stadiums and sports facilities, showing that little changed during those years and that the problem also included how the existing facilities were constructed and maintained. Mr Hain was also very critical regarding team selections and was of the opinion that nothing had changed in the aspect that the national teams were still “lily-white”. The venue problem was shown in an article, published the same year, in Cape Times where an argument was of the more angry kind. The National Soccer League had applied permission to use Newlands, a traditional rugby ground, for a soccer match. The request was turned down by Western Province Rugby Union President, Jan Pickard. The reason given was that the weather in southern South Africa was problematic when the grass on Newlands had to be cut short in order to play a soccer match. National Soccer Leagues Abdul Bhamjee claimed that the reason for the negative answer was that Pickard was a racist and that the match would be played at another rugby stadium. Pickard said that he “was on the committee that recommended to the government to scrap the pass laws and Mixed Marriage Acts” which he claimed showed that he had made more for bringing blacks and whites together than Mr Bhamjee had. Their heated public discussion in the press can

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107 Cape Times, February 17th 1990, p. 5.
be interpreted in a number of ways but the only truly valid one is that it showed how problematic it was to organize soccer matches that drew larger audiences. Mr Bhamjee’s use of the racist claim and the real purpose for the unwillingness from the WPRU to let a soccer game be played at Newlands is up for debate, but the article shows the desperation and in which manner discussions were held in 1990s. Both these articles contain elements of race but also in relation to economical and practical issues with soccer and rugby.

The issue with lack of playing fields was also debated in relation to school sports in an article, also from 1990, that revealed that many blacks schools in Western Cape were ineptly equipped for sports activities. Amongst the 56 black high and primary schools that existed in the Western Cape region, 29 did not have grass playing fields. Schools were allowed to ask for money from the Ministry of Education for basic playing facilities but the schools then had to be approved funding. If funds were approved, it was only for the basic facilities and the schools themselves had to pay for additional equipment and maintenance of the facilities which could be a huge financial problem. The discussion on economics was a hot potato since change occurred during the early 1990s that was perceived as a massive decision by the press:

For 42 years South Africans have paid through the nose for apartheid. Estimates of the cost of duplication, triplication and even multiplication of services have ranged in the high billions of rands. It was a policy pursued in the knowledge it was draining state coffers, with politicians in power explaining it was better to be “poor but white”.  

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It is important to remember the above since it must have had a massive effect on both the economics of the country but also on the possibilities of building new sport venues since they had to be segregated or, in some cases, duplicated. The discussion in itself shows that the thought of abolishing apartheid had seeped into the press and probably also to the public. The economic and practical situation was perceived as untenable and draining the country’s economy. Figures before the abolishment of apartheid suggested that white children received 240 times more funding, for sport activities, than black children.\footnote{Tatz, 1983, p. 407.}

During an interview with a sports administrator it was indicated that SAFA, South African Football Association, did not connect with the School Football Association and no co-operation was present.\footnote{Sports administrator 1 [interview 2013-04-12]} Another sports administrator elaborated on the topic, also during an interview, claiming that the administration at top level was not all that it should be. The interviewee suggested that the administration in, for example, rugby had a more sound and working organization and that soccer administrators sometimes showed a lack of interest in learning from other sport codes.\footnote{Sports administrator 2, [interview 2013-05-06]}

Even though these interviews concern the modern day, it shows that little has changed and it is highly improbable that the situation with organization and administration was better during the 1990s, rather the opposite. A further problem that was neither discussed nor present in the press during the 1990s is one that has emerged during the later years, post-apartheid and post FIFA World Cup.

Now everyone wants something. Perception of entitlement can be problematic when everyone wants to be someone and get something for playing/…/ everyone.
is expecting to be stars. They won’t appear [at practice or games] without getting boots and transportation.\textsuperscript{113}

This shows a mind shift, mainly in the discussed black community, which was not present before the FIFA World Cup and has become a problem for administrators and coaches. This new problem was not discussed in the press and it is difficult to find the origin for the change in the minds of the participants of soccer. Discussions can be made on how the influence from the outside world, post-apartheid, may have been an important factor for this shift of mind set. The economic diversion although persists and as illustrated below, political power may have dispersed but economic is still present:

In South Africa, this privilege manifested itself in terms of both political power and economic advantage, which was reserved for white South Africans. While political power is no longer the privilege of white South Africans, economic privilege continues.\textsuperscript{114}

When the FIFA World Cup was awarded to South Africa, former president Thabo Mbeki spoke of both race and economics, showing that the two issues are intimately correlated, at least in the discourse and in the minds of the people:

“I believe this event will also encourage the eradication of the division in SA society that we inherited from a racial past. You could see the excitement here when the announcement was made, and that was a common reaction, right across the colour line…”\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{113} Political activist, [interview 2013-04-12]
\textsuperscript{114} Verway, Cirnel & Quayle, Michael, 2012, pp. 551-575.
\textsuperscript{115} Cape Times, May 7th 2004, p.1.
The article also indicates that the racial economic division was still present in 2004 and that the matter was being addressed as being a potential change if hosting a successful World Cup. Mbeki continued describing a South Africa where the event was almost as popular in the white population as in the black and coloured and the World Cup as an event also could bring the different groups within the country closer. Mbeki stressed the importance of a successful World Cup so that the rest of the world could not shrug its shoulders and saying that the effort was good but that it had been better in a different country.

Apart from the potential economic benefits of staging the event, Mbeki said it was important that SA was portrayed as a place to invest. “A successful hosting would communicate a message to all Africans that we are as good as any other country or people in the world…”

The above quoted final lines of the article, from Cape Times, illustrates the importance of the FIFA World Cup, both in hearts and minds but also as a beacon of hope for the African continent as a whole. The intertwining of economics, race and global politics is apparent in the statement of Thabo Mbeki. The race issue in the article is more of the positive kind, the country knowing about the internal problems but showing a will to change the then current situation. An editorial in Cape Times describes the possible economic changes:

There will be immediate spin-offs such as an increased interest in the country, both by tourists and by investors (who will hopefully be tempted by the faith shown in this country by Fifa’s notoriously conservative executive).

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The truth, in fact, was not a jubilant a story and the numbers of economic gain was not as good as initially expected and discussed in the press. Alegi and Bolsmann compare the 2006 World Cup in Germany with the one in South Africa and they differ on one key aspect. In Germany, private investors paid for stadium costs up to 60 per cent, but in South Africa, the government paid for almost the total costs for stadiums, infrastructure, media facilities and security arrangements. Even though the World Cup increased the sales numbers for shopping malls, hotels and construction companies, the total Gross Domestic Product did in fact not increase more than 0.3 to 0.5 per cent. This amounted to one-tenth of the estimate made initially by government sources. This could have been due to the low arrival of foreign nationals, half of what was expected, with 250 000 arrivals instead of 500 000.\textsuperscript{118}

Soccer, politics or a torrid mix?

In South Africa, a close relation between sports and politics is a known fact and in the early 1990s protests against apartheid were organized around stadiums and soccer matches. The United Democratic Front, UDF, and Black Consciousness Movement used soccer and events related to the sport to spread their message during the 1970s and 1980s. The sport events were excellent chances of evading police control when conveying a message and recruiting people.\textsuperscript{119} A news article in \textit{Cape Times} during 1990 illustrates that sport venues were often used as a base for protest and marches.

\begin{quote}
Thousands of Peninsula pupils sporting ANC colours yesterday attended a “victory rally” in Athlone’s Vygieskraal Stadium to celebrate the unbanning of the ANC and pledge their support to the organization./…/

after the rally, the pupils marched from the stadium down
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118} Alegi, Peter. & Bolsmann, Chris, 2013, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{119} Nauright, 2010, pp. 121-122.
Klipfontein road to Heideveld railway station and dispersed without incident.\textsuperscript{120}

This particular match had more the art of a celebration rather than a political protest, them being more common before the 1990s. The strong link between the soccer supporters, the colour of their skin and their political allegiance were not hidden in the following article, published after a very special event for the black South Africa.

A soccer match between top national teams, Jomo Comos and Amarulu, had to be abandoned at Edendale 20 minutes before the end of play yesterday when thousands of chanting people with ANC flags invaded the pitch. As the news spread that Mr Nelson Mandela was free, everyday life came to a standstill\textsuperscript{121}

During this abandoned match, no reports of soccer violence were made despite the fact that supporters were mobile and took to the pitch it was more of a celebratory form in contrast to the violent manifestations that occurred during a few other matches during the 1990s.\textsuperscript{122}

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela held his first public speech at Soccer City stadium in Johannesburg, after his release from captivity, addressing a 45 000 strong crowd. The issue was that ANC held talks with the NP over group rights. The talks between the government and the ANC were a hot topic and considered treasonable to some in the black community.\textsuperscript{123} The choice of a soccer stadium can be interpreted as a symbolic act since the majority of the crowd most probably consisted of black

\textsuperscript{120}Cape Times, February 9th 1990, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{121}Cape Times, February 12th 1990, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{123}Cape Times, May 7th 1990, p. 5.
and coloured people. A more pragmatic assumption may be that The Soccer City stadium could have been the only available venue that could support such a massive crowd. When put in to context, it is although plausible to assume that the ANCs tradition to use soccer stadium and events played an important part in the choice to use the soccer stadium rather than Ellis Park. On the other hand, Mandela addressed a large crowd at a soccer game between South Africa and Zambia, played at Ellis Park in 1994.\textsuperscript{124}

As a side note, Soccer City Stadium was used for the opening game in the 2010 World Cup of soccer.\textsuperscript{125} The importance of soccer as a symbol for the black people in South Africa was voiced during an interview with a political activist:

\begin{quotation}
Development of soccer is very much the story of the working class, hardworking and exploited and also as a way of forgetting the hardships of everyday life. Soccer was a cornerstone of the black community and it was accessible to all.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quotation}

When contextualising the use of different stadiums it is important to understand what the political activist stresses, that soccer was such an important part of the community and therefore both the use of venues as a meeting ground for politics and the symbolic use of soccer games and venues, by Mandela after his release, are probable to not be a coincidence but rather a planned approach. The ANCs use of sporting venues and sport as a political tool did not go unnoticed and the NP issued a statement that “it was high time that the ANC stopped interfering in the cultural and sporting activities in the country”.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{124} Cape Times, May 10th 1994, p. 1; Alegi, 2010a, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{126} Political activist, [interview 2013-04-12].
\textsuperscript{127} Cape Times, June 23rd 1993, p. 5.
An article concerning more sinister elements, and not that positive for Mandela and his family, was published by Cape Times may 1991, amidst articles on international acceptance and unification in sports.

The reign of terror over Soweto by the Mandela United Football Club began in 1986, soon after Mrs Mandela’s return to the township from eight years in exile in Brandfort.\(^{128}\)

The article continued to describe thuggish behaviour from Mandela United FC members, keeping an iron grip on Soweto and punishing people they deemed as traitors in a severe manner. An affiliation with the ANC was also described in the article:

Other recorded incidents included throwing grenades into a shebeen [illegal bar], shootings, blowing up houses and after one kidnap, carving “viva ANC” into the flesh of two teenagers and pouring battery acid on their wounds.\(^{129}\)

The article expressed frustration over the fact the Mrs Mandela never apologized in public after the horrible events that were described and ended more or less with the football club being chased from Soweto and their headquarter burned to the ground. Despite that ANC was mentioned in the article, no discussion was made on in what way Mandela United FC was affiliated with the ANC or if they simply used political preferences to justify brutality.\(^{130}\) Despite the simple fact that Mandela FC never played a single soccer match, it can be argued that the affiliation with ANC and the use of the term Football Club, the article and the events in themselves puts both the ANC and the sport of soccer in

\(^{128}\) *Cape Times*, May 14th 1991, p. 6.
\(^{129}\) *Cape Times*, May 14th 1991, p. 6.
\(^{130}\) *Cape Times*, May 14th 1991, p. 6.
a negative focus during those formative times, with international acceptance within sports and free elections around the corner. During the apartheid years, no specific law forbade mixed race sport. It was rather in such a way that general apartheid laws restricted the possibility and made it almost impossible in practice to perform race mixed sport activities. When calls for boycotts and sanctions against South Africa was voiced and taken during 1950s and onwards, the sports were also affected. The sanctions against South Africa hit hard against sportsmen that did not have a chance for international competition and it is in this relation sports and politics can be clearly seen. Articles regarding international acceptance are common for the three major sports, cricket, rugby and soccer, during the early 1990s. Cricket was the first sport to achieve unity and therefor set the example for the other major sports in South Africa. Cricket achieved unity during 1991 and identified important parts in gaining international acceptance:

The newspaper reflected widespread confidence that Britain and the European Community would back/…/for a multi-million-rand aid programme to build sports centres for black and deprived sportsmen and women.

It is interesting to see that sportswomen are mentioned in the article since that was not ordinary reading in Cape Times, at least not in the source material.

Rugby was the sport with the most invested capital, of the major sports, and thus had the most to lose from a boycott. Tradition proved hard to bend though and unity was a stumbling stone that was debated to great lengths in the press. 34 articles concerning rugby in relation with either international acceptance or unity of rugby bodies are found in the source material. Even though Dr

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131 Nauright, 2010, p. 130.
132 Cape Times, June 3rd 1991, p.3.
Danie Craven was frequently quoted in newspaper articles, pushing for unity and international acceptance, he was quoted saying “black players should stick to soccer, that’s their game. We don’t want black players in our game. It’s our game.”\textsuperscript{133} This shows a traditional view on black sports and that the incentive for non-racial teams was more of a practical gain rather than ideological. Craven sported an opinion that the future of rugby was more important than political views, something that was identified by the \textit{Sowetan}, quoted in \textit{Cape Times}.\textsuperscript{134} Soccer also had its fair share of negotiations on unity between the major bodies, a problem that had to be resolved in order to achieve acceptance and a possibility to compete at international level. The incident with a match official that was stabbed on nationwide television and the tumultuous times in the late 1980s forced the rivalling soccer bodies of SANFA, South African National Football Association, and SASF, South African Soccer Federation, to engage in talks of unity. The particular incident with the stabbed match official was, according to Alegi, of utmost importance since many fans turned down matches due to violence at arenas. This was an important factor that sparked the call for unity.\textsuperscript{135} These articles that concerned unity between SANFA and SASF, but also between local province unions and federations, were not in numbers as present as for example articles concerning unity between different rugby unions. However the transition and unification process was not altogether an easy task even when faced with fading spectator numbers and administrative problems.

SANFA said it had “no intention of joining any other organisation on the basis of subservience, and as a matter

\textsuperscript{133} Nauright, 2010, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Cape Times}, January 7th 1993, p.6.
\textsuperscript{135} Alegi, 2010a, p. 147.
of convenience to achieve paper unity for the purpose of impressing the international community.”

This debate, with SANFA in focus, was mainly regarding a total unification under the flag of the newly former South African Football Association, SAFA. The reason for SANFA's unwillingness to join under SAFA could not be read in this particular article but according to Alegi, there was a fear that the united soccer body would be under the ANC flag and politically affiliated. The controlling non-racial body of SAFA had although been formed and as the article suggests, SANFA was left out in the cold. The forming of SAFA eventually led to a re-admission in to FIFA on July 3rd 1992. The current politicization of sports is discussed and debated, claims being made that the politics should be left out from sports and that the market and administration should be the forces driving and evolving the world of sport. Makhenkesi Stofile, former minister of Sports and Recreation, was quoted saying:

Apartheid manipulated sport for racial domination and segregation. We too have a political agenda for sport. It must become and instrument to free our people from inferiority complex instilled by apartheid. It must also free white compatriots from a superiority complex or baasskap (“boss-ism”).

This quote from *Sport and Liberation in South Africa* shows that the discussion of politics in sports is still in the mix and that the shape, or rather the colour of the debate, has changed. The apparent question to ask is what Stofile refers to as “our people”?

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137 Alegi, 2010a, p. 148-145.
In the following sentence ha addresses the view of the white compatriots and it is therefore of interest if he refers to “our people” as the black and coloured people. This is a political statement and it highlights the point that race, sport and politics are still intertwined subjects that correlates. The use of sports as a window to make political statements is not isolated to the South African field of play, but has been seen in the 1968 Olympics in Mexico and in the 2013 IAAF World Championship in Track and Field. The example from the Olympic in Mexico was two black athletes, Tommie Smith and Juan Carlos, showing their raised fists for the sake of black power during a medal ceremony.\footnote{Dagens Nyheter, August 3rd 2008, p.21.} The other example is that of Swedish athlete Emma Green and her painted nails in protest against the anti-gay laws in Russia.\footnote{Dagens Nyheter, August 18th 2013, p. 2.} These examples are not the only ones with politics and sports mixing but a recurring and most current topic.
CONCLUSIONS

This chapter deals with the conclusion of the analysis and will summarise and put into context the most important findings.

Since the Cape Times is mainly read by white and coloured, even in the present day, it is safe to assume that the news conveyed mainly affects the minds of that particular category of people. The articles that has soccer violence and negative tendencies regarding soccer would there for have had a negative influence on the view of black people. This assumption is based on the fact, as presented various times, that soccer was, and still is, perceived as the sport of the black population. Few, to say none, of the articles examined and analysed contain interviews with what could be seen as the other side, the black side. When the articles discuss soccer violence and other terms concerning black sports, interviews are seldom seen. The black perspective is missing when analysing how the articles are presented in the media. The discourse concerning politics and sports continue on the trodden path with few interviews but still it is open for all to see what part soccer had and still plays. Nelson Mandela’s choice to make his first public appearance at a football match, after his incarceration, is an important symbolic gesture and shows the connection between the ANC and soccer.

My conclusion regarding the representation of female athletes in the mainstream media is that it was almost totally absent in the source material. The previous research supports this but also the interviews conducted on site shows a patriarchal society that has little or no place for female sports in the media. Surely university sport is diverse but media representation is not and neither is...
economic allocation. The representation in the media was not mainly race related even though initially; the few female athletes that were seen were white rather that the focus was primarily on male dominated sport. Based on conducted interviews I deduce that possibilities have changed for women to participate in sports but the media representation has not changed post-apartheid. A personal reflection on the subject is that women’s sport gain little attention internationally when there is no money or sponsors supporting the sport or event, therefor it is not solely a South African issue.

The economic discourse is coupled with a racial discourse in the source material. This is based on the fact that black people’s possibilities were discussed, sometimes describing heated arguments, concerning fields and venues. This shows that the discussion in the media, and therefor amongst the readers, were about the inequalities regarding allocated funds and venues based on race.

When having worked closely with the material, conducted interviews and discussions on site and having read a great deal of literature on the topic I would not hesitate to claim that there was a fear present during the early 1990s, both in press, and therefore also in the minds of the white population regarding the future. Change was inevitable but in what manner this was to come was debated in the press and at the dinner tables and in the pubs. The change within and around rugby was surely discussed with anxiety since the rugby administration was a well-oiled machine,
in comparison to football. The possibilities and the work to address the inequalities in the South African society were widely discussed under the scope of stadiums and facilities. Even though the possibilities of change were there and the people en masse wanted change, little has in fact changed. The grim numbers from the economic outcome of the soccer World Cup shows that the invested money generated far too little, in comparison to the massive hopes presented in the media prior to the event. One conclusion that is easy to make, based on previous research, source material and interviews is that if the growth of soccer, made under hard circumstances, was so rapid and huge in numbers of active players and teams, that the practical issues of fields and administration will be a hard problem to solve. Catching up will demand time and resources, supposing these resources will be disposed adequately.

The discussion regarding if and how some sort of racial segregation is still in play in modern day South Africa is an interesting one. I conclude that the discourses in the media on race, politics and economics 1990-1995, show a fear of abandoning the old system, with a new uncertain future around the corner. The negative articles describing soccer violence were sure to have had an impact on that perception. In the present day South Africa I would state that the apartheid is more economic and more in the minds of people rather than a political system instituted by the government. The discourses in media were and still are, an important factor when shaping the world and forming the views of the people.
Interviews from the present day, together with literature, show that the political system post-apartheid is somewhat failing and has an inheritance of corruption and problems. This is also shown in the soccer administrative world with both financial allocation problems and venue discussions still very much current affairs. In summary; race, politics and economics are topics that cannot be discussed separately in the South African society. This is based on the examined source material but also from the conducted interviews.

My personal hope is that the grass root sports in South Africa will get the attention that it has lacked both in funding and administration since the importance is apparent in literature, articles and interviews since I believe it holds a large portion of the future for the country.

Further research

When marching onwards with research after this thesis it would be of great interest to investigate and sink deeper in the subject of how the current view of soccer is amongst the black and white communities. The discourse in the media is one path to choose in order to attain a collective view of how soccer players and soccer as a phenomenon is perceived. If choosing to continue the path of oral history, an abundance of opinions is only interviews away from a researchers grasp. When conducting interviews in South Africa some of the interviewees meant that football, on grass root level, is leading a not so charmed life due to bad administration
and players focusing more on entitlement rather than on the sport itself which something that needs further research.
PART TWO: Rugby in the Blood

By: Per Gjöroff, Linnaeus University

INTRODUCTION

Albeit the game of Rugby Union itself is not the focal point of this thesis per se, some introductory remarks on the history of rugby union in South Africa seem to be in order.

The origins of rugby union is somewhat clouded in myths and legends. Some has it that the game was invented by William Webb Ellis, a pupil of the Rugby School in England as a defiant act of boredom simply picked up the ball and ran with it into the opponent’s goal. This myth is so widespread that monuments have been risen in honour of Mr. Webb Ellis\textsuperscript{141} and the trophy of the Rugby World Cup is named after him. More true is probably that every public school in England played their version of a ball game and every time a match were to be played, the Headmasters and Masters of Games sat down and wrote down some rudimentary rules so that the match wouldn’t deteriorate into simple barbarism. The natural order of things meant that these rudimentary rules simply merged into two distinct sports; the carrying game which lead to rugby, and the kicking game that lead to soccer. The Rugby Football Union, based in England, was

\textsuperscript{141} The monument stands just outside Twickenham Stadium in Middlesex, United Kingdom.
formed, in a meeting at the Pall Mall Restaurant in 1871\textsuperscript{142} and to cater the needs of international rugby union, The International Rugby Board was formed in 1886.\textsuperscript{143}

Rugby came to South Africa in the 1880’s through British settlers in the Cape area. It was primarily played in elite schools and in colonial social clubs as it was seen as a solely sport for the British and played by the British. In many ways, rugby (and of course cricket) was perceived as civilised whereas boxing, stick fighting and soccer was thought of as uncivilised. This view especially came into play at the missionary schools where much of the black South African elites were “civilised” through the use of rugby union and British education. One such person was Nelson Mandela. In many ways, cricket and rugby union epitomised Britishness and British colonial rule and therefore positioned as the dominion of the whites.

Afrikaners were at first excluded from the British schools, nor did they at first show any interest in playing rugby at all. The first contacts to rugby came at the POW camps during the Anglo-Boer war. The sport caught on and soon rugby was used a mean to get back at \textit{die Engels}. It was soon spread to Afrikaans-speaking schools and the Afrikaner college at Stellenbosch who would be at the very center of Springbok rugby for most of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{142} http://www.rfu.com/abouttherfu/history, accessed: 2013-08-13
Danie Craven, Springbok legend once said that as long as Maties Rugby was strong, Springboks would be strong.\textsuperscript{144}

Sports are, in many ways, a religion in South Africa. Virtually all the population are rooting for a particular club, district and national team in their sport of choice. However, choosing the sport before 1990 was intimately connected with class and race. The popular view was that the Afrikaners rooted for the \textit{Springboks}, South Africa’s national rugby team. Blacks and English whites of lower class background played soccer while the English whites and coloureds of higher status favoured cricket as their sport.\textsuperscript{145} In no other country, sport was so differentiated depending on class and race. Recent research has, however, uncovered that both cricket and rugby flourished in certain black communities and that mixed fixtures where taking place prior to 1948 when the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party came into power. With the power-shift the game of rugby literary changed. The colonial British values of fair play and sportsmanship were slowly changing into ruggedness, Afrikaner nationalism and discipline and the links between the apartheid government, the secretive Broederbond and the Springbok management team became more and more obvious. Much to the disgust of former Springbok captain Danie Craven who had taken over as head coach in 1949 and subsequently became president of the South African Rugby Board (now abolished). In the 1980’s he started

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\textsuperscript{144} The Stellenbosch University team is called Maties. See \url{http://www.matiesrugby.co.za}

\textsuperscript{145} Nauright, 2010.
talks with ANC on allowing black players into the Springbok, much to the dismay of president P.W. Botha and plans for a integrated touring side was agreed upon. For various reasons, this did not happen and Springboks were still in isolation until the abolishment of apartheid.

The Historiography of Rugby in South Africa

There are multitudes of different ways to conduct research into the history of sports in South Africa and the present-day researcher have a flora of different research questions and theoretical frameworks to choose from. Most common perspective is that of political history, discussing the role of rugby in the apartheid era. Findings include the relationships between Nationalist Party, Broederbond and the Springboks and how rugby was used by NP to promote white supremacy. This type of research borders on social history as the research questions more approached the role of rugby in Afrikaner-dominated culture and the exclusion of blacks and coloureds in rugby and society as a whole.¹⁴⁶

One can also problematize rugby in South Africa as a history of mentalities and look at how the society as a structure viewed rugby. Research has pointed out that many Afrikaner whites did not believe that blacks played either rugby, nor cricket until the

1980’s. This is simply false, based on evidence of club records and minutes of club meetings and eyewitness accounts of rugby fixtures being played in black townships. The culture of black rugby was, however, quite different from that of Afrikaner rugby. Also, the transformation of rugby’s values in the Afrikaner cultural sphere, mentioned in the introduction, is also interesting and has value for this thesis project.

A surprising amount of research into what really is just a leisure activity for the most part has been made. The game of rugby has attracted European, Antipodean and American researchers from a multitude of angles, from sports medicine to the history and sociology of rugby. It is in the latter body of research that we find the most applicable research for this thesis.

Research on race and rugby

One of the foremost in research into the history and sociology of rugby union in South Africa must be Albert Grundlighs formative works on rugby and Afrikaner identity. In Beyond the Tryline – Rugby and South African Society, published in 1995, there are five very interesting essays on the role rugby played in South African society before unity in 1994 and what it continually means in different ethnic groups. The most interesting part if perhaps André Odendaal’s essay on black rugby, an area which the former official SARB historian Paul Dobson skipped over on a handful of pages in his work on his otherwise massive work on

147 Nauright, 2010,
history of South African rugby. The book, albeit quite small, was
ground breaking when it was released, simply because the non-
white perspective had definitely been lacking in previous
ambitions, such as Dobson’s. In fact, in the 1977 edition of the
South African Year Book states that

It is only comparatively recently that the Black peoples
have shown a marked increase in what may be called
modern sporting activities. For centuries they found their
recreation in traditional activities, such as hunting and
tribal dances. It was the White nation, with its European
background and tradition, which participated in the
recognised sports…

Apart from its blatant orientalist perspective, the quote is also
quite false as there were vibrant non-white rugby communities
across South Africa which histories dates back to the 1880’s and
the formation of the Western Cape Coloured Rugby Football
Union in 1886 to cater for the needs of coloured rugby in the Cape
Colony. This research shows that sports were segregated in South
Africa right from start. The white establishment had their sporting
bodies and the non-whites had theirs respectively.

Grundlingh’s research into Afrikaner mentalities has also shown
that rugby was deeply intertwined with the beginnings of

148 Archer, R. & Boullion, A., The South African Game: Sport and Racism,
London, Zed Press, 1982, p. 8-9, quoted in Grundlingh, Odendaal & Spies,
Beyond the Tryline – Rugby and South African Society, Cape Town, Ravan
Afrikaner nationalism. This proved to be much needed after the humiliations during and after the South African War, 1899-1902. Rugby was perceived as a way to get back at *die engels* in their own game and they slowly moulded it to fit their own purposes. This is very much evident in his chapter on rugby and Afrikanerdom in *Beyond the Tryline*.\(^{149}\)

The positioning of rugby as a symbol of Afrikaner masculinity fits well into the master symbols of Afrikanerdom, as stated in Cloetes research. However, the image of the Afrikaner is far from uncontested. Previous sentiments on Afrikaners as being a homogenous group, strongly connected through the concept of *volkskaap*, may have had its uses in the nationalist project of the early 20\(^{th}\) century. Present day Afrikaners, are not, Cloete argues, all that homogeneous. This stands is stark contrast to the writings of Giliomee and indeed Jansen, who in a way falls into the same generalisations as Chakrabarty was accused of in the postcolonial perspective on Europe. The constructed image of Afrikanerdom, created for political purposes after the South African war centered on the notion of the Afrikaners being the Chosen People of God, a faith they shared with the Sionists of Israel.\(^{150}\). Similarities exist here between the Sionists and the Afrikaners. Both nationalist movements came into power after atrocities had been committed against them, which created a need for a common identity which justified a separate state and subjugation of the Other. So in a

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\(^{149}\) Grundlingh, Odendaal & Spies, 1995, chapters 4-5.

way, rugby in South Africa is not all about race, it is as much about class.

Similar research has also been conducted in France and the early history of French rugby. In that research, the struggles are more cultural and focus is on prowess, rather than race, even if those discourses are present in race-relations. Most significant is Philip Dine’s *French Rugby Football – a cultural history* where Dine shows that rugby prowess was very much the centre of masculine identity, which bear strong similarities to Afrikaner masculinity.

John Nauright has also published a variety of works on the sociology of South African rugby. His most comprehensive must be *Rugby and the South African Nation* which cover, apart from the imperial origins of the game, the influence of the Broederbond and the influx of political dimensions in rugby.

**Research on rugby and finance**

There can be little doubt that vast inequalities existed between the establishment white rugby and its none-white counterparts. This inequality of resources went right down the rugby community, from schools rugby to the pillars of Afrikanerdom; the great rugby

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152 See subchapter on rugby and gender

stadiums of Loftus Versfeldt (Pretoria) and Newlands (Cape Town). These vast inequalities can be a great asset when conducting studies into segregated sports history. Both Colin Tatz and John Davies have researched into the financial aspects of school sports in South Africa during the apartheid regime. Both have concluded that only a small fraction of the money spent on school sports went to black schools.\textsuperscript{154} This research comes in handy when analysing the future discourses when apartheid was about to end and the bitter fight the Afrikaner establishment fought to keep most of their privileges into the still unknown concept of New South Africa. In this regard, Jonathan Jansen has also given insights in the function of all-white Afrikaner schools and the culture in which these were working. Jansen refer to them as almost hermetically sealed environments where prejudices against non-whites could be articulated without questions. Implicitly, this also states that the vast inequalities that existed between white and non-white schools were natural. Any political action in this regard would seriously dilute the schools of their wealth, both financially and culturally.\textsuperscript{155}

Giliomee has, in his turn, studied the financial imbalances between English and Afrikaners in the beginning of the 1910’s and onwards. This research shows that English controlled most of the commercial business as well as the political powers. The foundation of Broederbond would soon address that particular


\textsuperscript{155} Jansen, 2009.
problem and in this milieu, the formulation of a master plan took place in which the Afrikaners would get control of both state and finance. So in a way, the inequalities that existed between the white establishment and the non-whites could, in part, be explained with the inequalities between Afrikaners and English and the strategies of the Afrikaner and the Broederbond were not primarily design to keep non-whites out of the loop, they merely became collateral damage in the struggle between Afrikaner and English interests. The struggle for a greater share in the economic life in South Africa was a successful one as it rose, apart from agriculture where they were already a dominant force, from 10 to 21 per cent between 1948 and 1975.156

One area of research that has not yet grabbed the attention of sports historians is the effect of sanctions and boycotts of South African sports. One can surmise, however, that the absence of incoming tours made large hole in the coffers of SARB. It has been stated that the tours were a major source of income of the SARB, so it is only logical to conclude that the financial effects of the boycotts of South African rugby was substantial.

The question of class and sports in history has been much debated over the course of years. Albeit Nauright touches on the subject in his book Long Run to Freedom, there are more aspects of participation in sports and class. One can almost surmise that rugby was, in Afrikaner circles much more about race and

156 Giliomee, p. 543
Afrikaner ideology than class, but that view might be slightly oversimplified. The notion of class in rugby comes into play when looking back towards the roots of rugby in South Africa. Whilst being quite popular among young men in the Afrikaner stronghold of Stellenbosch, the game spread much more slowly among the working-class Afrikaners in the Transvaal area due to the English not being interested in spreading their imperial game to the Afrikaners.\textsuperscript{157} It is therefore not much of a surprise that the first Afrikaners chosen for Springboks duties, Paul Roos and A.F. Markötter, came from Stellenbosch.\textsuperscript{158}

So in a way, class came to determine who were able to represent South Africa and also play on provincial level. One must keep in mind that rugby union, as opposed to rugby league, was strictly amateur based until 1995. To play for Springboks meant being away from work for longer period of times, such as tours and overseas internationals on other continents. To be able to play meant that one could afford losing income, which wasn’t an option for everyone who was good enough to play.\textsuperscript{159} In that sense, rugby was as exclusive to class as it was to race. This class division in rugby goes back to the original split between union and league in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century concerned precisely the remuneration to rugby players. The working class based players in the north couldn’t afford to lose a day’s pay on Saturday to play in

\textsuperscript{157} Nauright, 2010, p. 84-85.
\textsuperscript{158} The names, Paul Roos and A.F. Markötters are still much in play in Stellenbosch. There’s the premier rugby school \textit{Paul Roos Gimnasium} and the the third and fourth team of the Maties Rugby Club are named Markötters and Junior Markötters.
matches, whereas the more landed gentry in the south of Britain could do so. These ideals of amateurism were much enforced by both SARB and indeed the National Party itself, as Snyders’ research on the demise of rugby league in South Africa has shown. One should note that Snyders does not acknowledge class determinism in his article *per se*. That interpretation is my own, however, the defect of players into rugby league gives the case some substantial support.

Another area that are lacking is research on black township rugby clubs. One such study exist, “Inside the ‘House of Pain’: A case study of the Jaguars Rugby Club” by Ashwin Desai and Zayn Nabbi. The study tells the story of a struggling black rugby club in Kwa-Zulu Natal who against all odds play in the premier division in the regional league structures. It tells a grim tale of broken promises from both regional and national rugby bodies, of development failures and the in-fighting between the club and NRB who, at one stage was affiliated with SACOS, but after the demise of most of the black clubs in the Natal region, sought affiliation with SARB and the problems of racism in the game.

Albert Grundlingh of Stellenbosch University, frequently cited in this thesis, has also looked into the sometime murky world of

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professional rugby. Now, pro rugby is not the main focus of this study of South African rugby, but some key elements of Grundlingh’s paper can shed some valuable light on the plight of community rugby. The advent of professional rugby meant that funds meant for development of black rugby instead was channelled into the provincial unions, which meant that less black players was exposed to and therefore could excel in the game. \(^{162}\)

Research on rugby and gender

Whilst rugby is a widely renowned sport, which has attracted the attention of numerous scholars, the focus has been always on men and boys playing rugby. There is vast number of articles, books and other texts on this as presented earlier. The idea of women playing rugby, is however, an entirely different matter. Very little has been researched and indeed that could be explained by the strong links between rugby and masculinity in general, and between Afrikaner masculinity and identity in particular as presented by Albert Grundlingh. In his work, he analyses that rugby, nationalism aside, because of its roughness and man-to-man aggression also constructs masculinity, or rather, a special sense of masculinity. The construction of rugby masculinity played well into the National Party’s and the Broederbond’s conservative vision of a segregated white Afrikaner-dominated society based on NGK’s Calvininistic beliefs. This form of male

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supremacy is also reflected in gender relations as well as in race relations. A woman’s place is, at least in Afrikaner communities, at the hearth and sometimes as a spectator of a rugby match.\footnote{Grundlingh, Odendaal & Spies, 1995, p. 126-127.} Danie Craven, head of the South African Rugby Board, encouraged schoolgirls to attend schools rugby matches

> They will have their families, and if they are rugby /…/ women, their children will be also /…/ we who attended [co-educational] schools know what an important role girls played in our rugby lives and how important rugby was to them too.\footnote{South African Rugby Board, 4, President’s report, 1968, quoted in Grundlingh, Odendaal & Spies, 1995, p. 130.}

The quotation above is a good example of the patriarchy of the Afrikaner society in South Africa, but by no means exclusive to them. Research has shown the patriarchal ideas on gender relations were far from uncommon in all ethnic communities in South Africa.

There is however not all darkness research wise. Jessica Hudson has written an excellent chapter on women’s rugby and the rejection of “the girly”\footnote{Hudson, Jessica, “Women playing rugby: Rejection of “the Girly” by Girls”. In Fuller, Linda, K., Sexual Sports Rhetorics – Historical and Media Contexts of Violence. New York, 2010.}. Jessica, herself a rugby player, started by asking the question why she played. Why does women’s rugby challenge the way we perceive gender roles in sports. The idea of women’s rugby in among the top eight rugby playing countries in
the world, women’s rugby is almost abhorrent. But even then, women still participate, not as “champagne girls” in a koshuise as Grundlingh mentions in his forthcoming book on Afrikaner sports \(^{166}\), not as supporting girlfriends and wives, but actually as players combatting each other week in and week out as their male counterparts.

The construction of identity on South African women’s rugby players remain shrouded as Hudson’s study focus on English players. There are a number of differences between South Africa and England where England is a more homogenous country, contrary to South Africa’s almost tribalism, which shapes everyday life. An Afrikaner woman playing in almost unheard of whereas its quite popular among the coloured women in Eastern Cape. This can in part be explained by the strong patriarchal ideology in Afrikaner communities, whereas the Coloured communities are much more shaped by resistance and uprising against hegemony. In Western Cape there’s only one (1) league comprising 7 teams compared to the 36 leagues of Men’s rugby (32 seniors and 4 U20’s). \(^{167}\)

But what constitutes masculinity? There are strong similarities between rugby’s particular form of masculinity and a concept Jeanne Prinsloo dubbed “emphasized femininity” which means that women subordinates themselves to the interest of men, which


is supported by Grundlingh’s research on gender roles in rugby. Prinsloo continues by also concluding that this particular form of masculinity also subordinates other forms of masculinities, quoting Hanke.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the social ascendancy of a particular version or model of masculinity that is operating on the terrain of ‘common sense’ and conventional morality, defines ‘what it is to be a man’ (Hanke, 1990: 232).

This quote clearly states that “being a man” is to be a rugby player, to do well on the rugby field. Also, if one would take a structuralist view on the quote; to be a man is not to be a woman, i.e. not playing rugby is seen as femininity.

A good introduction to rugby’s particular form of masculinity is *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, edited by John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler. The book traces the origins of rugby masculinity from the private schools in England to its settler colonies in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. One theory of particular interest is one forwarded by Nauright where he states that rugby took over from cricket as the British preferred model of manliness in the Natal colony. This transformation was in part possible by the poor physical standard

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169 Prinsloo, 1999, p. 47.
of the British troops (made up by primarily working class men) in the South African War and an ideological shift towards muscular Christianity, a view later inherited by the Afrikaners, which is evident in Grundlingh’s research.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Nauright & Chandler, 1996.
ANALYSIS

This section will analyse the media discourses from two time periods, first the unification process of SA Rugby between 1990 and up to the Rugby World Cup win in 1995 and a sample from 2004 in Cape Times, the biggest newspaper in the greater Cape region.

Introductory remarks

This chapter analyses historical media discourses on three spatial spheres of South African rugby; race, politic and finance as shown the methodology section of this thesis. The questions posed there will serve in much the same manner as interview questions. The questions posed in the interviews done on site in South Africa will be infused the text to give a more contemporary view on the material, and also provide an analysis concerning how the subject has progressed over the years.

Of deeds past and quotas future

When one undertakes inquiries regarding media discourses about rugby in South Africa, one cannot escape the concept of race as a determinant of the text’s focus. When the concept of race is explicit, discourses on politics isn’t far away, be it “a disgruntled rugby fan” wooing the good old days of (white) Springbok Rugby, conveniently forgetting the fact that a bulk of the nation’s players were banned from making the Springboks during the apartheid years. The concept of race can also be invoked by other as a mean to set things right, i.e. quota systems. In an interview in Cape Times, the in 2004 newly appointed Springbok coach Jake White resolutely states that black rugby is in rude health and quotas aren’t needed any longer.
"If I had to pick a (Springbok) side now from the players I have coached over the last five years you could comfortably look at five in a squad of 22."

When one studies the headline of this article, “White lines up his black Boks”, besides the pun, the concept of race is still very much an issue in South Africa and the media. Why else would there be any need to refer to a player’s skin colour? To understand this, one has to understand the level criticism of the quota system in rugby circles. The awarding of Springbok colours weren’t, according to some, purely based on merit. Instead, a certain number of black players had to be included in squads. In school’s rugby, there was, however, no quota system:

“School’s first teams are not picked with quotas, yet at big derbies you see six black players in a side. I have no worries.”

When attending two big school’s matches in Stellenbosch in March and April 2013, I took note of the number of non-whites in the respective starting XV and found that a majority was still white. The audience in the Maties section of the Danie Craven Stadium was mostly of Afrikaner descent.

The general sentence of the article is on the defensive side. Mr. White had to mention that “his” non-white players were there on merit, rather than quotas and that his coloured assistant coach

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Allister Coetzee was not there as a token, but as the most qualified for the job:

Meanwhile, newly appointed Springbok assistant coach Allister Coetzee yesterday dismissed the notion that that he was being used as a token for the transformation purposes.

“When Jake was asked in his presentation to the technical committee who he would like to see as an assistant coach, he mentioned me. He was my assistant with South Africa A in 2001”, said Coetzee.

“Jake made his choice there. It was not about my colour. It’s about my knowledge and technical ability. Jake and I share the same philosophy on the game.”

I myself remember being slightly curious when watching a Tri Nations match between the All Blacks and Springboks in 1999, just months before the Rugby World Cup of 1999. There were the usual characters included in the Springbok starting XV, Pieter ‘Os’ du Rand, Albert van der Berg, Ruben Kruger, Joost van der Weshuizen. All Afrikaners bar one; Breyton Paulse, a coloured player on the wing who rarely got the ball, even though he previously had won the SA Schools Nationals at both 200 and 400m. Instead the preferred receiver on the wing was the Afrikaner Stefan Terreblanche.

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In 2004 the quotas in age grade South African rugby sparked controversy when Luke Watson, the son of the non-racial rugby activist Daniel ‘Cheeky’ Watson, was appointed captain of the South Africa under 21’s squad. At first, there were three ‘black’ players in the squad and after some heated discussions with the SARU Vice-president Mike Stofile, there was suddenly 12 ‘black’ players. None of the parties acknowledged that race was an issue and that the non-whites were there all along and that the issue was more semantic.

Van Rooyen [Brian van Rooyen, then-president of SARU, author’s note] dismissed the report of intervention as “absolute nonsense”.

“The team has been in camp since last Sunday. There are 12 black players in that camp. I resent (the term) ‘black African’ with the contempt it deserves,” he said. “The black players are black players of this country, be it African black or other black.”

The row describes the mixed feelings of the quota system. On one hand, quotas are necessary to make sure that non-whites get the same chance at selection as white, and on the other, SARU was vehemently denying its existence and that all selections were based on merit. Later on in the article, van Rooyen states that

“[He] is satisfied that the squad represents the diverse cultures of our proud rugby nation.” 176

The inclusion of Luke Watson was by no means the last one regarding Watson and the Springboks. An infectious relationship with Springbok coach Jake White kept Watson out of the RWC 2007 squad and it was not until the newly appointed SARFU President Oregan Hoskins himself included him in the squad despite the wishes of White.

The presence of quotas is also in the traditionally female sport of netball where it is not always seen as a positive thing.

If there’s a team consisting of ten players, there need be three or four players from colour. So is not always on merit. And that’s how, I think that’s a bit negative for some of the players, since they don’t… or they actually feel that’s not on merit, so they don’t get selected for provincial or national team. So I think, sometimes its negative for the sport. 177

In post-apartheid rugby circles there has always been that underlying myth that certain black players were picked for Springbok duties based on the colour of skin, rather than merit. Same argument also reproduced within the netball community. Such discourses was the definitely the case with Errol Tobias who

177 Netball administrator, [interview 2013-05-07].
in the first Coloured Springbok who many believed was picked in 1981 because Dr. Danie Craven, head of the now defunct SARB wanted to show the IRB that SA Rugby was indeed inclusive to players of colour. 87 years after the foundation of the first non-racial rugby body, the Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union. Tobias’ inclusion in the ill-fated 1981 tour of New Zealand made him a target, both by the white rugby communities in South Africa, spearheaded by the Springbok manager and Broeder, Johan Claasen, who later admitted that there indeed was some bias against Tobias, but also from the anti-apartheid movement who called him “Uncle Tom” and a “token player”. Sydney Morning Herald journalist Malcolm Brown reported from New Zealand:

Acclaimed for his ability in South African provincial Rugby, Tobias has nevertheless come under intense pressure to prove himself. If he has just one bad match, he will be branded a “token black” /…/ But he has already been howled at for being an “Uncle Tom”. His colour was conspicuous from the moment he stepped off the plane at Gisborne Airport on Sunday.  

The 1981 tour of New Zealand, dubbed the “barb-wired tour” has been well covered in both rugby literature and in academic research, so it will not be the focus here. A last remark by Naas Botha, the first-choice fly-half sheds some light of the general sentiments among the Springbok players:

He insists the New Zealand public were misinformed about aspects of life in South Africa and objected to what he say as rent-a-protester. Several protesters he met admitted they were paid to demonstrate.

“I’d done my national training at that stage in the police force and I was asked on a number of occasions: ‘How many black people do you kill in a day?’ What a stupid remark”

The quote here explains how SA Rugby’s official discourse of distancing themselves from what they believed was politics. In their view, they were there to play rugby, nothing more. But as research have shown, rugby was much more than a game in South Africa, and everything in the white society pointed out white supremacy and no more so than on the rugby field. This was far from the only time Naas Botha hit the headlines with a not-so-careful remark. In 1991 he caused an upset when Traansval met Eastern Province in a Currie Cup match. After being welcomed by a not so friendly crowd, he said that “En dit was nogal wit mense” on national television. In English its “And it was actually white people”. The word “nogal” is the key here where Botha is surprised that white people could jeer and throw bottles at him,

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rather than, which he sort of implies, black people.\textsuperscript{181} Botha elaborated a bit further:

“What I said was that it was the white people… That means the white people. I did not talk about coloured people or black people”.\textsuperscript{182}

That racist remark wasn’t the only time Springbok players had to defend themselves. During the 1995 Rugby World Cup, scrumhalf Joost van der Westhuizen came under fire after allegations from the Western Samoan team. Mr. Griffith, Springbok manager was quoted in A Cape Times news piece, headlined “Joost: I’m not a stupid racist!”:

In the new way of South Africa and our team policy to go with it, it is not our style to get involved in such stupidity.\textsuperscript{183}

This quote from the Springbok team official marks a turn in policy. SARFU knew about about its rather tarnished reputation from the past, and Griffith did all he could to distance Springboks from its racist past, especially since the Springbok emblem was retained after intervention by Mr. Mandela himself. Springboks simply could not afford a scandal, which could explain why van der Westhuizen and Griffiths so vehemently denied the allegations.

\textsuperscript{181} Cape Times, June 10th, 1991, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{183} Cape Times, June 12th, 1995, p. 1.
This new type of discourse presented by post-apartheid SARFU becomes even more interesting considering the belief system of the Afrikaners, according to Jansen’s research. The hegemony that is Afrikaner ideology was transmitted through the generations, not technical and neutral, but embedded in various ideological sources; school, church, sports and family life. The natural response, with that background, will be to repel the new discourse. The old beliefs can sometimes be a relief and this is much evident in the pieces above. The understanding of history is reflected in the way people, in this case the Afrikaners, refer to the past, and they have not been confronted with the past, unlike the Germans and the holocaust. Therefore, implying racism to the Afrikaners can result in an almost violent backlash.\(^ {184}\)

In 1991, rugby was still in unification with SARB halting all foreign tours to South Africa in order to complete negotiating with its rival SARU which represented the coloured and black rugby clubs and unions. Mixed teams were therefore somewhat of a novelty and in contrast to Jake White’s statement that a lot of non-white talent came through the schools ranks. In 1991 a black schoolboy, Ngcebo Zunga, from Natal (now called KwaZulu-Natal) made headline in the \textit{Cape Times} when he was selected as captain of the Natal School’s side in the Craven Week competition\(^ {185}\), albeit coming from an English-speaking school which could explain a more relaxed view of black rugby players.

\(^{184}\) Jansen, Jonathan D., 2009, p. 60-61.  
\(^{185}\) \textit{Cape Times}, June 7th, 1991, p. 3.
Craven Week was officially integrated in 1980 after insistence from Dr. Craven himself. This is not to say that Craven Week was inclusive to players and teams of colour. John Davies of University of Canterbury states that only one (1) Coloured team was allowed entry into the school’s festival. Dr. Craven’s motives for this course of action might not have been the most altruistic, since sports isolation was in place and Craven wanted nothing more than keeping SA Rugby in international competition. In particular, the British Lions tour of South Africa in 1980 was threatened if no change appeared. However not everybody was pleased with his actions. The Afrikaner right-wing organisation Blankeveiligheid’s spokesman, Mr Muller, threatened to disrupt the rugby festival as late as 1990:

An Afrikaans morning newspaper this week quoted Mr Muller as saying that he was concerned about the safety of the children and that blacks playing against white children was a forerunner to open schools. He said that his organisation would disrupt Craven Week.

This sentiment from the right-wing Afrikaner circles was far from uncommon. Most of the teachers in Afrikaner schools also opposed racial integration.

An example of Craven’s stance on black rugby came in the early 1980’s when the aforementioned ‘Cheeky’ Watson, Springbok

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trialist applied for and was accepted as player-coach of the non-racial and SACOS-affiliated Kwaru Rugby Club. The government went up in flames and first stopped his presence in KRC after questioning the validity of his passing into the township and then banning him from the Currie Cup, the biggest senior provincial rugby tournament in South Africa.

I was banned from all Currie Cup rugby and from Eastern Province Rugby Union. Then Dr. Craven went to Welsh Rugby Union and told them that rugby was multiracial [as] there is a Springbok rugby trialist in a black team.\textsuperscript{188}

So in effect, Craven Week was openly non-racial, but underlying policies still discouraged black participation. One such example is when Hoërskool Waterkloof, an all-white Afrikaner boarding school, marched off the field after discovering several black players in the opposing team.\textsuperscript{189} Watson also joined the banned ANC and was subsequently jailed, though his son Luke, a prominent player today, claimed that he had no knowledge of that happening.

Today, things might have changed in some ways. As a rugby coach in Western Cape states

I played in a teams once, where there was all main racial groups, there was an Indian, we had coloureds, we had blacks we had whites, and it was good times, it was very

\textsuperscript{188} Tatz, 1983, pp. 405-420.
\textsuperscript{189} Tatz, 1983, p. 411.
good times you know. The jokes that we made, what we learned from each other, that was for me a very, very great thing”.¹⁹⁰

So far, everything has been about men, white and non-white, playing rugby. It has been perceived as a sport which epitomised masculinity and women were expected to play supporting roles, rather than that of an active participant in the game. Grundlingh’s research on masculinity and South African rugby clearly indicated that female rugby players were an absurd notion. Not much did change during the course of years and one prominent leader in Western Cape rugby community stated that “I’ve never heard of women’s rugby before ten years ago” and also that the current profile of women’s rugby in South Africa is “low low”. He continues by saying that “I would never allow my daughter to play rugby … because I just don’t think it fits … I just don’t see women playing rugby”.¹⁹¹ When women did take part of the game, it was seen as somewhat of a novelty, as was the case with the girl who turned out for her school team.

A Galvandale schoolgirl has amazed rugby teams – by takig to the field as a player. /…/ “My parents worry I’ll get hurt, but I won’t”, says Sintie who took to rugby six months ago since she didn’t like “girls sport”.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Rugby coach, [interview 2013-05-06].
¹⁹¹ Sports administrator 3, [interview 2013-04-10].
¹⁹² Cape Times, June 15th, 1994, p. 3.
The term “girls sport” is the issue here. South African sports are very gender-based which could explain why there are so few women playing rugby. And with attitudes like the one quoted earlier, things are not about change all that much. The preferred sports for Afrikaner women are those that won’t leave you with a broken nose and thighs the size of tree trunks. Instead there’s the hockey, the netball and the track and field. As one Afrikaner rugby player put it:

I still have to get used to the fact that women play rugby, *ja.../.../ it is probably not a bad thing, but it is something else, ja*"193

Another sports manager from the Western Cape did acknowledge the skill level of women’s rugby to be of high standards, however, when asked about typical women’s sport, netball ruled again supreme. His view on the suitability of women in male sports was that “[women] should stay away from boxing. That’s not for them”.194

The reluctance to let women be an active part can, in part be explained with the mentalities of the Afrikaners. As Else Cloete’s research have shown, there’s a stark sense of patriarchy among the Afrikaner community. Cape town-based former judge Albie Sachs, quoted in Cloete, states that

193 Rugby player, [interview 2013-05-07].
194 Sports administrator 4, [interview 2013-05-07].
“It is a sad fact that one of the profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy.”

Cloete continues to argue that in the Afrikaner male beliefs and ideology, there’s the sentiment that a woman’s place is in the home and as a servant to the Afrikaner volk, a volksmoeder, as stated by the Suid Afrikaanse Vroue-federasie and Afrikaanse Christelike Vroueevereeniging and that playing rugby does not fit that description. At most, she will buy the braaivleis that accompany every post match festivity in South African rugby. Grundlingh argues that because rugby is dominantly male activity, women who step into this world do so “on terms predetermined by men.”

In an observation at the Coetzenburg rugby ground in Stellenbosch, three Maties men’s teams; FNB Maties, Steinhoff Victorians and Markötters trained under floodlights on match quality pitches. Separated and in the dusk with no floodlight, a group of ten women ran the lines dodging male players wearing jerseys from the Dagbreek koshuise crossing their playing area. Soon they had do abandon practice due to failing light.

To say that vast inequalities existed between the white rugby community and the non-white is perhaps a tad pointless. Tatz

195 Cloete, 1992, p. 45.
196 Grundling, (forthcoming).
197 Observation, Coetzenburg rugby ground, 2013-04-17, 18:30-19:00.
research has shown the amounts invested in facilities for whites and non-whites respectively which have a tremendous difference. These figures also show that non-whites were not very welcome in the traditional white sports of rugby and tennis during the apartheid years. Tatz also points out that the apartheid government spent R9,900,000 on white schools sports and R14,700 on black children “interested” in sports. That is a staggering 240 times the amount.\textsuperscript{198} Needless to say, black schools did not have the same facilities as their white counterparts. An article in Cape Times reported in 1990 that facilities were severely lacking in the Western Cape.

There were 39 black schools in the Western Cape which did not have tennis or netball courts and 29 did not have grassed playing fields, the Minister of Education, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, revealed yesterday. He also said that none of the 11 black high or 45 primary schools had swimming pools. However, 17 black schools in the Cape Town circuit office region had tennis and netball courts and 25 had grassed soccer fields. /…/ [van der Merwe] said his department allocated R722,497 for sports facilities and equipment for black schools in the Western Cape during the 1989/90 financial years.\textsuperscript{199}

\textsuperscript{198} Tatz, p. 407.
\textsuperscript{199} Cape Times, May 4th, 1990, p. 4.
Even though the article shows that improvements for black school sports were being made, there was still a huge gap between white and non-white school.

There were a cryptic ending to the text: “Schools which qualified [my emphasis] were supplied with basic facilities for grass fields for rugby, soccer or hockey, cricket pitches, cricket nets, tennis courts, tennis practice walls, netball courts and athletic tracks.” It is not revealed in the text what those qualifying criteria were. It could simply be that only certain, race-oriented schools were eligible for governmental financial support regarding. It would certainly fit the interpretation that the white government continued its practice to play out different non-white groups against each other during the latter stages of apartheid. Or, it could simply mean that only white schools qualified.

Not long after the unification of Western Province rugby, the need for development was identified both within the rugby communities and from the political stakeholders. Just a month after the unification of WP Rugby, a new trust fund was established and received a capital of half a million rand. Pictured in the news piece, neutrally titled “Cash boost for WP” in Cape Times were Mr. Steve Tshwete, who later would be the Sports Minister and architect of the quota system in the New South Africa under the presidency of Mr Nelson Mandela.

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201 Cape Times, May 18th, 1992, p. 17.
The Western Province Rugby Football Union on Saturday night received a cash boost of R500 000 for the development of the game in underprivileged areas. The Western Province Rugby Development Foundation will be used for projects such as the improvement of facilities and skills from grassroots level throughout to senior level.\(^{202}\)

The fact that ANC also was involved in this development foundation as well as brokering the unification within the Western Province rugby community, shows the amount of importance rugby had in the South African society and that ANC was keen on keeping links with the Afrikaner-dominated rugby communities. Another interpretation could well be that ANC’s and Mr. Tshwete’s involvement could be seen as a prelude to affirmative action policy being put in place in the very heart of Afrikanerdom. It’s a small miracle that the coloured rugby team in the Craven Week of 1980 would be able to enter at all. Nevertheless, according to a forthcoming book on non-white rugby in South Africa, rugby has been played in black communities for at least 100 years.\(^{203}\)

Even though non-white rugby wasn’t completely unheard of, the amount of press coverage it gained in the press was relatively scarce in comparison to its white counterparts where the provincial championship and predominantly white, the Currie Cup, dominated the sports sections.

\(^{202}\) Cape Times, May 18th, 1992, p. 17.

\(^{203}\) Snyder, Hendrik Dr., [interview 2013-05-11].
After the abolishment of apartheid, rugby’s rival soccer could finally breathe some fresh air after being forced to deal with vast inequalities in terms of facilities and other resources. In 1994 The South African Soccer Academy and Transnat announced a brand new soccer school being set up in Eastern Transvaal\textsuperscript{204} to accommodate and educate talents from all over the country. The article stress that this type of school and soccer academy is the only one of its kind in South Africa.\textsuperscript{205} This is stark contrast to the well developed pathways into provincial and national teams enjoyed by their white counterparts in rugby, where a player went from a Afrikaner mother tongue school such as Affies in Pretoria or Paarl Gym a few miles north of Cape Town, to a Afrikaner mother tongue university such as UP or Stellenbosch and from there to Currie Cup and Springboks. In every step of the way enjoying excellent facilities and well-educated coaches, instilling the images of Afrikaner masculinity and superiority. This is not to say that South African soccer did not have its proponents, although the public’s view of South African soccer must have been rather distorted since most of the news pieces on soccer concerned audience violence and corruption within the clubs.\textsuperscript{206} However, there were signs of prosperity in the soccer community of Western Cape. In article in Cape Times, headlined “Massive sponsorship for WP soccer” lauds the unification and announces the R100 000 sponsorship deal between the newly

\textsuperscript{204} After 1994 renamed Mpumalanga.
\textsuperscript{205} Cape Times, February 11th, 1994, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{206} A more comprehensive analysis can be found in Gjörloff & Gustafsson, 2013.
unified Western Province Soccer Association and the company Monis.

Virginia’s connection with soccer started out in [1892]\(^{207}\) when it backed the then Western Province Football Board (WPFB) with an amount of R1 700. Last season the same sponsorship had increased to R70 000 for four different competitions.\(^{208}\)

The secretive society of the Broederbond, now refashioned into the Afrikanerbond, original purpose was through networking among Afrikaners provide financial relief to those Afrikaners deprived of income (such as farmers) after the South African war against the British. A similar project was now undertaken by successful Afrikaner businessman who provided connections and stories on how to become successful after playing rugby. In a recent book by Ross van Reenen\(^{209}\), 30 Afrikaner rugby players and heroes in their days give insights in how to transform rugby success into business success. Now, at the surface, there’s nothing controversial about this. Anyone is free to write whatever handbooks on business success. However, taking into account how the Afrikaner Brooderbond actively and secretive made pathways into political power, the books can be interpreted in another way, which is that Afrikaners take care of themselves. Popular discourse in South Africa suggests that affirmative action has plunged white Afrikaners into poverty and plight, and that the

\(^{207}\) The article has a typo here which stated 1792 instead of 1892.
\(^{208}\) Cape Times, February 27th, 1991, p. 32.
Afrikaner communities has to act in similar ways as the Broederbond did after the war. The city of Orania can be seen as such action.

Rugby: Blood, sweat and... politics

As apartheid was about to draw its last ragged breath, talks of unification of sports in South Africa started to appear, even in the Afrikaner-dominated SARB. The main difference between Dr. Cravens unauthorised ‘discussions’ with SARU and the exiled ANC leaders in the early 1980’s, in 1990 everyone seemed accepted the fact that South Africa would continue to be in isolation if not profound changes be made. Wynaand Claasen, captain of the barbed wire tour of New Zealand in 1981 puts it like this in Cape Times:

Claasen /.../ bases his optimism on the reaction of rugby friends abroad to political changes in the country. Former All Black Murray Mexted, for example, recently sent him a fax with the names of eight top New Zealand players who are keen to play for Natal for a couple of seasons. /.../ A more realistic evaluation, however, points to the Springboks returning to the fold in two or three years.  

Clearly it was not in either Claasen’s, nor the reporter’s mind that South Africa would not be allowed to re-enter world sports. It was simply down to time. A time that in the Afrikaners mind had gone

way overdue. Noteworthy is that the article doesn’t mention explicitly what would be required of the SARB to rejoin the fraternity of world rugby, however, if one dares to read between the lines, unification was the answer. The all-white SARB didn’t choose the word unification either in a short article where its president Dr. Craven stated that while he was “delighted that President F W de Klerk had taken a new turn in South African politics” he was also not “/…/ optimistic that South Africa’s international sporting links would be restored before the government announced it would dismantle apartheid”.211 In a column in Cape Times sports writer Michael Owen-Smith also suggested that abolishment of apartheid was the key to returning to international competition.

There has been no mention yet of the Group Areas Act being dismantled and this statute is totally basic to the future of sports in this country. Players must be free to join the clubs of their choice and this position is largely dictated by the areas in which they are allowed to live and conduct their daily lives.212

Sports activist Peter Hain proposed in 1990 to President F.W. de Klerk a five-point programme that would almost guarantee end of isolation:

Mr. Hain said he was confident that many young whites would support his five-point sports programme. The points are:

- Negotiations to establish truly non-racial sports structures from schools and club level upwards.
- These to be in parallel with the negotiations to establish a constitutional settlement.
- Legislation to outlaw racially segregated clubs and school sport.
- New legislation to open up all leisure and sports facilities to all races.
- A multi-million rand cash programme to upgrade black sports facilities and equalise sports expenditure between races.  

Hain’s proposal doesn’t explicitly say unification of sports bodies, but there can be no doubt that this was what was needed. Another important and often forgotten point in Hain’s proposal was the vast inequality of sports facilities. Colin Tatz of the University of Queensland quoted a 1977 survey that “/…/ the facility shortfalls for Africans alone in selected sports are: soccer 57%, rugby 91%, tennis 99%, swimming 97%, or 100% if Olympic pool size is the criterion”.  

Mr. Hain’s proposal wasn’t met with much enthusiasm in the press. A very critical editorial in the Cape Times accused Hain of spending almost his entire adult life sabotaging South African

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213 Cape Times, January 12th, 1990, p. 3.
sporting contacts and not acknowledging the recent progress in non-racialism.\textsuperscript{215} The editorial, perhaps unwittingly, resumed the old discourse that South Africa should be left to its own devices and that internal affairs should be handled internally. No outside interference in South African sports, was the message in \textit{Cape Times}. Contextualized, this article makes sense. South African rugby, and white sport in general, had been in boycott since the 1980’s and even before that subject to great controversies, such as protests and demonstrations in Great Britain in the 1960’s and New Zealand in 1981. Sports boycott hit where it hurt the Afrikaner male the most. Political sanctions and to some extent financial boycotts were the states headaches, especially the state treasurer’s\textsuperscript{216}, but the anti-apartheid organisers realised that to hit where it hurts the most, rugby was the way in. The whole mixture of Afrikaner nationalism, white supremacy and male values made rugby the beacon. Nowhere could the Afrikaner display such prowess as when beating England and New Zealand on the rugby field. Grundlingh argues that

\begin{quote}
Rugby tours by overseas countries provided a focal point for national interest, an opportunity to showcase a ‘sanitised’ South Africa during the first decades of apartheid and, perhaps more importantly, to demonstrate that the Afrikaner could beat the best the world could offer. Cultural entrepreneurs explicitly stated that such events were important for promoting ethnic self-esteem.\textsuperscript{217}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{217} Grundlingh, Odendaal & Spies, 1995, p. 118.
That sense of pride was targeted and according to Black’s research, it was deemed among the non-racial bodies a success.\textsuperscript{218}

The discourses employed by the media in the period of 1990-1992 also proves the urge of South African re-entry into the world rugby community. The Afrikaner male ego needed this focal point more than being able to buy diverse apparatuses at the supermarket.

Later that month Dr. Craven announced that talks had been initiated with the non-white rugby body SARU, which was affiliated with SACOS. Whilst Craven phrased optimism, Mr. Ebrahim Patel, president of SACOS, phrased it slightly differently. Craven’s agenda was getting back to world rugby without much fuss about. The discourse applied by Craven, and indeed the SARB, is epitomised in the phrase “The time is right for bygones to be bygones for the good of South African rugby”\textsuperscript{219}. There is in this a linear correspondence with the stance of the editorial from the white establishment in regards to Peter Hain’s programme.

In the end, Craven won the argument. Cape Times reported on the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of February that SARB and SARU had agreed to unite. In the text, accompanied by Craven shaking hands with Patel, the only person quoted was Craven himself stating that “the total abolishment of apartheid is a prerequisite for South Africa’s

\textsuperscript{219} Cape Times, February 19th, 1990, p. 3.
readmission to world rugby”. We cannot fully know if Craven saw the abolishment of apartheid as a mean to an end, or if he really believed that apartheid’s days really were bygone. In order to find out, Craven’s personal archive need to be opened, which his family in his Stellenbosch home so far has declined.

The news of the SARB/SARU merger came exactly at the same date as nominations for the important SARB Executive Committee leaked to the press. In this news piece, there was no mention of the merger or if indeed, provisions would be made to accommodate the non-white SARU. This also clearly indicates the forgetfulness that the white rugby constituent displayed. This type of forgetfulness is far from uncommon in postconflict communities. Research has shown that almost the same mechanism were utilised in Spain after Franco’s death. Almost immediately after this new prospect of returning to world rugby, Dr. Craven made headlines yet again just days after the merger was announced. This time it was the fabled cash-cow Rugby World Cup.

Dr Danie Craven says that South Africa could be the venue for rugby’s World Cup in 1995. “I think it’s a wonderful suggestion. It’s very probable that the tour will be here in 1995.”

It cannot be underestimated the PR value of hosting a RWC and South Africa, the white establishment rugby, anyway, must have thought it a wonderful prospect of showing that change was

taking place, but for two very different reasons. Firstly, for the white rugby community it was for national pride and a new chance to promote Afrikaner values and imagery of “giving it back” to the English. In a majority of statements, Craven said that getting back into the international fold was of outmost importance. For the newly elected ANC-led Government of National Unity, it was a PR opportunity not to be missed as it was seen as a chance of instilling national unity whilst at the same time not depriving the still influential Afrikaners of their favourite toy; Springboks.

As things started to progress in South Africa, the date of unification drew closer, albeit with some hiccups. In 1991 two senior officials of the still functional SARB retired from their positions: Pietman Retief and Alex Kellerman. Retief stated that the decision was a purely career wise move and that no other reasons were behind it.

“It wasn’t an easy decision as there are so many things happening in South African rugby. We are on the brink of re-entry into international competition as well as unity.”

Not everybody shared the optimism of SARB. The final steps into unity was taken by cricket in 1991 and whilst this was lauded by the non-racial National Olympic and Sports Congress, they, through their president Mluleke George also expressed their pessimism regarding the unity of cricket.

[Mluleke] George added that selective restrictions could be placed on certain sports to recognise the efforts made by others.

“Many sports, like cricket soccer, swimming and track and field, have made great progress towards unity, while others, like rugby, are lagging behind. Rugby could get left in the dust if they refuse to abide by the moratorium. We (NOSC) could place restrictions on certain sports so as not to restrict those that have made an effort”. 223

That remark didn’t need long to get a reaction from the SARB who vehemently denied that the SARB was dragging its feet. Instead, Craven publically put the blame on both SARU and NOSC for putting out stumbling blocks. He declared almost the day after the original article had been published in the Cape Times, that SARU’s accusation of the SARB trying to lure the Western Province Union, affiliated to SARU into SARB was unfounded and that no talks had taken place with that agenda. The bottom line, however, was revealed later in the text, almost like an after-thought. The unified body had to be non-political as well as non-racial.

However, Dr Craven made it very clear that the SA board was both a non-political and non-racial body and they were not prepared to make any concessions to any body with political aims.

223 Cape Times, February 1st, 1991, p. 16.
“We will not overlook the non-political principle. This has been a stumbling block from the beginning.”

Dr Craven recalled that the Board had forced two members (Boetie Malan and Daan Nolte) to resign when they became officially involved in the Conservative Party politics.224

That stance could not have come as a surprise. For most of Craven’s tenure as president of SARB, politics were not far away, be it boycotts or pressure from influential Broederbonders such as Johan Claasen, Springbok manager for the tour of 1981 to New Zealand. Even though we cannot fully know his private thoughts, since the archive is presently closed to outsiders, one can at least imagine that he uttered the Afrikaans word gatvol225 on a number of occasions. In public discourse, Craven was presented as extremely anti-political.

In early 1992, rugby in Western Cape eventually paved the way for unity by making the final agreements for the unification of Western Province rugby with no further objection from either SARB and SARU.226 A couple of days later, new came that the newly formed (and non-racial) SARFU had extended invitations to Australia to tour South Africa. This newspiece also implies that isolation had indeed been abolished.227 In march 1992 SARU and

224 Cape Times, February 1st, 1991, p. 16.
225 Gatvol means "fed up" or "had enough" in afrikaans.
SARB officially merged into the SARFU (South African Rugby Football Union) with Dr. Danie Craven as its first chairman. New fears rose, however. One of the greatest symbol of Afrikanerdom and thus the concept of apartheid, the Springbok emblem, was retained in the new non-racial rugby environment.

The reaction to unity was in some cases almost immediate. A teleletter in *Cape Times* in 1992, shortly after agreeing to unite, said: “With unity in rugby, why are there so few non-white players wearing provincial and Springbok colours? Give the non-white players a chance; throw them in the deep and let them sink or swim, but give them a chance.” 228

In today’s rugby milieu there are still some problems with segregated teams even at club level. As one coach in the Western Cape puts it

> You see, one of the sad things is because of the situation that we are in because of previous laws people still stay within groups, this is mainly a white area, that is mainly a black area, that is mainly a brown area. Which means, when you organise sport, its going to be mainly a black team, white team, brown team. And you see that, we played against a mainly a brown team on last Saturday [SK Walmers, author’s note]. They’ve perhaps two whites players in the whole club. And a white team playing against a brown team doesn’t do all that good for

228 *Cape Times*, May 19th, 1992, p. 7.
As we’ve seen so far, research on South African rugby in the 90’s, or indeed before that, cannot be fully separated from the political dimension. Previous research showed that rugby was used by the National Party as medium of propaganda for the apartheid regime thus reinforcing nationalistic Afrikaner values and ideas.

To make a statement that rugby played (and is still paying) its part in South African history is perhaps understating things a bit. For many, rugby is life and a sense of belonging to something far greater than the self. An Afrikaner rugby player in Western Cape stated that

I’m proud to be a rugby player, especially in South Africa, it’s got such a rich heritage that comes along since the days of Paul Roos.\textsuperscript{230}

It’s interesting that the player named Paul Roos as the start of the South African rugby heritage. Paul Roos was the first Afrikaner who captained the Springboks, but rugby was played in South Africa long before that.

The sentiment about passion is also shared among the non-white rugby communities. A non-white leader in Eastern Cape.

\textsuperscript{229} Rugby coach, [interview 2013-05-06].
\textsuperscript{230} Rugby Player, [Interview 2013-05-07].
I want to prove to people in the bigger sense that the talent in South African rugby used to lie the bloodlines, and its still here. I’m passionate, passionate about rugby.231

Another view comes from an older player, who now has turned into rugby administration

It’s been part of my life [long pause] my dad was a provincial player and my family, my older family has played for South African sides, so I grew up with the game. I’ve never actually questioned it at any stage, like I said, it’s been a part of my make up.232

The quote also shows how important rugby was to the Afrikaner community. The former player never once questioned his part of the game that excluded so many players and was such an instrumental part of apartheid policy.

The unification process was arguably the most important during the 1990’s and from two very different positions. The white establishment wanted nothing more than getting South African rugby back in the international contest and most probably promoting Afrikaner ideals and beliefs as they’ve done so many times in the past. From the non-white controlling bodies, there are remarkably little quotes in the newspapers. Almost in every news piece regarding the unification, Danie Craven do the talking and

231 Rugby Administrator, [Interview 2013-04-19].
232 Sports Administrator 3, [Interview 2013-04-10].
almost invariably the main focus is getting back into world rugby and unification is that mean to the end. Not in one single line does SARB or Craven himself touch on the injustice that non-whites couldn’t get picked (unless as tokens such as Errol Tobias in the 1980’s) for Springbok duties or that white organisations had the luxuries non-white rugby communities could not even dream of. Instead, Craven message which undiluted went into the media was “keep rugby out of politics”. Yet, it was down to the African National Congress (ANC) and Mr. Steve Tshwete, who earlier had brokered the unification between the white and the non-white cricket unions, to facilitate a meeting between SARB and SARU in Stellenbosch in early 1991.\(^{233}\) Craven expressed his delight at the prospect of unity, as both parties saw the urgent need, albeit from two different horizons.

Two things stand out in this news piece and indeed in many other texts. The almost total lack of inputs and quotes from the non-white SARU. In the vast majority of the gathered material we only find SARB and Cravens point of view. Very seldom did the journalist do the effort to contact SARU to get their view. Craven wasn’t at all interested in making amends for the racist structures that prevented non-whites from gaining Springbok honour, nor the vast inequalities in facilities and finance. As we’ve seen so far, Craven’s only interest in the unification process was to keep SA in world rugby and thus, invariably, aligning himself with the nationalist notion of Afrikaner white supremacy.

As the anti-apartheid movements successfully put South Africa in isolation during the late 1980’s strong forces mobilised to either keep touring parties coming in and going out and also to stop them. In 1990 England sent their national cricket team to South Africa under the captain Mike Gatting. The tour was riddled with protests and violence, especially in the townships, but Gatting washed his hands, stating that “Whatever happens in the townships has nothing to do with us.”.234 Gatting was adding to the discourse employed by rugby that politics and sports was two very different things and that politics should not interfere with sports.

An entirely different approach was conducted by the New Zealand Rugby Football Union who did not release players to join a World XV to celebrate the Natal Rugby Union’s centenary. Chairman Russ Thomas stated that “/…/ the decision had been made in the best interest of the game in New Zealand.”235 No doubt, NZRFU feared that sending players would cause upsets in both the rugby world and in the world of politics. The headline reads “No All Blacks?” which can be interpreted almost like saying that NZRFU made the wrong decision and that they should have released their players to the World XV and the celebrations of (white) rugby in Natal. Earlier in the text, the journalist linked the decision made by the NZRFU with the policy reform announcement made by F W de Klerk earlier that month.

234 Cape Times, February 2nd, 1990, p. 3.
The political aspects of the sports isolation could not be underestimated. In an article by Glen Thompson, University of Stellenbosch, shows that sports isolation did have an impact among the white population of South Africa.

Soccer and cricket and later rugby gave way to sports sanctions, which resulted in sports isolation. This brought the anti-apartheid campaign into the lives of white South Africa who had ordinarily been cushioned from political protests. Isolating South Africa from the international sporting arena highlighted how the white South African public’s yearning for international sporting respectability was simultaneous undermined by their support for apartheid legislation.236

The effects of politics intervention in the unification process was not always to the politicians liking. The normally stout ANC-supporting Western Province Rugby Union threatened to merge with SARB rather than staying put. Even then, in normal cases, ANC friendly Cape Times tired of this dragging and published a surprisingly frank editorial on the matter.

Sportsmen are becoming fed up with the vacillations and posturing of politicians, especially those who masquerading as sports administrators. They have had a whiff of the enormous advantages a truly new South

236 Thompson, Glen, "’Certain political considerations’: South African competitive surfing during the international sports boycott”. In Cornelissen, Scarlett & Grundlingh, A. M. (ed.), 2012, p. 35.
Africa holds and after so many wasted years there is a perceptible impatience to enter the new era without further delay. The international competition denied to a generation of young South Africans is too tantalizing close for tardiness to be tolerated. /…/ Not only those who play politics draughts with the sporting aspirations of South African youths should be aware that strategic jockeying and slogan-shouting are losing currency. In every sphere of national life hopes have been fanned and expectations created and leaders who either through timidity or expediency fail to keep pace with the growing sense of urgency will pay the price.237

This editorial is a kick in face directly aimed at ANC and SACOS, as the slogan-shouting reference cannot mean anything else than SACOS’ “No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society”-slogan. The rugby communities, both white and non-white, were eager to get going in the new South Africa that everyone, regardless of political beliefs, knew were coming. The article favours Craven’s stance that politics should be kept out of rugby and that South Africa should immediately return to the international fold. Forgetfulness is the key to understand the white community’s stance. Apartheid was doomed and the old days of white rugby with it. Yet again was the discourse of forgetfulness utilised.

If forgetfulness is the key to understand the whites’ point of view, understanding the non-white point of view is instead memory. According to a community rugby leader in Eastern Cape, the

memory of the old days, when his club was affiliated to SARU and SACOS is still vibrant. They remember the time when they had to play “on inferior facilities, fields, eh, grassless fields, where the communities owned the club.”. This sentiment is also shared by the soccer community in Eastern Cape, where an administrator states that it’s much better now, since they can use the Rhodes University fields, however in the old age, they had to put up with inferior fields. What made matters even worse for the non-white rugby communities was the system of permits to use council-owned grounds. Permits who was rarely given to non-racial clubs, however not all councils shared the same policy. The city of Johannesburg evicted soccer clubs from its grounds, but the city of council of Durban did the opposite, i.e. regularly granting permits to use council grounds.

The rather bleak discourse employed by the Cape Times editor could also be explained by the no-negotiations policy forwarded by SACOS leaders. There would bot be any form of talks undertaken with the white sports bodies before the total abolishment of apartheid and, perhaps more importantly, the white establishments recognition of past injustices. This policy, Booth argues, would have put South Africa’s athletes in endless isolation, if SACOS had gotten their way completely.

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238 Rugby Administrator, [interview 2013-04-19].
239 Soccer coach, [interview 2013-04-19].
241 Booth, 1997, p. 64.
During the success of the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the hegemony of white Springboks started to raise concerns not only in the rest of the world, but also in South Africa. Mandela started to act under the guidance of Mr. Steve Tshwete. Having saved the Springbok emblem now was the time for some change. Mandela had already, some argues, won the support for Springboks amongst the black community. A soccer coach and administrator in Eastern Cape said that something happened when Mandela wore that no. 6 jersey of Pienaar.

Everything changed completely, within a second, there were many supporters for the Springboks, since that day. So sport played a major role.\textsuperscript{242}

The plan for getting some more colour into Springbok team was announced in the Cape Times. “President Nelson Mandela said this weekend that this world cup would be the last at which South Africa fielded “a lily white team”.\textsuperscript{243} The proposed quota system had already started in the U17 and U19 national teams and Mr. Griffith, chief executive of the newly formed SARFU stated its extension into the U21’s as well. Implications were made by Mandela that the quota system would be extended into the Springboks as well.

“I am advised by Sport minister Mr. Steve Tshwete that this is the last Rugby World Cup in which the majority of South Africans will not be featuring”, he said.\textsuperscript{244}

\textsuperscript{242} Soccer coach, [interview 2013-04-19].
\textsuperscript{243} Cape Times, May 22nd, 1995, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
The news of this must have started to raise a few eyebrows in the privileged suburban homes of the Afrikaners. Non-whites were already in political power, apartheid was abolished and the Dutch Reformed Church had lost its religious hegemony to a plethora of Christianity. Afrikaner strongholds in education, such as die Tukkies of Pretoria and the University of Stellenbosch had already open its doors towards non-whites, albeit very reluctantly and slowly. Afrikanerdom was in shatters and now the Springboks would no longer be the focal point and the symbol of Afrikaner masculinity, a symbolic power they had held since 1906 when captaincy over the Springboks was given to Paul Roos.

The news must have gotten a completely different response within the non-white rugby communities, as doors that had previously been closed now were to be opened. However, the gap between the privileged classes of white South Africa and the non-whites was still too large. Yes, there were the Tobiases and the Williamses, but 100 years of neglecting development could not be underestimated. Therefore Mr. Griffith told the media that 30% of SARFU income and 40% of Rugby World Cup profits would be directed to the development of players and facilities in non-white areas. This major change in development policy was just one of many acts of social engineering that the first democratic government undertook in the mid and late 1990’s and as with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) it would

\[245\] Ibid.
not be without its compromises. Money were still being poured into the big unions such as the newly renamed Bulls Union (former Northern Transvaal Rugby Union), Western Province and the Free State Union and the rise of professional rugby, foremost the Super 10.
CONCLUSIONS

This chapter deals with the conclusion of the analysis and will summarise and put into context the most important findings.

As we have discovered, the three spatial areas of race, politic and economical issues cannot be separated from each other. They are indeed intertwined in South African sports history and no analysis can be meaningful without taking all three into context.

There can be no doubt that the discourse employed in South African mainstream media was indeed biased towards the non-white sports communities, albeit in a slightly disguised form. In the articles referring to the unification process of rugby union, there’s always only the voices of SARB that’s heard. Danie Craven, being almost God-like in the white rugby communities are always present, but his counterpart in the non-racial SARU, Mr. Ebrahim Patel is only mentioned and never quoted.

The role of politics in sports in the discourse is quite complex. On one hand, it is seen as good sign that things are progressing towards getting Springboks back into international competition, on the other, often the newspaper are on the same side as Craven’s SARB in terms of the reason for unification. It is a mean to an end, as it had no value beside Springboks. There was almost no mention at all of the injustices made towards non-racial rugby and the vast economic inequalities that clearly existed between white and non-white rugby. There was very little critique of the apartheid system other than that it was time to move on into the future. There was, in a sense, normality in reporting on white rugby and white rugby deeds on the pitch. Yes, there was
reference to Tobias and the Williams brothers, but they are mostly seen as a curiosity, rather than being amongst the finest players the country could produce.

It is clear that forgetfulness is the key to understand how the media could produce such discourse, since they were almost as guilty of apartheid as the NP government. As far as we know, they didn’t of course, participate in torturing and murdering dissidents, nor creating the laws that allowed the apartheid government to commit such acts, but they didn’t utilise the power of journalism to confront it either. Instead, they, as well as Craven’s SARB, chose to stay silent on the matter and salvage what they could before an utterly uncertain future caught up with them. This type of discourse is very much in line with Jansen’s research on Afrikaner ideology. The categorisation of Afrikaner modes of remembrance is a quite adequate method of understanding why rugby is still so important in Afrikaner circles, however, I think it might be slightly foolish to make generalisations of it. Afrikaner circles are changing, and as one administrator put it, things will be very different when the old generation retire from the scene. Much of the interview material utilised pointed towards that change had indeed happened within the younger generation, which gives some hope for the future. In that sense, our research points in a slightly different direction than the previous research that has been done on South African rugby. Paradigms do, however, change slowly and perhaps 2013 is slightly too early to see any viable change. The apartheid structures, as researched by both Booth and Tatz, are very much
still in play in some areas and the effects are still seen today. Many political activists, mainly to the left, still blame apartheid structures within sports, chiefly rugby, for the plight of certain areas. Be that as it may, but non-racial sports has been around since 1995, which is quite a long to change. That is not to say the older Afrikaner mentalities still reign in certain areas of rugby union in South Africa.

One possible explanation to the almost oblivious nature of certain Afrikaners’ relation to the past is the fact the most of them haven’t ever really been confronted about the past, as were the case with the Germans after the holocaust.

Another area where our research has shed new light on South African sports is the postcolonial state of mind. There is still need for further research here, but we can conclude from the analysis that the Afrikaner mentality in some ways can be concluded as postcolonial, or rather, memories of a colonial past. As far as this researcher is concerned, that particular conclusion has never been made about the Afrikaner. Those memories turned into a postcolonial stratagem in which rugby was at the very heart. So to speak of postcolonialism in South Africa, we must also take these aspects into account, something I feel has not been done before and should enhance the field further.

One area that are still completely in line with previous research is the gendered aspect of team sports, be it soccer or rugby. Male hegemony on masculinity is still very much in place, and the
potential for women to play rugby are still miniscule and seen as a curiosity and not within normal standards. Hudson’s research is therefore still timeless. Unfortunately.

Further research

This thesis did not have the ambition to be a complete analysis of the social history and memories of South African rugby or its place in society. Instead it has, at best, scraped a bit on the surface and made some connections between the present and the past. What’s lacking is basically two things: 1) a more thorough analysis of the non-white perspective, i.e. the rugby communities of the townships and issues of memory there. There’s also 2) the koshuisrugby, the sponsored residence leagues at the traditional Afrikaans universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria.

Also, the need for further research into women’s rugby in South Africa from a postcolonial perspective is substantial. Gendered sport is a concept that I feel belong to modernity, but how about gendered sport in a postmodern society? Do the same rules apply? Do modernist gender views still play a part in selecting and retaining within team sports? The hegemony of male sports can perhaps be broken if sufficient efforts are to be made in that area.
EPILOGUE

As we’ve seen in the two contributions to this thesis, there is a significant racial discourse in the Cape Times during the 1990-1995 time periods, which partly survived into the 21st century. These modes of discourse, we argue, can be described as colonial in that respect that it subjugates certain ethnic groups as subalterns.

When comparing the two texts and their conclusions, there’s a stark reminder of South Africa’s troubled past. There were a clear and visible normality in reporting on white establishment sports such as rugby in a very patriotic and unconcern manner. It is very similar to the typologies of forgetfulness stated in Jansen’s research for the book Knowledge in the Blood. Apartheid had become so ingrained in the South African society, that segregated sports were seen as normality.

We have shown that the Gramscian concept of subalterness, is fully applicable in the South African media discourse regarding rugby and soccer.

We can also conclude that there were vast inequalities in financial terms. Because of the Afrikaners positioning of rugby as the symbol of Afrikanerdom, and indeed, white, supremacy, no expenses were spared in order to forward the game. Soccer, in
comparison to rugby, had no vast financial support from the apartheid government and that was shown in the discourse by the articles concerning stadiums and finances. The economic discourse concerning rugby was almost invisible since there was no need to complain about non-existent problems. The public’s finance of Loftus Versfeldt and Newlands rugby stadiums and the unwillingness of the provincial rugby bodies to share with primarily soccer can be linked to the bleak discourses of soccer as a forum for black hooliganism and corruption. Indeed, there is a very clear dichotomy with white representing law and order, civilisation and Christianity and black as the wild, barbarism, paganism and unlawful behaviour. This dichotomy is clearly visible in the way media reported on the sports. A difference can be seen in the reports and literature regarding the two World Cups. After the rugby World Cup in 1995, no articles mentioned financial problems in the aftermath but after the soccer World Cup in 2010, critical voices have been made that the financial gain that was expected did not materialize. One of the major differences though, was that the rugby World Cup did not demand infrastructural investments from the government since every aspect was already in place. Our interpretation of the separate discourses is that there were different goals for the two World Cups. The rugby World Cup was supposed to show the unification of the country to the world whereas the soccer World Cup had financial goals as well as putting the African continent in the spotlight. This is supported by the notion of Pan-Africanism and African renaissance.
One important similarity is that most financial resources are channelled into the Gauteng area; both in soccer and rugby, but also that the professional franchises enjoy the major part of the resources. Grass root level sports are often left to fend for themselves as was evident in the interviews made with soccer administrators.

The discourse is also present in the pictorial material. When reporting on school’s sport, blacks were rarely seen at all, whether they played soccer or rugby. The pictures stated that the sport that made the newspaper’s pages were lily-white only.

The political aspects of soccer and rugby can not be underestimated as ANC or NP were never far behind in the reporting of sports, especially during the unification of rugby, but also when discussing the future role of ANC in the New South Africa, soccer were readily at hand. Sports must have been an attractive venue for politicians in both camps. The linkage between NP and rugby has been discussed in a number of previous texts, but our research has given it more support that NP’s association with rugby was more than just support of a pastime, it was pack in parcel of the NP vision of Afrikaner supremacy and the focal point of hegemonic visions of South Africa. The ANC on the other hand, used soccer venues more as a meeting ground and possibility to convey a message without risking arrests. Our interpretation is that rugby stadiums were more a visual representation of NP policy and Afrikanerdom than the soccer stadiums, but the two sport codes in themselves
mattered just as much as symbols for the two rivalling groups, those who opposed apartheid and two who supported it. A difference can be seen in the pictorial material in the newspapers after 1994 when soccer enjoyed more time in the limelight. As written before, rugby was important politically when showing the unification to the world, but soccer on the other hand a potent and important symbol for the black community both during the unification and after. An example of this is Mandela’s choice to make a first public appearance at a football match post his incarceration.

Since the integration of rugby in the 1990’s, rugby cannot as easily be defined by class as it perhaps was pre 1995 due to the availability of the game. Instead, race and parental influence is far greater a determinator for choosing sport in South Africa. Both codes have professional setups, in soccer as a national premier league and in rugby a provincial setup. This is not to say that vast inequalities don’t exist within the rugby community and between the codes. The wealthy unions of Western Province and the Blue Bulls (of the Gauteng area) are still predominantly white and the community based game in townships and suburbs are slowly demising according to sports activists. In that sense, class divisions still exists within both codes.

We can also conclude that stark patriarchal notions of gender existed within both soccer and rugby communities. Women were included in neither soccer nor rugby. Masculine discourses on sport and identity reigned supreme. This confirms the sentiments
that our female interviewees shared with us. There were specific sport codes that were primarily for women, such as hockey, netball and track and field. When entering the male domains of rugby and soccer, the reception was not at all welcome. As seen in previous research, traditions of skill and robustness are present in both soccer and rugby, coupled with masculinity and taking an active role rather than a supporting one. Women was expected to participate but not in an active role and not on equal terms, both in soccer and rugby. A difference in the discourses is that rugby promoted more masculine values than soccer. During and observation in the Coetzenburg sports ground, women’s rugby was placed on a pitch with no floodlights with male players from residents crossed the training area, oblivious to the fact that there was a practise session going on. The state of female soccer was pretty much the same, as the soccer administrators in Eastern Cape could only name two teams out of 28 in Grahamstown being female.

One can view the role of the press during the early stages of abolishment of apartheid as a form of self-discipline. In Foucault’s writings on discipline and punishment, the role of ideology as a mean of upholding power structures is primary. This was definitely the case in the Cape Times, as no critical questions were asked, they also spoke to the white establishment sport, but spoke about its non-racial counterparts. The press can

therefore be seen as weak and self-disciplined, linked to the power structures of NP and the greater concept of Afrikaner hegemony.

We believe that both economic and cultural factors drove the desire to segregate sports and society since there was an ever-present fear of the past inequalities between the Afrikaners and British colonisers during the 19th century and a fierce drive to never be subjugated again. When shifting focus from class to race even financially disadvantaged whites became part of the upper class in South Africa and thus rugby can be seen as a sport for the upper class. This positioning rested on the notion of keeping soccer as a lower class sport for the black masses, thus creating an almost binary opposition, as the structuralist view propose, defining itself in relation to the other. This is shown in the source material both in amount of representation but also what were actually the reported topics in the articles.

Sport can almost be viewed as religion in South Africa, which previous researchers also have concluded. During the extensive work with our source material we have found that sport plays an important part in the self-disciplining within the communities. By spectatorism and participation, important vents that could function as suppressing civil unrest.

Sport is like an “opium” for the people, to paraphrase Marx.
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Sports administrator 3, [interview 2013-04-10]
Sports administrator 4, [interview 2013-05-07]
Rugby Administrator, [interview 2013-04-19]
Rugby coach, [interview 2013-05-06]
Rugby Player, [Interview 2013-05-07]
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